THE

HISTORY

OF THE

REBELLION AND CIVIL WARS

IN

ENGLAND.

BY

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SOME TIME LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR OF ENGLAND.

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INDEX

TO THE

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AN

INDEX

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THREE VOLUMES OF THIS HISTORY.

The Roman numbers direct to the volume; the other to the page of the volume.

A.

ABBOT, Archbiſhop, i. 147. dies, i. 136. his character, ibid.
Abingdon quitted by the King's forces, ii. 725. poſſeſſed by the Earl of Eſſex, ii. 726.
Ablin, Jacob, ii. 639.
Ackland, Sir John, ii. 421.
Act of pacification between England and Scotland, i. 433. Act for triennial Parliaments, i. 438. for taking away the High-Commiſſion Court, ibid. for taking away the Star-Chamber Court, i. 441. for the certainty of meets, bounds, and limits of foreſts, i. 443. for limiting the office of Clerk of the Market of his Majeſty's Houſe, ibid. for preventing vexatious proceedings touching the order of knighthood, i. 445. for the free making ſaltpetre and gunpowder within the kingdom, ibid. againſt divers encroachments and oppreſſions in the Stannery Courts, ib. againſt ſhip-money, i. 446. act of navigation, iii. 692. acts paſſed ſince the beginning of the Parliament Nov. 3, 1640, to the King's journey into Scotland, i. 438. ſee Bill.
Action at Torrington, ii. 506. at Aſhburton, ii. 1067. ſee Battle.
Addreſs of the Lords Juſtices and the Council in Ireland to the King, ii. 626. of the Anabaptiſts to the King, iii. 947. Addreſſes to Monk from all counties as he paſſed to London, iii. 1076. Many addreſſes to King Charles II, juſt before his reſtoration, iii. 1156.
Agitators, ſee Army.
St. Alban's, Earl of, (ſee Jermyn,) iii. 1160.
Albert, Archduke, i. 75. ii. 789.
Alexander VII. Pope, iii. 831, 833.
Allen, Captain, i. 512.

Alonzo, Don; ſee Cardinas.
Alresford battle, ii. 710.
Alton, a ſkirmiſh there, ii. 706.
Anabaptiſts ſend an addreſs to the King, iii. 947. the addreſs itſelf, iii. 948. their propoſitions annexed to it, iii. 959. their letter to the King ſent with the addreſs, iii. 962.
Andrews, ii. 115.
St. Andrew's, Archbiſhop of, i. 134, 135.
Andrews, Biſhop, i. 137.
Anneſley, i. 341. iii. 1098.
Antonio, Don, iii. 496.
Antrim, Earl of, ii. 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 923, 925, 926. Antrim, Marquis of, ii. 927. iii 148.
Appleyard, Sir Matthew, ii. 980.
Apprentices (ſee Petition) invited by the Parliament to take arms, ii. 92. Apprentices of the city of London riſe, but are ſuppreſſed by Hewſon, iii. 1067.
Apſley, Sir Allen, ii. 989.
Arcos, Duke of, iii. 507.
Argyle, Earl of, i. 201, 463. ii. 687. joins with the Covenanters notwithſtanding his great obligations to the King, i. 199. created a Marquis, i. 465, 480. Argyle, Marquis of, ii. 98, 909, 910, 911, 912, 941. iii. 152, 185, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 217, 218, 219, 222, 256, 258, 260, 261, 262, 263, 318, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 428, 438, 441, 442, 523, 529, 531, 532, 533, 539, 564, 569, 594, 595, 596, 597, 603, 645, 676, 677. clogs the act for proclaiming the King with a clauſe for the Covenant, iii. 430. deſigns to invite the King into Scotland, iii. 517. provides that a meſſage be ſent to his Majeſty to Jerſey upon the old conditions, iii. 518. ſends new propoſitions; which miſſed the King, iii. 551. he receives the King, iii. 553. his behaviour to him, iii. 554. he diſſuades him from going into England out of Scotland, iii. 600. ſtays behind and retires to his houſe, ibid.
Armagh, Archbiſhop of, ii. 557.
Arminian points, ſome contentions concerning them, i. 144.
Arminius, Jacobus, i. 144, 145.
Armorer, Sir Nicholas, iii. 850. Armorer, Sir William, iii. 439, 620, 1123.
Army, ſee Charles I: ſee Parliament: ſee Charles II: ſee Council: ſee Officers: ſee Temper. An army raiſed for the King, i. 219. Some principal officers of the Engliſh army have conference and communication with ſome ſervants of a more immediate truſt and relation to the King and Queen, i. 378. The petition intended to be ſubſcribed by the officers, i. 380. The true matter of fact concerning that petition, i. 383. the ill uſe made of it in the Houſe of Commons, i. 388. The mention of the plot in the army revived in the Houſe of Commons, i. 411. The armies diſbanded, i. 459. Agitators as well as a Council of Officers appointed by the army, iii. 65. their firſt reſolutions, iii. 66. which they deliver to the Parliament, iii. 67. and to their General, ibid. The army impeach eleven members of the Houſe of Commons, iii. 88. The rendezvous of the army upon Hounſlow-heath, iii. 94. it marches through the city, and quarters about it, iii. 101. begins to be leſs regardful of the King,

iii. 109. The army's declaration in November 1648. iii. 341. Their large remonſtrance brought to the Houſe by ſix officers, iii. 357. Another declaration ſent by them to the Houſe of Commons, iii. 359. Col. Cobbet ſent by the officers of the army into Scotland to Monk, iii. 1056. And another to the army in Ireland, iii. 1057. Their dutiful reception of the King's letter, iii. 1147.

Armyn, Sir William, i. 457. ii. 248, 286, 450.

Articles of high treaſon againſt the Lord Kimbolton, and five members of the Houſe of Commons, i. 555. of neutrality agreed in Yorkſhire between both parties, ii. 206. diſowned by the Parliament; upon which they entered into acts of hoſtility there, ii. 207.

Arundel, iii. 62, 1011. Earl of, i. 187, 188, 191, 206, 220, 335, 407, 754. ii. 309. his character, i. 86. he is made General of the army againſt the Scots, i. 177. Arundel of Wardour, Lord, ii. 426. Arundel, John, ii. 194. iii. 60. Arundel, Richard, ii. 1057. iii. 861. Arundel (Richard) made Lord Arundel of Trerice, iii. 60. Arundels, iii. 62.

Arundel caſtle ſurrendered to the Lord Hopton, ii. 704. and retaken by Sir William Waller, ii. 707.

St. Aſaph, Jo. Biſhop of, i. 548.

Aſcham, iii. 571. ſent agent into Spain from the Parliament of England, iii. 557. killed by ſome officers at his lodgings in Madrid, with what enſued, iii. 559, 560, 561, 562, 563.

Aſhburnham, i. 416, 417, 451, 1103, 1104, 1112. ii. 8, 46, 47, 48, 195, 196, 199. 740, 861, 931, 994, 1116. iii. 21, 22, 33, 30, 43, 101, 109, 113, 114, 117, 118, 119, 121, 122, 123, 125, 126, 127, 128. comes from France to the King, iii. 81. his and Sir John Berkley's tranſactions with ſome officers of the army, ibid. they are ſent by the King to Col. Hammond in the Iſle of Wight, iii. 118.

Aſhburton, action there, ii. 1067.

Aſhley, Colonel Bernard, ii. 442, 448. Aſhley, Sir Jacob, i. 450, 459, 719, 858, 877, 1052. ii. 2, 59, 81, 523, 541, 591, 779, 819. ſee Atley.

Aſhton, Colonel, condemned and executed, iii. 947.

Aſſembly of Divines, i. 826.

Aſſociation of ſeveral counties formed under the Earl of Manchester, ii. 713. Aſſociation in the Weſt, ii. 906.

Aſtley, Lord, ii. 983, 985, 1022, 1098, 1114. his forces defeated, ii. 1130. Aſtley, Sir Bernard, ii. 817. Aſtley, Sir Jacob, ii. 703, 720, 729, 730. his character, ii. 722. ſee Aſhley.

Aſton, Lord, i. 194. Aſton, Sir Arthur, ii. 59, 66, 70, 120, 228, 341, 345, 360, 788, 827, 828, iii. 490.

Atkins, Serjeant, ii. 179.

Aubigney, Lord, ii. 76, 81. his character, ii. 78. Aubigney, Lady, ii. 376, 377, 379, 380, 386. iii. 375, 439, 444.

Aulgier, ii. 136.

Aunnigeu, John, iii. 959.

Ayſcue, Sir George, iii. 706. he takes or ſinks thirty ſail of the Dutch merchants, iii. 697. fights the Dutch fleet near Plymouth, ibid.

B.

Bacon, Mr. Juſtice, ii. 179, 612.
Baggot, Colonel, ii. 352.
Baily, iii. 245, 1094.
Bainton, Sir Edward, ii. 151.
Baker, ii. 747.
Balcarris, Lord, iii. 772, 817.
Balfour, ii. 390, 796, 797. Balfour, Sir W. i. 553. ii. 64, 66, 70, 77, 78, 706, 710. turned out from being Lieutenant of the Tower, i. 517. with the Earl of Eſſex's horſe eſcapes through the King's army, ii. 783, 784.
Ball, Sir Peter, ii. 958, 962.
Balthazer, Colonel, iii. 887.
Bamfield, (ſee Bamford,) iii. 291, 303. Bamfield, Colonel, iii. 194, 195, 196, 208, 209.
Bamford, (alias Bamfield,) Colonel, ii. 707.
Banbury caſtle ſurrendered to the King, ii. 85. relieved by the Earl of Northampton, ii. 814.
Bancroft, Dr. i. 137.
Banks, Attorney General, i. 325. Banks, Lord Chief Juſtice, i. 891, 1024. ii. 179, 305, 502.
Barbadoes delivered up to the Parliament forces, iii. 705.
Barclay, ii. 861.
Barebone, Praiſe-God, iii. 730, 1082.
Barnſtable ſurrendered to Sir John Digby, ii. 508. Tranſactions at Barnſtable: eſpecially complaints againſt Sir Rich. Grenvil, ii. 1000, 1001, 1002, 1003.
Baſinghouſe, ii. 826. relieved by Col. Gage, ii. 789. taken by Cromwell, ii. 1115.
Baſſet, Sir Arthur, ii. 1111. Baſſet, Colonel Thomas, ii. 403. Baſſet, Sir Tho. ii. 442.
Baſtwick, John, (ſee Pryn,) i. 146, 1090. his character, i. 309.
Bath taken by the King's Corniſh forces ii. 439.
Bath, Earl of, i. 372, 1024, 1065. ii. 30.
Bath and Wells, William, Biſhop of, i. 316, 548.
Batten, Captain, i. 751, 1058, 1061. ii. 213. iii. 199, 210, 250. Batten, Sir William, iii. 302, 304.
Battle of Keinton ii. 65. at Bradock-down, ii. 198. on Hoptonheath, ii. 224. near Stratton, May 16, 1643, ii. 403. at Lanſdown, ii. 423. of Roundway-down, ii. 434. at Newbury, ii. 521, 816. at Alreſford, ii. 710. at Cropredy-bridge, ii. 744. at Marſton-moor, ii. 753. of Naſeby, ii. 985. near Lamport, ii. 1005. at Cheſter, ii. 1069. near Preſton, iii. 245. at Dunbar, iii. 568. at Worceſter, iii. 617. of Dunkirk, iii. 975. ſee Action.
Baynton, i. 733.
Beauchamp, Lord, ii. 774.
Beaufort, Duke de, iii. 683.
Beaumont, i. 13.
Beekly, Colonel, ii. 395.
Beckwith, i. 846.
Bedford taken by Prince Rupert, ii. 589.
Bedford, (Earl of,) the father, i. 242, 286, 288, 302, 326, 328, 362, 373, 378, 385, 407, 529. ii. 27, 28, 29, 64, 66, 189, 317, 549, 693, 1010, 1013. his character, i. 281, 394. his death, i. 394. Bedford, (Earl of,) the ſon, goes againſt the Marquis of Hertford, ii. 8. with the Earl of Holland puts himſelf into the King's quarters, ii. 485. returns into the Parliament's quarters, ii. 552.
Bedford ſurrendered to Sir John Digby, ii. 508.

Bedingfield, Sir Tho. i. 754.
Bellafis, Lord, ii. 1081, 1083. iii. 34. Bellafis, Colonel John, ii. 205, 442, 448, 682, 696, 852. Bellafis, Mr. i. 853. Bellafis, Harry, ii. 206.
Bellievre, Monfieur, iii. 19, 43. his negociations at London, and with the King afterwards at Newcaftle, iii. 47.
Bellingham, ii. 83. Bellingham, Sir Henry, iii. 258.
Bennet, Col ii. 505. Bennet, Mr. iii. 587, 588. Bennet, Sir Hen. iii. 930, 1029, 1031, 1039, 1042, 1047, 1117. Bennet, Sir Humph. ii. 822.
Berkeley, Lord, i. 1120. iii. 1165. Berkeley, Juftice, ii 565. Berkeley, Sir Charles, ii. 961. Berkeley, Sir John, (fee Afhburnham,) i. 1065, 1103. ii. 8, 29, 195, 196, 199, 200, 403, 404, 418, 421, 465, 504, 505, 593, 700, 809, 955, 956, 958, 959, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 989, 994, 1001, 1003, 1004, 1008, 1010, 1013, 1026, 1044. iii. 79, 109, 117, 118, 121, 123, 126, 207, 208, 291, 587, 659, 660, 661. fent from the Queen to the King, iii. 81. his and Mr. John Afhburnham's tranfactions with fome officers of the army, ibid. he is made Governor to the Duke of York, iii. 196. he pretends to the Maftership of the Wards, iii. 662, 663, 664. is denied by the King, iii. 665. breaks with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, iii. 666. defigns Mademoifelle de Longueville for the Duke of York's wife, iii. 686. Berkeley, Sir William, iii. 705.
Berkfhire, Earl of, i. 242, 1024. ii. 30, 619, 838, 839, 961, 1027, 1099. iii. 5, 43. his character, ii. 302.
Berwick delivered to the Parliament, iii. 259.
Bettely, Col. condemned and executed, iii. 947.
Bill (fee Act) paffed for raifing two fubfidies; the Houfe of Commons naming commiffioners to receive the money, i. 321. which method was afterwards continued, i. 322. A bill for a triennial Parliament paffed, i. 324. to take away bifhops' votes in Parliament paffed by the Houfe of Commons, i. 363. rejected by the Lords, i. 367. A bill brought into the Houfe of Commons for extirpating bifhops, deans and chapters, &c. i. 368. laid afide that time, i. 370. revived in the Houfe of Commons and committed, i. 427. laid afide, i. 429. A bill preferred for fettling the militia, i. 430. read once, i. 432. A new bill in the Houfe of Commons to take away bifhops' votes, i. 469. A bill prepared in the Houfe of Commons for preffing men for Ireland, i. 507. The preamble thereof, as it came from the Commons, excepted againft by the Houfe of Lords, i 508. paffed, i. 511. A bill for fettling the power of the militia, i. 516 touching the bill againft the bifhops' votes, depending in the Houfe of Peers, i. 519. A bill for the militia paffed by the Houfe of Commons, i. 604. and the Lords, i. 647. as alfo the bills touching the bifhops' votes, and preffing, i. 648. A bill againtt the bifhops' votes and preffing paffed by the King, i. 667.
Binion, George, i. 757.
Bifhops' votes, fee Bill: fee Parliament.

liament. The biſhops and many of both Houſes of Parliament withdraw from their attendance upon account of the tumults, i. 526. The biſhops ſuffer themſelves to be guided by Williams Archbiſhop of York, i. 536. their petition and proteſtation to the King and Houſe of Lords, i. 546. accuſed of high treaſon for it, and committed to the Tower, i. 550. the ill conſequences of this, ibid. the Popiſh biſhops in Ireland make an aſſembly, and publiſh a declaration againſt the Engliſh, iii. 652. they declare to the Lord Lieutenant they will no longer ſubmit to him, and require him to commit the government to a Roman Catholic, iii. 653.
Blake, Admiral, iii. 695, 697, 737, 874, 875, 879, 880, 888, 1106. takes the Dutch fiſhing buſſes, and their guard-ſhips, iii. 697. engages the Dutch fleet, and beats them in February 1652, iii. 702. goes with the fleet into the Mediterranean, iii. 874. routs the Spaniards, iii. 909. returns with the fleet, iii. 912. dies in the way, ibid. his burial and character, ibid.
Blunt, Sir Charles, ii. 725, 726.
Boles, Colonel, ii. 706.
Bolton, Rich. ii. 658.
Bond, i. 472.
Booth, Sir Geo. iii. 1022, 1023, 1048, 1107, 1109, 1165. undertakes to poſſeſs Cheſter for the King, iii. 1010. ſeizes Cheſter, iii. 1018. his and Sir Thomas Middleton's declaration, iii. 1019. he is routed by Lambert, iii. 1021. releaſed from impriſonment, iii. 1104.
Borgia, Cæſar, iii. 167.
Borlaſe, Jo. ii. 658.
Borrel, Monſieur, iii. 699.
Boſtal Houſe ſurrendered to the King's party, ii. 739.
Boſwell, Sir William, iii. 366.
Boteler, Sir William, ii. 747.
Bouchier, George, ii. 369.
Boys, Colonel, ii. 523, 782.
Brabant, ii. 1002.
Brabazon, Edw. ii. 658.
Brachamonte, Don Diego de, iii. 508.
Bradock-down, battle there, ii. 198.
Bradſhaw, iii. 384, 405, 465. made Preſident of the High Court of Juſtice for trial of the King, iii. 372.
Braganza, Duke of, iii. 898.
Bramford, ſee Brentford.
Bramſton, Sir John, ii. 62, 179.
Brandenburgh, Elector of, iii. 824, 825.
Brandon, Charles, ii. 1023.
Brent, iii. 110.
Brentford, or Brainford, Earl of, ii. 390, 475, 709, 719, 768, 822, 823, 906, 1028, 1058, 1087, 1099. his character, ii. 720.
Brereton, ſee Bruerton.
Bret, Captain Edward, ii. 778.
Brett, Col. ii. 231.
Bridges, Captain, ii. 700. Bridges, Major, ii. 732.
Bridgman, Orlando, ii. 216, 861, 882.
Bridgwater taken by the Marquis of Hertford, ii. 413. taken by Sir Tho. Fairfax, ii. 1018.
Briſtol city, a deſign of giving it up to Prince Rupert, and how prevented, ii. 369. is beſieged by Prince Rupert, ii. 439. ſurrendered upon articles, ii. 443. delivered up by Prince Rupert, ii. 1035.
Briſtol, (Earl of,) the father, i. 17, 33, 34, 55, 56, 57, 58, 242, 302, 755, 758, 1024. ii. 6,

40, 179, 1044. iii. 197, 476, 805, 806, 932, 969, 1017, 1031, 1041, 1042, 1044, 1124. accuſed in Parliament, i. 37. accuſes the Duke of Buckingham, ibid. his character, ii. 300. Briſtol, (Earl of,) the ſon, ordered to leave France, iii. 925. comes to Bruges to the King, iii. 926. ingratiates himſelf with Don Juan, iii. 927. he is inſtrumental in recovering St. Ghiſlain to the Spaniards, iii. 928. obtains of the King that Sir H. Bennet ſhould be ſent envoy to Madrid, iii. 930.

Broad Seal, a new one voted, ii. 610. which is delivered to ſix commiſſioners, ii. 611.

Broghill, Lord, iii. 146, 1144.

Bromicham taken by Prince Rupert, ii. 349.

Brooke, Lord, i. 75, 183, 242, 285, 351, 362. ii. 67, 220, 221, 226. iii. 1165. ſhot in beſieging the cathedral of Lichfield, ii. 221.

Brown, iii. 87, 709. Brown, Sir John, ii. 820. Brown, Major General, ii. 787. iii. 57, 363, 598. Brown, Colonel, iii. 72. Brown, Samuel, ii. 180, 611.

Brownerigg, i. 470.

Bruce, Lord, iii. 1165. ſlain by the Earl of Dorſet, i. 93.

Bruerton, Sir William, ii. 215, 216, 218, 223, 226, 660, 685.

Le Brune, iii. 468, 470, 472.

Buck, Colonel, ii. 442, 447.

Buckhurſt, (Treaſurer,) created Earl of Dorſet, i. 93.

Buckhurſt, Lord, ii. 156.

Buckingham, Duke of, (ſee Prince Charles,) i. 16, 34, 41, 42, 55, 71, 73, 75, 84, 90, 97, 101, 102, 139, 141, 282, 291, 461, 534, 886. ii. 53, 296, 300, 305, 314, 317, 318, 448, 800, 910. iii. 141, 183, 264, 266, 390, 522, 553, 595, 603, 614, 623, 677. his great power and intereſt, i. 8. the cauſe of his murder, i. 11. his riſe, i. 13. he is uſually called Stenny by K. James, i. 26, 27, 36, 99. accuſed by the Earl of Briſtol, i. 37. made General in the war againſt France, i. 41. aſſaſſinated, ibid. his character, i. 48. An account of a prediction of his death, i. 64. Buckingham, Counteſs of, i. 69. Buckingham, Ducheſs of, ii. 925.

Buckinghamſhire men's petition to the Houſe of Commons, i. 593. to the Houſe of Lords, i. 595. to the King, ibid.

Buller, Sir Rich. ii. 190, 192, 193.

Bullingbrook, Earl of, ii. 79, 611, 666. Bullingbrook, Houſe of, i. 288.

Bullion, ſee Spaniſh.

Bunkly, Lieut. Col. ii. 793.

Burgeſs, Dr. i. 470.

Burlacy, Sir John, ii. 245.

Burly, Captain, i. 1060. iii. 354. ſtirs up the people in the Iſle of Wight; is condemned and executed, iii. 137.

Burton, Hen. (ſee Pryn,) i. 146, 519, 952. his character, i. 309. The reaſon of his diſlike of the government, ibid.

Buſhel, Brown, iii. 656.

Butler, Lieut. Col. ii. 785.

Byron, Sir John, i. 554, 583, 598, 621, 655. ii. 28, 35, 36, 66, 434. made Lieutenant of the Tower, i. 518. Byron, Lord, ii. 539, 683, 684, 685, 686, 853, 978. iii. 196, 216, 226, 587, 588, 659, 660, 662. his death, iii. 686.

Byron, Sir Nicholas, ii. 59, 65, 81, 216.

Byron, Sir Thomas, ii. 224, 225.

C.

Cæſar, Sir Julius, i. 80.
Cæſar, (Robert,) a remarkable ſtory in relation to him and the Earl of Portland, i. 80.
Calamy, iii. 1167.
Calendar, Earl of, i. 480. ii. 97.
Cambridge, Earl of, i. 1024.
Campbels, iii. 438.
Canons. Concerning the Scottiſh Canons, i. 163. New Canons complained of, i. 316. and condemned by the Houſe of Commons, i. 318.
Cansfield, Sir John, ii. 818, 819, 822.
Canteeroy, Counteſs of, iii. 588.
Canterbury, Archbiſhop of, (ſee Abbot,) Laud, Archbiſhop of, (ſee Laud,) i. 161, 163, 175, 191, 222, 233, 239, 245, 284, 294, 297, 310, 314, 325, 336, 347, 354, 362, 452, 460, 470, 474, 537, 541, 542, 887. ii. 534, 879, 880. iii. 89. The rabble attempt his houſe at Lambeth, i. 223.
Capel, Lord, i. 1024. ii. 46, 219, 660, 838, 861, 903, 951, 967, 1027, 1055, 1057, 1058, 1086, 1089, 1090, 1098, 1099. iii. 3, 21, 22, 43, 44, 60, 105, 106, 108, 196, 263, 270. He with the Lord Colepepper ſent to Paris, to diſſuade the Queen from ſending for the Prince of Wales into France, iii. 10. their inſtructions and arrival at Paris, ibid. delivers his opinion againſt the Prince's going into France, iii. 38. waits on the King at Hampton Court from Jerſey, iii. 106. attempts an eſcape, iii. 408. is beheaded iii. 412. his character, iii 414.
Capel, Mr. i. 329.
Capuchin friars ſent back by the Parliament into France, ii. 38.
Cardinas, Don Alonzo de, i. 435. ii. 1125. iii. 399, 470, 499, 509, 545, 556, 557, 558, 563, 570, 572, 573, 875, 882, 883, 884, 885, 921, 924, 926, 927, 970, 1023. 1116, 1117, 1122, 1159. ſent to by Cromwell to leave England, iii. 881.
Careleſs, Captain, iii. 624, 625, 626, 627, 629.
Carew, Sir Alexander, ii. 190, 192, 593. treats to ſurrender the fort of Plymouth to the King's forces, but is ſurpriſed, ii. 593.
Carleton, (Sir Dudley,) his character, i. 99.
Carliſle delivered to the Parliament, iii. 259. Carliſle, Earl of, i. 97, 122. ii. 306. his character, i. 94. Carliſle, Counteſs of, i. 460. iii. 237, 300.
Carlos, (Don,) Infante of Spain, i. 55, 56, 57.
Carnarvon, Earl of, i. 1024. ii. 40, 411, 418, 419, 420, 433, 434, 466, 501, 502, 503, 508, ſlain in the battle at Newbury, ii. 524. his character, ibid.
Carnewarth, Earl of, ii. 986, 1076.
Carpio, Marquis of, iii. 507.
Carr, i. 92. ii. 189, 782.
Carracena, Marquis of, (ſee Juan,) iii. 885, 921, 927, 928, 972, 976, 1023, 1046, 1047, 1121, 1122. invites the King back to Bruſſels, iii. 1159. The King's anſwer, ibid. invites the King again, but in vain, ibid.
Carrington, Lord, ii. 711.
Carteret, Captain, (afterwards Sir George,) i. 1061, 1062. Supplies the King's Corniſh forces with ammunition, ii. 202. iii. 60, 491. defends Jerſey as long as he could, and Elizabeth caſtle, iii. 703. has orders from the King to make conditions, iii. 704.

Cartwright, Captain, i. 751.
Cartwright, Sir Hugh, iii. 284.
Caſe, iii. 1167.
Caſtelle Roderigo, Marquis of, iii. 506.
Caſtile, Admirante of, iii. 501, 502, 503.
Caſtlehaven, Earl of, iii. 716.
Caſtleton, Lord, iii. 1165.
Caſtrilio, Conde of, iii. 506.
Cavalier, (the term,) whence, i. 528. Rigour of the Parliament forces towards the Cavaliers, ii. 31.
Cavendiſh, Charles, ii. 214, 753.
Cecil, Sir Robert, iii. 577.
Ceſſation agreed upon at Rippon, i. 249. Ceſſation of arms concluded for a year in Ireland, Sept. 7, 1643. diſowned by the two Houſes at Weſtminſter, ii, 632.
Chaſin, Dr. i. 90.
Chalgrave field, the action there, ii. 392.
Challoner, ii. 481. iii. 375. his trial and execution, ii. 385.
Chancellor of the Exchequer, (ſee Cottington: ſee Ormond: ſee Berkeley: ſee Herbert: ſee Clarendon: ſee Hyde,) ſent for to the Prince of Wales from Jerſey, iii. 197. ſent to confer with the Marquis of Mountroſe in a village near the Hague, iii. 434. appointed to draw a declaration relating to England, iii. 461. The declaration laid aſide, iii. 465. He has a private audience of the Queen, iii. 477. diſmiſſed from Madrid very courteouſly, iii. 578. in his paſſage through France he waits on the Queen Mother, iii. 579. expoſtulates with the Queen about her forbidding Dr. Coſins to officiate to the Proteſtants in her chapel at Paris, iii. 591. her anſwer, ibid. he confers with Mr. Mountague about it, iii. 592. finds the Duke of York at Breda, iii. 593. comes in Chriſtmas to the King at Paris, iii. 645. where he receives from him the account of his Majeſty's deliverance, iii. 646 He diſſuades the King from going to church at Charenton, iii. 672. deſires the King not to employ him in the Scottiſh affairs, iii. 679. the King's reply to him, ibid. he ſubmits; and is truſted in thoſe affairs, iii. 680. the Queen's diſpleaſure againſt him in France, iii. 771. A petition intended of the Scottiſh Preſbyterians by Balcarris and Frazier, that he might be removed, iii. 772. and of the Roman Catholics alſo againſt him, ib. The deſign diſcovered by one Mr. Walſingham to the King: which quaſhed them both, iii. 774. Upon the King's departure from France he has an audience of the Queen Mother, iii. 802. is ſent to Bruſſels to confer with Don Alonzo de Cardinas, iii. 921. his conference with him, iii. 924. he is made Lord Chancellor of England, iii. 930.
Chandois, Lord, ii. 517, 734.
Charenton (Miniſters of) preſs King Charles II. to come to their church; and are ſeconded by the Lord Jermyn, iii. 671.
Charles, Prince, (ſee Charles I.) i. 26. his journey into Spain, i. 17, 18, 19, 20. He and the Duke of Buckingham give an account of the journey to both Houſes of Parliament, i. 30. He ſucceeds to the Crown, i. 37.
Charles, Prince, (ſee Charles II.) i. 1100. ii. 1047, 1098.

Charles I. King, ſee Treaty. A view of the beginning of his reign, i. 5. his firſt Parliament called, i. 39. the news of the Duke of Buckingham's death, how received by him, i. 47. his journey into Scotland to be crowned there, i. 121. his magnificent reception there, i. 123. the ſeeds of the ſucceeding commotions then ſown, i. 124. during his ſtay there he erects the biſhopric of Edinburgh, i. 133. prefers ſome biſhops in Scotland to ſecular offices unſeaſonably, i. 135. returns into England, i. 136. deſigns to make a park between Richmond and Hampton Court, i. 155. how this was obſtructed, i. 156. he raiſes an army againſt the Scots, i. 177. and a fleet, i. 178. he ſummons the Engliſh nobility to attend him, i. 181. goes to the borders of Scotland with his army, i. 184. ſends the Earl of Holland as far as Dunce, ibid. Miſchiefs that accrued to him after the treaty of pacification with the Scots, i. 194. he calls a Parliament to ſit in April 1640. i. 204. his propoſition to both Houſes of Parliament about a ſupply of money, i. 211. this debated, i. 212. he diſſolves the Parliament, i. 217. which troubles him afterwards, i. 218. a loan granted him, i. 219. an army is raiſed, ibid. it retreats towards York, i. 227. he declares to the Great Council at York his reſolution to call a Parliament, i. 241. his counſellors at York, i. 247. he returns to London, i. 250. conſents that the privy counſellors ſhall be examined, i. 300. the great damage that this act brought upon him, ibid. he admits of ſeveral new privy counſellors, i. 302. but to his diſadvantage, i. 305. has none left about him in any immediate truſt in buſineſs, but ſuch as do either betray, or ſink under the weight or reproach of it, i. 327. he is againſt taking away the Earl of Strafford's life, i, 375. he reſolved not to conſent to the bill of attainder againſt the Earl, i. 398. but is adviſed by the Privy Council and ſome of the biſhops, ibid. and is deſired to do it by the Earl of Strafford himſelf, i. 400. upon which account he ſigns a commiſſion for the paſſing of it, i. 401. at which time he paſſed another for continuing the Parliament, i. 404. the arts by which that act was obtained, ibid. he takes the Staff of Lord Chamberlain from the Earl of Pembroke, and gives it to the Earl of Eſſex, i. 408. after the act of pacification, he begins his journey towards Scotland, i. 433. his princely and fatherly affection to his people, i. 446. he comes to York in his way towards Scotland, i. 449. writes to the two Houſes of Parliament about the Iriſh rebellion, i. 467. fills up divers vacant biſhoprics in England, i. 470. at which the Commons are offended, i. 471. he confirms what acts the Scots offer to him, i. 479, 480. at which the Parliament in England is diſpleaſed, i. 483. he begins his journey for England, i. 480. his reception in London upon his return, i. 501. a petition preſented to him, together with the remonſtrance

monſtrance of the Houſe of Commons, and printed, i. 502. his anſwer to the petition, i. 504. he adviſes with Saint-John, and puts his expedient in practice, i. 509. which the Lords and Commons declare to be a breach of privilege, i. 510. he paſſes the bill concerning preſſing, i. 511. is betrayed by his own counſellors, &c. i. 512. he diſmiſſes Sir William Balfour from being Lieutenant of the Tower, i. 517. and puts Colonel Lunsford in his place, ibid. and upon his reſignation Sir John Byron, i. 518. his anſwer to the petition of the Commons for a guard, i. 521. he goes to the Houſe of Commons and demands the five members accuſed of high treaſon, i. 557. goes into the city and ſpeaks to the citizens about them, i. 561. his anſwer to the former remonſtrance of the Houſe of Commons, i. 570. and to the petition of the city of London, i. 577. he removes to Hampton Court, i. 590. thence to Windſor, i. 601. thence ſends a meſſage to both Houſes, i. 602. his propoſition and meſſage to both Houſes, Jan. 20, 1641. i. 615. his anſwer to their petition about the accuſed members, i. 616. and to the Commons' petition for removal of Sir John Byron, and putting the forts and militia into the hands of confiding men, i. 623. he reſolves to remove farther from London, i. 650. his anſwer to the petition concerning the militia, i. 654. he conſents that Sir John Coniers be Lieutenant of the Tower, i. 655. Aſperſions caſt upon him and his Queen, ibid. he demands reparation for an expreſſion in a printed ſpeech of Mr. Pym's, i. 658. his reply to the Commons' anſwer, i. 659. he is preſſed to paſs the bill againſt the biſhops' votes, i. 664. paſſes that bill, and the other of preſſing, Feb. 14, 1641. i. 667, 668. returns to Greenwich, where the Prince meets him, i. 679. his anſwer to the meſſage ſent him by both Houſes to Greenwich, i. 680. his further anſwer concerning the militia, i. 681. his anſwer to the Parliament's declaration about their jealouſies, and their reaſons for his continuance near the Parliament, i. 702. his meſſage to both Houſes in his way to York, i. 705. he conſents to the propoſitions of both Houſes of Parliament for adventurers in Ireland, i. 712. paſſes a bill to that purpoſe, i. 713. his reception at York, i. 715. his declaration from York, March 9, 1641. in anſwer to that preſented to him at Newmarket, i. 716. his moderation, i. 722, 723, 724. his anſwer to the petition of the Houſe of Lords and Commons preſented to him at York, March 26, 1642. i. 731. he removes the Earls of Eſſex and Holland from their offices in the Court, i. 739. his anſwer to the meſſage of both Houſes, March 28, 1642. i. 746. his anſwer to the petition of both Houſes, to remove the magazine from Hull, &c. i. 760. his meſſage to both Houſes, Apr. 8, 1642. offering to go in perſon into Ireland, i. 765. his reply to the Commons' anſwer touching his going thither, i. 774. his purpoſe of going thither laid

laid aſide, i. 781. his meſſage to both Houſes, Apr. 28, 1642. concerning his refuſal to paſs the bill for the militia, i. 783. he goes to Hull, and is denied entrance, i. 789, 790, 791. his meſſages to the two Houſes concerning Hull, i. 792, 793. his anſwer to the declaration and votes concerning Hull, i. 795. his reply to the anſwer of the Lords and Commons to his two meſſages concerning Hull, i. 805. his declaration in anſwer to the declaration of both Houſes about the militia, i. 813. he omits no opportunity to provide againſt the ſtorm, i. 828. puts himſelf into a poſture of defence, i. 832. his anſwer to the petition of both Houſes to diſſolve his guards, i. 835 he receives the Great Seal from the Lord Keeper Littleton, i. 885, &c. his anſwer to the two Houſes' declaration of the 19th of May, 1642. i. 929. and to their declaration of May 26th the ſame year, i. 958. the ſubſtance of his anſwer to the nineteen propoſitions of the two Houſes of Parliament, i. 1001, &c. the reaſons why he neglected ſo long to put himſelf into a poſture of ſafety, i. 1017, 1049. his declaration to the Lords attending him at York, June 13th, 1642. i. 1021. his declaration and profeſſion of June 15th, 1642. diſavowing any intentions of raiſing war, i. 1023. his declaration upon the declaration and profeſſion of the Lords and Counſellors at York, diſavowing any intentions of war, ibid. he publiſhes a declaration concerning the militia, and aſſerts the right of the Crown in granting commiſſions of array, &c. i. 1040. the prejudices he received from the commiſſion of array, i. 1041. his reply to the Parliament's declaration to the city of London, upon account of his letter to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, i. 1044. he grants commiſſions to raiſe regiments of horſe and foot, i. 1052. revokes the Earl of Northumberland's commiſſion of Admiral, i. 1053—1060. but cannot get the fleet into his hands, i. 1060. he ſecures Newcaſtle, and ſends ſeveral of the nobility and gentlemen into divers counties to execute the commiſſion of array, i. 1064. his proclamation from Beverly, i. 1065. he goes to Newark, i. 1067. thence to Lincoln, ibid. and thence returns to Beverly, ibid. his anſwer to the Parliament's petition of July 15th, 1642. i. 1072. his reply to thoſe who deſired him to alter his anſwer to that petition, i. 1085. he goes to Doncaſter, i. 1089. thence to Nottingham, ibid. and ſo to Leiceſter, ibid. where he is received with great expreſſions of duty and loyalty, ibid. he returns towards Hull, i. 1093. he goes to Beverly, i. 1010, 1011. the reaſons why, i. 1102. he returns to York in leſs credit than he went to Beverly, i. 1113. an accident falls out that makes it abſolutely neceſſary for him to declare war, ibid. he publiſhes a declaration ſignifying the rebellious proceedings of the two Houſes, and forbidding all his ſubjects to yield any obedience to them, i. 1119. publiſhes a procla-

proclamation requiring all men who could bear arms to appear at Nottingham, where he deſigned to ſet up his ſtandard, ibid. the reaſons why he did not reſolve to ſet it up at York, i. 1121. he comes to Nottingham, i. 1125. marches to Coventry, but cannot get poſſeſſion of the place, i. 1126. ſets up his ſtandard at Nottingham, Aug. 25th, 1642. i. 1127. his condition there, ii. 1. he conſults of ſending a meſſage for peace, ii. 9. and accordingly ſends one by the Earl of Southampton, ii. 12. and ſends another meſſage to the two Houſes, ii. 17. he removes from Nottingham to Derby, ii. 21, 22, 23. ſends another meſſage to the two Houſes, ii. 21. his ſpeech and proteſtation at the head of his forces, ii. 23. he comes to Shrewſbury, ii. 25. receives contributions from the Univerſities; but meets with denials from ſeveral perſons, ii. 45, 46, 47, 48, 49. news is brought him to Cheſter of the rencounter before Worceſter, ii. 50. he comes to Shrewſbury, ibid. in great need of money: two expedients found out for ſupply of that defect, ii. 51. the ſubſtance of his ſpeeches to the gentry and commonalty of the ſeveral counties through which he paſſed, ii. 54. the ſtrength of his army at Shrewſbury, ii. 57. he marches from Shrewſbury towards London, ii. 60. Faction begun in his army, ii. 62. he comes to Oxford, ii. 86. recruits his army there, ii. 103. the Parliament having quitted their garriſon at Reading, he marches thither, ii. 104. advances to Colebrook, ii. 106. his anſwer to the petition of both Houſes at Colebrook, ii. 108. he marches towards Brentford, ii. 110. where he beats the enemy; but it proved not fortunate to him, ibid. the Earl of Eſſex's army and the city Trained Bands oppoſed againſt him, ii. 111. his army drawn off to Kingſton, ii. 112. thence to Reading, ii. 113. he ſends a meſſage to both Houſes, ibid. the ſubſtance of his anſwer to the two Houſes' petition, Nov. 24, 1642. ii. 118. having garriſoned Reading and Wallingford, and ſome other places, he marches to Oxford, ii. 121. the ſubſtance of his meſſage to the Privy Council of Scotland upon occaſion of the two Houſes' declaration to that kingdom, ii. 125. what means he uſed to raiſe money, ii. 129. he makes new Sheriffs, ii. 131. his declaration upon occaſion of the two Houſes' ordinance for raiſing money, ii. 150. his anſwer to the city of London's petition that he would return to his Parliament, ii. 164. how it was received, ii. 170. his anſwer to the propoſitions of both Houſes for peace, at the end of Jan. in 1642. ii. 183. his Corniſh forces come to Taviſtock, ii. 201. are ſupplied with ammunition by Captain Carteret, ii. 202. he puts the two Houſes in mind of his propoſition for a ceſſation of arms, ii. 247. grants a ſafe conduct to all perſons nominated by the two Houſes for managing a treaty of ceſſation, the Lord Say only excepted, ii. 249. his propoſals of alterations in the two Houſes'

Houſes' articles of ceſſation, ii. 257. his anſwer to the petition of the Kirk of Scotland, ii. 269. and to the Scottiſh commiſſioners deſiring that they might be mediators, and that he would ſend out precepts to ſummon a Parliament in Scotland, ii. 281. his anſwer to the advice and deſires of the two Houſes concerning gaol-delivery, ii. 293. his meſſage to the two Houſes of April 12, 1643. ii. 333. his circumſtances at the taking of Reading, ii. 363. he ſends a meſſage to the two Houſes, May 20, 1643. ii. 366. his affairs in the Weſt, ii. 400, 589. his forces defeat Sir William Waller at Roundway Down, ii. 434. he meets the Queen near Keinton; ſhe coming with a great recruit, ii. 438. his declaration after his late ſucceſſes over Fairfax in the North, Sir William Waller in the Weſt, and the taking of Briſtol, ii. 453. he goes to Briſtol to compoſe the difference between the principal officers there about the government of Briſtol, ii. 462. conſiders what deſign he ſhould employ his armies upon after the ſurrender of that place, ii. 464. marches towards Glouceſter, and ſummons it, ii. 472. beſieges it, ii. 475. the reaſons why he did not march to London after the diſtractions and diſorders there, ii. 487. he comes to Oxford to conſult about the reception of the Lords who had deſerted the Parliament, ii. 491. his affairs in the Weſt, ii. 501. engages the Earl of Eſſex at Newbury, ii. 521. his gentleneſs and affability to all men, ii. 584. he expects great matters from the arrival of Count d'Harcourt from France, but is deceived, ii. 598. his proclamation for aſſembling the members of Parliament at Oxford, ii. 622. he ſends for part of the Engliſh army out of Ireland, ii. 659. the ſubſtance of his ſpeech to the members of both Houſes of Parliament who met at Oxford, ii. 661. his meſſages to both Houſes, March 3, 1643. ii. 673. he is in great ſtraits, ii, 696, 697. ſends Prince Rupert to relieve Newark, ii. 697. his meaſures broken by the battle at Alresford, ii. 712. his ſtate at Oxford in the beginning of the year 1644. ii. 717. the perſons with whom he conſulted in his military affairs at that time, ii. 719. he is reduced to a deplorable condition, ii. 726. marches out of Oxford to Worceſter, ii. 731. goes to Bewdley, ii. 735. returns to Worceſter, and ſo towards Oxford, ii. 736, 737, 738. marches from Witney towards Buckingham, ii. 742. engages Sir William Waller at Cropredy-bridge, and defeats him, ii. 744, &c. marches towards the Weſt, ii. 751. follows the Earl of Eſſex into Cornwall, ii. 767. he makes a trial whether the Earl of Eſſex would join with him, ii. 773. but to no purpoſe, and thereupon he reduces the Earl into very narrow quarters, ii. 774, 775, 776. his prudence and clemency in the conditions he made for the foot of the Earl of Eſſex after the horſe had paſſed through his army, ii. 798. his meſſage of peace, ibid. he leaves Sir Richard

chard Greenvil to block up Plymouth, ii. 799. goes to Exeter, ii. 807. takes care about the blocking up the troops of Lyme, and reſtraining the garriſon of Taunton, ii. 808. comes to Chard. ii. 809. thence to Sherborne, ii. 810. thence to Saliſbury, ii. 811. he ſcatters Waller's troops at Andover, ii. 812. relieves Donnington-caſtle, ii. 812, 824. engages the Parliament forces a ſecond time at Newbury, ii. 816. returns to Oxford, ii. 827. the temper of the army and Court at that time, ii. 829. he rejects the propoſitions from Ireland, ii. 833. his meſſage to the Parliament for a treaty about the beginning of Decemin 1644. ii. 853. he agrees to the Parliament's propoſal for a treaty at Uxbridge, ii. 861. ſpeaks with more melancholy of the ſtate of his affairs than he uſed to do, ii. 901. ſends the Prince of Wales into the Weſt, ii. 902, 928, 936. whether it would have been better for him to have removed his Court from Oxford into the Weſt? ii. 929. the marches of his army towards the North, whilſt Sir Thomas Fairfax with his ſate down before Oxford, ii. 978. ſtorms and takes Leiceſter, ibid. marches back towards Oxford, ii. 981. is defeated at Naſeby, ii. 986, 987. retires by Lichfield to Bewdley, thence to Hereford, ii. 988. goes to Abergaveny to meet the commiſſioners of South Wales, ii. 1016. thence to Ragland caſtle, ibid. thence to Chepſtow, ii. 1017. thence to Cardiff, ii. 1018. his letter to Prince Rupert againſt treating of peace at that time, ii. 1019. his letter to the Prince of Wales from Brecknock, ii. 1024. how that letter was reliſhed by the Lords Capel, Hopton, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, ii. 1027. he goes to Doncaſter, ii. 1037. thence to Newark, ii. 1038. thence to Oxford, ii. 1039. his letter from Hereford to Prince Rupert upon his ſurrender of Briſtol, ii. 1042. with which letter he ſent alſo a revocation of all commiſſions formerly granted to him, ibid. his letter to my Lord Colepepper concerning the Prince of Wales, ii. 1047. his letter to the Prince Novemb. 7, 1645. ii. 1062. another, Dec. 7, the ſame year, ii. 1063. he marches to Cheſter, where his horſe are routed by Pointz, ii. 1069. retires to Denbigh to rally his horſe, ii. 1071. thence to Bridgenorth, ii. 1072. thence to Newark, ii. 1073. the condition of the garriſon at his arrival, ibid. the diſcontents of ſome of his chief commanders there. ii. 1074. he retreats towards Oxford, ii. 1084. and arrives there ii. 1085. his affairs in the Weſt at that time, ii. 1086. his letter to Prince Rupert, February 5, 1645. ii. 1098. his tranſactions at Oxford, ii. 1113. he ſends another meſſage for peace; which was laid aſide by the Houſes, ii. 1115. ſends again for a ſafe conduct of the Duke of Richmond and others, ii. 1116. ſends twice to deſire a perſonal treaty at Weſtminſter; the Houſes' anſwer and ordinance thereupon, ii. 1117, 1118, 1119. he tries to deal with the

the Independents, but in vain, ii. 1120, 1121. his letter to the Prince of Wales written from Hereford, June 23, 1645. iii. 4. his letter to him from Oxford, March 22d the ſame year, iii. 9. he leaves Oxford, attended by two ſervants only, Apr. 27. 1646. iii. 11, 33. puts himſelf into the Scottiſh army before Newark, iii. 33. their manner of treating him, iii. 34. he orders Newark to be ſurrendered; whereupon the Scottiſh army marches northward with the King to Newcaſtle, ibid. the firſt ſermon preached before him after the army's riſing from Newark, iii. 35. Tranſactions relating to him in the Scottiſh army, iii. 44. he ſends to the Marquis of Mountroſe to diſband; which he did, iii. 45. he is too hard for Henderſon in a diſpute concerning Church-government, iii. 46. upon the Scots' deſire he ſends orders for the ſurrender of Oxford, and all his other garriſons, iii. 53. his anſwer to the propoſitions of peace made to him by the Parliament in the end of July 1646. iii. 54. his anſwer to the Scots who inforced the propoſitions, iii. 55. he is delivered up by the Scots to the Parliament, iii. 57. Servants appointed by the Parliament to attend him, ibid. he is brought to Holmby, iii. 58. deſires to be attended by his own Chaplains; but is refuſed, ibid. he is ſeiſed at Holmby June 3, 1647. iii. 71, 72. the committee give notice thereof to the Parliament, iii. 73. the General's account of it to the Parliament, ibid. he is brought to Newmarket; where he is allowed his Chaplains by the army, iii. 75. he removes according to the marches of the army, iii. 76. is allowed to ſee his children at Maidenhead and Caverſham, iii. 86. is removed to Hampton Court, iii. 94. his ſtate there, iii. 101. his diſcourſe and converſation with his children that were in the Parliament's power, iii. 102. the ſubſtance of his letter to the Chancellor of the Exchequer at Jerſey, iii. 106. his hopes blaſted by the violent proceedings, iii. 112. his eſcape from Hampton Court, November 11, 1647. iii. 116. he comes to Tichfield, iii. 117. ſends Aſhburnham and Berkley to Col. Hammond in the Iſle of Wight, iii. 118. is removed by Colonel Hammond to Cariſbrook caſtle, iii. 120. he gives his anſwer to the Parliament commiſſioners concerning the four acts they deſired him to paſs, iii. 134. ſigns a treaty with the Scots, iii. 154. his condition in the Iſle of Wight in the end of the year 1647. iii. 173. his anſwer to the Parliament's meſſage for a treaty in the Iſle of Wight, iii. 274. his countenance, &c. very much altered, iii. 317. the ſum of his letter to the Prince of Wales concerning the whole treaty in the Iſle of Wight, iii. 345. the concluſion of that letter in the King's own words, iii. 347. an attempt for his eſcape, iii. 352. he is taken from Cariſbrook caſtle, and carried to Hurſt caſtle, iii. 358. ſent for from thence by Harriſon, iii. 373. dines at the Lord

Lord Newburgh's; where the intention for his eſcape was fruſtrated, iii. 376. is brought to St. James's, iii. 377. the ſeveral conſultations before and after he was brought thither what to do with him, iii. 378. it is concluded to have him publicly tried, iii. 380. his uſage at St. James's, iii. 382. he is brought to Weſtminſter Hall, Jan. 20, 1641. iii. 383. the ſum of his charge, ibid. what paſſed the firſt day of his trial, iii. 384. a ſummary account of the reſt of his trial, iii. 388. his character, i. 119, 126. iii. 388—391. the ſum of his character, iii. 392. his funeral, iii 393. the reaſon why his body was not removed to Weſtminſter after the reſtoration of King Charles II. iii. 395. how ſome neighbouring Princes took his murder, iii. 399. the condition of his children after his death, iii. 794.

Charles II. King, (ſee Chancellor: ſee Long: ſee Anabaptiſts: ſee Clanrickard: ſee Rocheſter,) iii. 112, 122, 327, 395. His condition at the Hague, iii. 417. his new council ſworn, iii. 418. he thinks of going into Ireland, iii. 420. is proclaimed in Scotland; and commiſſioners are ſent thence to him, ibid. Factions in his court with reference to Scotland, iii. 432. he gives a viſit to the States of Holland, and delivers them a memorial, iii. 447. declares the Lord Cottington and the Chancellor of the Exchequer to be his ambaſſadors into Spain, iii. 458. removes to Breda, iii. 472. thence to Antwerp, iii. 473. thence to Bruſſels, ibid. has an interview with the Archduke near Valenciennes, ibid. news of Cromwell's being arrived at Dublin makes him delay his voyage into Ireland, iii. 490. he leaves St. Germains, and goes to Jerſey, iii. 492. where he remains ſeveral months, iii. 503. he gives over the thought of going into Ireland, iii. 517. Anſwers the Scots' meſſage for his coming into Scotland, "that he would have a treaty "with them in Holland," iii. 519. meets the Queen at Beauvais, iii. 520. goes to Breda, ibid. reſolves for Scotland, iii. 523. the argument of ſome Lords againſt his going, ibid. he receives the news of the fate of the Marquis of Mountroſe, iii. 539. arrives in Scotland, iii. 552. takes the Covenant, ibid. moſt of his Engliſh ſervants are removed from him, iii. 553. he gets advantage by the overthrow of the Scots at Dunbar by Cromwell, iii. 569. loſes a ſure friend in the death of the Prince of Orange, iii. 581. is believed in France to be dead, iii. 586. his affairs in Scotland, iii. 594. he withdraws towards the Highlands which was called the Start, iii. 596. but is perſuaded to return the next day, ibid. he is better uſed afterwards by Argyle, ibid. an army raiſed, of which his Majeſty is made General, iii. 597. his coronation, ibid. he reſolves to march into England, iii. 599. Maſſey ſent to march before him, iii. 603. a committee of miniſters in his army, who

ruin all, iii. 604. he ſummons Shrewſbury in vain, iii. 606. marches to Worceſter, iii. 607. where he is proclaimed, ibid. his tranſactions there, iii. 614. the ill diſpoſition of his officers, iii. 616. his defeat at Worceſter, Sept. 3, 1651. iii. 617. his retreat and concealment, iii. 619. his foot driven priſoners to London, and ſold to the Plantations, iii. 621. he comes to Rouen in November in 1651. iii. 624. the particulars of his eſcape as the Chancellor of the Exchequer had them from himſelf, ibid. he meets Captain Careleſs in a wood, who perſuades him to get up into an oak, ibid. thence he came to a cottage nine miles off, where he lay in a barn, iii. 625. thence he is conducted to another houſe twelve miles off, iii. 627. thence to another; and ſo to others, iii. 628. Mr. Huddleſton ſent to him by Careleſs; who brought him to my Lord Wilmot, iii. 629. brought by Mr. Huddleſton to Mr. Lane's houſe, iii. 630. here it was reſolved he ſhould go to Mr. Norton's, riding before Mrs. Lane, iii. 632. they come ſafe to Mr. Norton's through Briſtol, iii. 633. he went by the name of William, iii. 634. known to the butler of the houſe, iii. 635. goes to Colonel Francis Windham's houſe, iii. 637. thence he is brought to an inn near Lyme; and a ſhip hired by Captain Elliſon, iii. 639. the ſhip fails by an accident; and the King leaves the inn, ibid. he and the Lord Wilmot like to be diſcovered by a ſmith ſhoeing their horſes, iii. 641. he goes back to Colonel Windham's houſe, ibid. ſends Wilmot for Robert Philips, iii. 642. who conducts him to a place near Saliſbury, ibid. he is conducted by Dr. Hinchman to Heale, Mrs. Hyde's houſe, iii. 643. thence to a houſe in Suſſex near Brighthelmſtone; where a bark was provided by Colonel Gunter, ibid. he arrives in Normandy in a ſmall creek in November, 1651. iii. 644. ſends to the Chancellor of the Exchequer to repair to him at Paris, iii. 645. his neceſſities there, iii. 658. he appoints a new Council, iii. 662. denies Sir John Berkley the Maſterſhip of the Wards, iii. 665. ſix thouſand livres by the month ſettled upon him by the French Court, iii. 668. how the money was diſpoſed of that was ſent him from Moſcow and Poland, iii. 669. he preſſed to go to church at Charenton, but refuſes, iii. 671, 674. requeſts of his friends in Scotland to him, iii. 677. he appoints the Chancellor of the Exchequer to make all diſpatches for Scotland, iii. 678. he and his mother remove to St. Germains, iii. 684. ſolicitations for places in his Court, iii. 685. Mademoiſelle the daughter of the Duke of Orleans thought on as a wife for him, iii. 689. it comes to nothing, iii. 691. he propoſes to Monſieur Borrel, the Dutch ambaſſador, that he would join his intereſt with theirs, iii. 699. thanks returned to him by the States, but his propoſal laid aſide, iii. 700. ſends orders

orders to Sir George Carteret to make conditions about the ſurrender of Elizabeth caſtle in Jerſey, iii. 704. his condition abroad, iii. 762. he thinks of retreating out of France; but whither? was the queſtion, iii. 763. makes Wilmot Earl of Rocheſter, and ſends him to the Diet at Ratiſbon, iii. 765. ſends a commiſſion to the Earl of Glencarne, iii. 766. his diſcourſe with Cardinal de Retz, iii. 775. he is impatient to leave France, iii. 788. reſolves to go into Germany, iii. 791. leaves Paris in June 1654. iii. 804. a preſervation God then wrought for him, ibid. he comes to Cambray in his journey, iii. 807. paſſes through Flanders without being taken notice of by the Archduke, iii. 808. at Mons he meets with meſſengers to him from his friends in England, who notify to him the ſtate of affairs in England, relating chiefly to Cromwell and his army, ibid. he adviſes his friends in England to be quiet, iii. 811. arrives at the Spa, where he meets with the Princeſs of Orange, iii. 812. obtains a ſmall ſubſidy from the Diet in Germany, iii. 813. the monthly expences of his ſmall family, iii. 814. he removes to Aken from the Spa, iii. 815. the accounts he receives here out of England, iii. 816. he gives the ſame advice as before to his friends, iii. 817. receives an account from Scotland and Middleton, ibid. his reply to the Chancellor of the Exchequer's diſcourſe concerning his going into Scotland, iii. 818. he and his ſiſter come to Cologne in September, iii. 820. the citizens invite him to reſide there, iii. 821. he fixes there, iii. 822. brings his ſiſter to Santen in the Duchy of Cleve, where they part; and he returns to Cologne, iii. 825. his way of life there, iii. 826. he ſends the Marquis of Ormond into France for the Duke of Glouceſter, who brings him to Cologne, iii. 829, 830. An inſurrection deſigned in England by ſome of his party, iii. 835. Propoſitions to him to this purpoſe from England, iii. 837. the King approves of the day of riſing, iii. 839. goes from Cologne to Zealand, iii. 840. leaves Zealand; and returns to Cologne, iii. 852. his anſwer to the declaration why Cromwell decimated the King's party, iii. 867. he ſtayed at Cologne above two years, iii. 869. he ſends to the Archduke to offer his conjunction before the Archduke left Flanders, iii. 882. comes into Flanders and treats with the Archduke near Bruſſels, iii. 883. The treaty between Spain and the King ſigned in April 1657, iii. 885. he removes his family from Cologne, and comes to reſide at Bruges, iii. 886. his affairs in Flanders, iii. 919. he raiſes four regiments of his ſubjects there, iii. 920. no longer receives any penſions from France, ibid. tranſactions of his friends in England, iii. 932. which occaſioned the Marquis of Ormond's going into England, iii. 933. he ſends to Don Juan "that he "would accompany him into "the field;" which is refuſed,

iii. 969. he is preſent in the attempt upon Mardike, ibid. leaves Bruges, and removes to Bruſſels in the end of Feb. 1658. ibid. retires to Hochſtraten in Aug. iii. 978. has notice of Cromwell's death, iii. 979. upon which he returns to Bruſſels, ibid. his party begins to move, iii. 1008. Mr. Mordaunt comes to Bruſſels to acquaint him with the preparations made for him in England, iii. 1009. a diſcovery made to him of the treachery of Sir Richard Willis, iii. 1011. which he believes not at firſt, iii. 1013. the accuſer clearly proves the thing by letters, &c. iii. 1014. he communicates the diſcovery to Mr. Mordaunt, iii. 1015. the diſcoverer publiſhes papers to forewarn the King's friends of this perſon, iii. 1016. he goes to Calais, iii. 1017. the diſappointment of all the deſigns in England, ibid. he removes to the coaſt of Bretagne, iii. 1022. receives news of the defeat of Sir George Booth, iii. 1023. reſolves to be at the meeting of the two favourites of the two crowns of France and Spain, ibid. reſolves to be preſent at the treaty of Fuentarabia between France and Spain, iii. 1029. begins his journey thither with the Marquis of Ormond, and the Earl of Briſtol, iii. 1031. goes by Lyons into Languedoc, and ſo onward, iii. 1032. goes by miſtake into Spain as far as Saragoſa, iii. 1041. thence returns to Fuentarabia, iii. 1042. his treatment there by Don Lewis de Haro, ibid. the Cardinal Mazarine will not ſee him, iii. 1043. his return towards Flanders by Paris, iii. 1044. he comes to Bruſſels about the end of December, ibid. the ill ſtate of his affairs there, iii. 1045. the Lord Jermyn comes to him with complaints from Cardinal Mazarine, iii. 1047. his affairs ſeem more deſperate upon meeting of the Parliament again at Weſtminſter, iii. 1072. his condition at Bruſſels, ibid. his affairs there during the time of Monk's paſſing out of Scotland to London, iii. 1093. he hears on the ſame day of both the marches of Monk into the city of London, iii. 1094. many now apply to him, iii. 1098. the Council of State's kind behaviour now to his friends, ibid. his deliberations upon the terms propoſed to him by General Monk, iii. 1117. the letters prepared to the Parliament, &c. which the General adviſed, iii. 1121. he declares to the Marquis of Carracena "that he intended "to go for ſome days to Breda, "to meet his ſiſter," ibid. the Spaniards' deſign to ſeize him diſcovered, iii. 1122. he goes towards Breda, and delivers to Sir John Greenvil the letters prepared, iii. 1123. his letter to General Monk and the army, iii. 1124. to the Houſe of Commons, iii. 1127. his declaration, iii. 1131. his letter to the Houſe of Lords, iii. 1134. to the fleet, iii. 1135. to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the city of London, iii. 1137. he is proclaimed, May 8th, 1660, iii. 1155. many addreſſes to him, iii. 1156.

the Marquis of Carracena invites him back to Bruſſels, iii. 1159. his Majeſty's anſwer, ibid. the Marquis invites the King again, but in vain, ibid. he is invited into France, iii. 1160. his anſwer, iii. 1161. the States of Holland invite him to the Hague, iii. 1162. whither he goes, iii. 1163. his reception and entertainment there, ibid. the committee of the Lords and Commons ſent to him, arrive at the Hague, iii. 1165. the city of London ſend fourteen of their citizens to him, iii. 1166. divers Preſbyterian divines come to him, iii. 1167. their public audience of him, ibid. and their private diſcourſes with him, iii. 1168. his reply to them, ibid. he embarks for England, iii. 1169. and the fleet ſets ſail May 24th, ibid. he arrives at Dover May 26th, and goes that night to Canterbury, ibid. comes through the city to Whitehall, May 29th, iii. 1170. where the two Houſes wait on him, ibid.

Charter, Colonel, iii. 258.

Chaucer, Geoffrey, ii. 523.

Cheſhire, ſee Lancaſhire.

Cheſter, battle there, ii. 1069. taken by Lambert, iii. 1021.

Cheynel, ii. 874.

Chicheſter poſſeſſed by the King's forces, ii. 187. but ſurrendered to Sir Will. Waller, ibid.

Chicheſter, Lord, i. 344. ii. 861, 862.

Chigi, Cardinal, made Pope, and calls himſelf Alexander VII. iii. 830.

Chillingworth, i. 118. ii. 707.

Cholmely, i. 292, 370. Cholmely, Sir Harry, i. 803. iii. 1165. Cholmely, Sir Hugh, i. 803.

Cholmondley, i. 462, 487. Cholmondley, Sir Hugh, delivers up Scarborough caſtle to the Queen, ii. 214.

Chriſtina, Queen of Sweden, iii. 400, 527.

Chudleigh, Sir George, ii. 192, 194, 200, 402, 405, 406. Chudleigh, Colonel, ii. 596. Chudleigh, Major General, ii. 400, 402, 405, 406.

Church, projects againſt it, i. 361, 362.

Cirenceſter won by the King's forces under Prince Rupert, ii. 188.

Clanrickard, Marquis of, (ſee Iriſh Rebels,) made deputy to the Marquis of Ormond, iii. 655. the ill condition of his affairs in Ireland, iii. 708. he diſcovers a correſpondence managed by a friar, between the Popiſh Iriſh Clergy and Ludlow, iii. 715. ſends the Earl of Caſtlehaven to give an account of all to the King, iii. 716. the King gives him leave to retire, ibid. he gets a paſs from Ludlow, and goes into England, and dies within a year, iii. 717.

Clare, Earl of, i. 291, 1024. ii. 485, 496, 544, 552.

Clarendon, Lord, his opinion of the whole buſineſs of carrying the King from Hampton Court, iii. 120. his judgment of the different conduct of the two parties, the Independent Engliſh and the Preſbyterian Scots, iii. 164. (ſee Chancellor: ſee Hyde.)

Clarges, (ſee Committee.)

Clarke, i. 57, 58, 99. Clarke, Sir William, ii. 747.

Claypole, (ſee Cromwell.)

Clement IX. Pope, iii. 563.

Clergy virtuous and learned in the beginning of the late troubles, i. 120.
Cleve, Duke of, iii. 824.
Cleveland, Earl of, ii. 729, 745, 746, 747, 784, 819. iii. 620.
Clobery, iii. 1059.
Clogher, Biſhop of, iii. 650.
Clotworthy, Sir John, i. 267, 466. iii. 363.
Clubmen in Somerſet and Dorſetſhire, ii. 997.
Cobbet, Col. iii. 1058, 1103. ſent by the officers of the army into Scotland to General Monk, iii. 1056.
Cohogan, Father, iii. 715.
Coke, Sir Edward, i. 9. Coke, Sir John, i. 235. his character, i. 99, 191. removed from his office of Secretary of State, i. 196.
Colcheſter delivered, iii. 267.
Colepepper, Lord, (ſee Capel,) ii. 830, 832, 837, 838, 861, 862, 951, 955, 967, 989, 1006, 1024, 1027, 1028, 1029, 1030, 1035, 1045, 1046, 1047, 1055, 1057, 1058, 1064, 1090, 1099, 1101, 1104, 1111. iii. 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 21, 38, 41, 48, 49, 207, 211, 234, 249, 292, 293, 294, 295, 645. Colepepper, Sir John, i. 569, 570, 1024. ii. 12, 14, 295, 304, 492, 510, 720, 768, 769. made Chancellor of the Exchequer, i. 528, 529, 530, 531, 532. his character, ibid. and ii. 721.
Cologne, ſee Charles II.
Colvil, i. 202.
Commiſſioners (ſee Treaty) for treating with the Scots meet and tranſact, i. 243. Commiſſioners of the four aſſociated weſtern counties meet the Prince of Wales at Bridgewater, ii. 958. the iſſue of their conſultation there, ii. 959. Commiſſioners of Devon complain of Sir Richard Greenvil, ii. 965. Commiſſioners of Scotland enter a proteſtation againſt the four acts which the Parliament ſends to the King to paſs, iii. 133. Commiſſioners of Scotland's private treaty with the King at Hampton Court, iii. 153. which treaty was renewed; and he ſigned it at the Iſle of Wight, iii. 154. Commiſſioners ſent by the two Houſes of Parliament into Scotland, iii. 191. Commiſſioners ſent to the Prince of Wales from the city of London with a petition, iii. 236.
Committee of State in 1640, the perſons compoſing it, i. 233. a committee of both Houſes appointed to treat with the Scottiſh commiſſioners, i. 294. the committee appointed by the Parliament receive the King from the Scots at Newcaſtle in the end of Jan. 1646. iii. 57. the committee of the Scots' Parliament order Monroe to diſband, iii. 262. Committee of Safety conſtituted by the army, iii. 1055. they ſend Clarges, &c. to General Monk, iii. 1059. Committee of the Lords and Commons ſent to the King arrive at the Hague, iii. 1165. (ſee Parliament.)
Common-Prayer, (ſee Parliament.)
Commons, Houſe of, accuſe the biſhops of high treaſon, and why? i. 550. the ill conſequences of this, ibid. (ſee Parliament.)
Commotions in King Charles I's reign, the ſeeds of them, i. 124.
Complaints againſt ſome particular biſhops, i. 316. and againſt new canons, ibid.

Compton, Lord, i. 733. ii. 225. Compton, Sir Thomas, i. 69. Compton, Sir William, ii. 811.
Con, i. 232.
Condé, Prince of, iii. 19, 492, 493, 495, 504, 681, 682, 683, 684, 690, 805, 881, 975, 976, 1028, 1033, 1034, 1035, 1036, 1038. his advice to the Spaniards when Dunkirk was beſieged not hearkened to, iii. 972, &c.
Coniers, Sir John, i. 450, 459, 598, 858, 877. ii. 513. made Lieutenant of the Tower, i. 655.
Cont, Seignior, i. 494.
Conti, Prince of, iii. 504, 1005.
Convocation continued after the Parliament in 1640, i. 230. makes canons, ibid.
Conwallis, Sir Charles, iii. 577.
Conway, Lord, i. 99, 220, 221, 225. ii. 372, 379, 387, 485, 496, 552, 640. made General of the Horſe, i. 221. routed at Newburn, i. 225.
Couy, iii. 984.
Cookein, Captain, ii. 444.
Cooper, Sir Anth. Aſhley, ii. 509, 511, 740. iii. 1068, 1070, 1165.
Coote, Sir Charles, iii. 544, 1143, 1144.
Cope, i. 98.
Copley, Colonel, defeats the Lord Digby at Sherborne in Yorkſhire, ii. 1077. Copley, Commiſſary General, iii. 363.
Corbet, iii. 1144.
Coriton, ii. 958.
Cork delivered up to Cromwell, iii. 516.
Cork, Earl of, i. 340.
Coronation of King Charles II. in Scotland, iii. 597.
Coſins, Dr. forbid to officiate to the Proteſtants in the Queen's family at Paris, iii. 590, 592.
Coſteloe, Lord Viſcount, ii. 236, 237.
Cotterel, Col. iii. 278.
Cottington, Sir Fr. i. 25, 26, 27, 50, 51, 52. Cottington, Lord, i. 153, 155, 156, 157, 158, 233, 326, 327, 347, 355, 358, 407, 528. ii. 500. iii. 197, 252, 292, 456, 462, 466, 467, 479, 480, 663. his character, i. 236. he and the Chancellor of the Exchequer taken priſoners by ſix or ſeven frigates of Oſtend, iii. 247. a conference between him and the Chancellor of the Exchequer concerning the King's ſending an embaſſy into Spain, iii. 456. they are made ambaſſadors thither, iii. 458. begin their journey thither, iii. 467. viſit the Duke of Lorrain at Bruſſels, iii. 468. return to Antwerp, iii. 471. proſecute their journey to Paris, iii. 474. begin their journey for Spain, and arrive at Bourdeaux, iii. 494. their paſſes ſent to them, iii. 498. they go into Madrid *incognito*, and lodge at firſt at Sir Benjamin Wright's, iii. 500. an account of their audience, iii. 504. they have an houſe aſſigned them, iii. 506. their private audience and demands, iii. 509. the anſwer they received, iii. 510. they receive orders from the King to ſtay where they were, iii. 524. acquaint the King of Spain with their maſter's reſolution for Scotland, ibid. the King of Spain's anſwer to them, iii. 525. they expoſtulate with Don Lewis de Haro about Aſcham, who was ſent into Spain as agent by the Parliament of England, iii. 557. his anſwer to them, ibid. they write to Don Lewis about Aſcham's

Aſcham's being killed, iii. 560. his anſwer to them, ibid. the Secretary of State brings a meſſage from the King of Spain to deſire them to be gone, iii. 571. they apply to Don Lewis, ibid. the reaſon of their being preſſed to depart Madrid in ſuch haſte, iii. 572. the Lord Cottington reſolves to ſtay as a private man in Spain, iii. 576. he and the Chancellor of the Exchequer have audience of leave, ibid. the Lord Cottington lives at Valladolid, till he dies, ibid. his character, iii. 577.

Cotton, Sir Tho. i. 744. iii. 411.

Covenant, the Scottiſh, i. 174. a Vow and Covenant agreed to be taken by the members of both Houſes upon diſcovery of a deſign carried on by Mr. Waller, Mr. Tomkins, &c. ii. 382. the ſame taken throughout the city and army, ii. 385. a Covenant propoſed by the Scots between the two kingdoms, and agreed to, ii. 554. it is taken and ſubſcribed by the Lords and Commons and their Aſſembly of Divines, Sept. 25, 1643, ii. 558. a copy of the Covenant, ii. 560. it is ordered to be taken by others, eſpecially by the city, ii. 565.

Covenanters, Scottiſh, upon the ſucceſs at Dunce, write to the King's three Generals, i. 187. Addreſs to the King, i. 190. a treaty of pacification entered upon and concluded with them, i. 192. the ill conſequences of it, i. 194.

Coventry, Lord, i. 85, 237, 404, 887, 1024, 1120. ii. 802 Coventry, Lord Keeper, dies, i. 204. his character, i. 70, 204.

Coventry and Lichfield, Robert, Biſhop of, i. 548.

Council, (ſee Character: ſee Charles II: ſee Parliament,) the powers of the Council Table and Star-Chamber enlarged, i. 106. a great Council of the Peers ſummoned to York, i. 229. the Lords of the Council acquaint the Houſe of Commons with the rebellion of Ireland, the Houſe of Lords not ſitting, i. 466. Diviſions amongſt the Councils at Oxford, ii. 576. the miſchiefs enſuing thence, ibid. the ill conſequences proceeding from a diſreſpect and irreverence to the Council of State, ii. 578. a Council ſettled for the Prince of Wales, ii. 838. a new Council of Officers met, who conſult about the government, iii. 997. their addreſs to Rich. Cromwell, Apr. 6, 1659, ibid. they are ſeconded by the city militia, iii. 998. they adviſe him to diſſolve the Parliament, iii. 999. they reſtore Lambert, &c. to the army, and remove many of Cromwell's friends, iii. 1001. they iſſue a declaration to reſtore the Long Parliament, May 6, 1659, ibid. they prepare a petition and repreſentation to the Parliament, and why? iii. 1050. a new Common Council for London choſen out of ſuch as were oppoſers of the government and diſaffected to the Church, i. 320. the anſwer of the Common Council of the city of London to the Commons' deſire of borrowing money of the city, i. 627. the petition of the Common Council of the city of London againſt peace, ii. 481. the Common

Common Council of the city of London refractory to the Parliament, iii. 1080.
Counsellors, (see Privy Counsellors.)
Counties, divers enter upon exercising the power of the militia, i. 478. the condition of the counties between Oxford and York in the end of the year 1642, ii. 219.
Court, (see Temper: see Charles I.) the state of it at the beginning of the reign of King Charles I, i. 13. a prospect of it, and the ministers thereof, after the death of the Duke of Buckingham, i. 69. the state of affairs at Court in 1640, i. 230. the indisposition and melancholy of the Court at Oxford: how preserved from despair, ii. 906.
Courtney, Sir William, ii. 991.
Crane, ii. 50.
Cranfield, Lionel, (see Middlesex.)
Craven, Lord, iii. 86.
Crawford, Earl of, ii. 427, 430. iii. 675. Crawford, Colonel, ii. 635, 658.
Creed, Major, iii. 1053, 1103.
Crequy, Duke of, iii. 977.
Creswell, Serjeant, ii. 180.
Crew, i. 427, 853. ii. 861, 896, 908.
Crisp, Sir Nicholas, ii. 375, 376.
Crofts, Lord, iii. 805. Crofts, Mr. William, i. 611. iii. 240, 669.
Cromwell, Harry, iii. 749, 812, 908, 1143. submits to the authority of Parliament, and resigns his commission of Ireland, iii. 1004.
Cromwell, Oliver, (see Vane,) i. 226, 484, 486. ii. 312, 313, 316, 714, 753, 840, 841, 842, 853, 868, 898, 907, 948, 950, 951, 973, 974, 985, 987, 1122. iii. 51, 63, 64, 75, 78, 87, 90, 95, 101, 113, 114, 118, 122, 123, 125, 126, 128, 130, 131, 143, 155, 166, 167, 175, 181, 182, 184, 185, 199, 206, 224, 225, 234, 243, 244, 245, 246, 256, 257, 258, 263, 271, 275, 276, 284, 286, 288, 289, 306, 315, 318, 330, 350, 351, 364, 369, 370, 374, 386, 387, 400, 407, 409, 414, 422, 423, 426, 428, 432, 436, 439, 442, 456, 465, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 515, 516, 517, 518, 520, 525, 527, 545, 547, 548, 549, 579, 581, 586, 588, 594, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 605, 608, 609, 616, 617, 620, 621, 647, 648, 649, 656, 676, 692, 703, 704, 707, 708, 720, 737, 738, 742, 743, 747, 756, 757, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 765, 769, 770, 773, 782, 783, 787, 789, 790, 791, 792, 794, 796, 808; 811, 812, 814, 816, 837, 838, 842, 846, 848, 849, 852, 853, 858, 859, 867, 869, 882, 883, 888, 889, 912, 924, 925, 933, 935, 939, 940, 944, 968, 970, 971, 977, 979, 993, 994, 995, 999, 1001, 1005, 1006, 1007, 1008, 1011, 1012, 1013, 1023, 1026, 1027, 1048, 1050, 1054, 1058, 1062, 1063, 1068, 1073, 1102, 1106, 1120, 1139, 1142, 1145, 1156, 1157. he only finds means to keep his commission (after the passing of the self-denying ordinance) and new models the army under Fairfax, ii. 944. takes Winchester and Basing, ii. 1115. his behaviour at first in the mutinies of the army, iii. 69. a design of seizing him, iii. 70. upon which he escapes to the army, ibid. suppresses a tumult of the Levellers, iii. 132. his speech upon the King's answer

ſwer to the Parliament commiſſioners concerning the four acts they deſired him to paſs, iii. 138. a meeting of him and the officers at Windſor, wherein they deſign the King's deſtruction, iii. 140. he advances againſt the Scots, iii. 231. defeats Sir Marmaduke Langdale and Duke Hamilton, iii. 245. marches into Scotland, iii. 260. is received at Edinburgh, iii. 261. returns for England, iii. 262. is made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, iii. 485. provides forces for his going thither, iii. 488. arrives at Dublin, iii. 489. takes Tredagh by ſtorm, iii. 516. marches into Munſter, ibid. his ſucceſs there, ibid. he gives the Iriſh leave to tranſport themſelves into any Prince's ſervice, iii. 545. he is ſent for by the Parliament out of Ireland, iii. 565. and leaves Ireton his deputy, ibid. he is made General in room of Fairfax, ibid. enters Scotland, iii. 567. the diſtreſs of his army, ibid. he entirely routs the Scots in the battle of Dunbar, iii. 568. enters Edinburgh, iii. 569. endeavours to fight the King's army, iii. 598. gains a paſs and gets behind the King, ibid. his reſolutions and counſels upon the news of the King's going into England, iii. 600. he orders Lambert to follow the King with a body of horſe, iii. 601. leaves Monk in Scotland, ibid. and follows the King three days after he was gone, iii. 602. defeats the King at Worceſter, iii. 617. cauſes ſeveral High Courts of Juſtice to be erected, iii. 657. was never zealous for the war with the Dutch, but governed in it by Saint-John, iii. 702. he erects another Council of Officers, who expoſtulate with the Parliament about their arrears, and their own diſſolution, iii. 721. he and his officers diſſolve the Parliament, iii. 724, &c. and chooſe a new one, iii. 729. Conditions and qualities of the perſons nominated, ibid. he calls them together by his own warrant to meet July 4th, 1653, iii. 730. ſpeaks to them, and delivers them an inſtrument for their authority, iii. 731. he is made Lord Protector, iii. 733. inſtalled in Weſtminſter Hall, December 16th, 1653, according to an inſtrument of government, iii. 734. the ſubſtance of it, ibid. he takes an oath to obſerve it, iii. 735. is proclaimed Protector, ibid. invited by the city to Grocers' hall, iii. 736. he makes peace with the Dutch, April 1654, iii. 740. makes Portugal ſend an ambaſſador for peace, iii. 741. perſecutes the King's party, iii. 742. his condition in reſpect of his neighbours, iii. 748. Diſputes ariſe in his own party, iii. 749. eſpecially among the Levellers, ibid. he calls a Parliament after a new method, iii. 750. the ſubſtance of his ſpeech to them, iii. 751. he ſpeaks to them in the Painted Chamber, iii. 753. admits none into the Houſe but ſuch as ſubſcribed an Engagement to him, iii. 754. diſſolves them, Jan. 22, 1654, iii. 755. his treaty with France, iii. 762. his advantage by the riſings of the King's party, iii. 863. his order for decimating the King's party, iii. 864. his declaration for

for juſtifying it, iii. 865. he ſends two great fleets to ſea in the beginning of 1655: the one under Pen, with a land army commanded by Venables, iii. 873. the other under Blake, iii. 874. their orders, iii. 876. he commits Pen and Venables to the Tower, iii. 880. ſends recruits to Jamaica, ibid. is diſturbed with the diviſions in his own army, iii. 887. conſtitutes his Major Generals, ibid. their power, ibid. he ſummons a Parliament to meet, September 17th, 1656, iii. 890. impoſes a ſubſcription upon the members before they ſate, ibid. his jealouſy of Lambert, iii. 892. A propoſition in Parliament for him to be King, iii. 893. Lambert and his party oppoſe this overture, iii. 894. and ſome of Cromwell's own relations, iii. 895. a committee appointed to confer with him about it, iii. 896. he gives them audience, and they offer him their reaſons, ibid. &c. he refuſes the title of King, iii. 901. is confirmed Protector by *the humble Petition and Advice*, iii. 903. the contents of it, ibid. his ſpeech upon paſſing it, iii. 904. the ſolemnity of his inauguration, iii. 906. he adjourns his Parment to January the 20th, iii. 907. his actions in the vacancy of Parliament, ibid. his daughters diſpoſed of in marriage, iii. 908. the ſucceſs of his arms abroad, iii. 909. the victory of his fleet over the Spaniard, ibid. he ſpeaks to the Parliament, which meets, Jan. 20th, iii. 914, 915. convenes both Houſes, and ſpeaks to them, iii. 916. he diſſolves that Parliament, Feb. 4th, ibid. turns Lambert out of the army, iii. 917. abridges the power of his Major Generals, iii. 918. acquaints the Lord Mayor, &c. of the city with a plot of the Cavaliers, and the Marquis of Ormond's being in England, ibid. many perſons ſeized upon that account, ibid. and iii. 917. he finds new enemies among the Sectaries, iii. 947. his affairs ſome time before his death, iii. 979. Syndercome's deſign againſt him a good while before this, iii 980. the death of his daughter Claypole, iii. 982. he is ſeized on by an ague in Auguſt, ibid. he appoints his ſon Richard his ſucceſſor: and expires, Sep. 3d, ibid. the terrible ſtorm on the ſame day, iii. 983. his character, ibid. two inſtances of his intereſt among foreign Princes, iii. 987. the concluſion of his character, iii. 990.

Cromwell, Rich. iii. 908, 982, 995, 997, 998, 1006, 1026, 1106, 1143, 1156. the beginning of his government, iii. 993. he calls a Parliament to meet, January 27th, 1659, iii. 995. which it does, ibid. the buſineſs recommended to them by him, ibid. he is adviſed by ſome to diſſolve it, iii. 999. by others to the contrary, ibid. but at laſt is prevailed with, iii. 1000. and iſſues out a proclamation to that purpoſe; whereupon his Proteſtorſhip is at an end, ibid. he ſubmits to the authority of Parliament, iii. 1003. a pleaſant ſtory relating to him, iii. 1004, 1005, 1006.

Cropredy-bridge, the battle there, ii. 744.

Cumberland, Earl of, i. 1024, 1123. ii. 40, 209, 760.
Cunningham, ii. 691.

D.

Dacres, Lord, ii. 666.
Dalbeer, iii. 265, 266.
Dalkeith, Lady, ii. 767.
Danby, Earl of, iii. 387.
Danvers, Sir John, iii. 387.
Darcy, Marmaduke, iii. 843, 849.
Darmſtadt, (ſee Heſſe.)
Dartmouth taken by Prince Maurice, ii. 596.
Davenant, Sir William, ſent from the Queen to the King to perſuade him to give up the Church, iii. 48, 49.
Dauſk, Captain, ii. 653.
Dean, iii. 737, 738.
Debates in the Council at Oxford how the Lords that came over from the Parliament to his Majeſty ſhould be received, ii. 488.
Declaration of ſome miniſters againſt the government of the Church by biſhops, i. 314. of both Houſes of Parliament to his Majeſty concerning the cauſes of their fears and jealouſies, i. 690. of his Majeſty from York, March 9, 1641, i. 716. of the two Houſes about the militia, May 5, 1642, i. 809. of the King in anſwer to it, i. 813. of both Houſes concerning a reformation of the Liturgy, i. 824. a declaration or remonſtrance of the Lords and Commons, May 19, 1642, i. 849. of his Majeſty to the Lords attending him at York, June 13, 1642, i. 1021. a declaration and profeſſion of his Majeſty, June 15, the ſame year, i. 1023. a declaration and profeſſion of the Lords and counſellors at York diſavowing any intentions of raiſing war, ibid. a declaration of his Majeſty upon that occaſion, i. 1024. a declaration of the Parliament to the city of London, upon a letter from the King to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, i. 1043. of the two Houſes to the kingdom, ii. 19. to the ſubjects of Scotland, ii. 92. of both Houſes concerning their General's acceptable ſervice, ii. 117. the ſubſtance of the declaration of the Lords and Commons to the States of the United Provinces, ii. 133. a declaration of the King upon occaſion of the two Houſes' ordinance for raiſing money, ii. 150. of the King after his ſucceſſes over Fairfax in the North, Sir William Waller in the Weſt, and the taking of Briſtol, ii. 453. an extract of the declaration of the kingdom of Scotland, ii. 667. an extract of the declaration of England and Scotland, ii. 669. the ſubſtance of the declaration of the Lords and Commons at Oxford, ii. 680. the declaration of the Parliament upon the proceedings of the army, iii. 68. which was afterwards raſed out of their books, ibid. of the Parliament that there ſhould be no more addreſſes to the King, iii. 141. what effect it had upon the people, iii. 143. of the army in November 1648, iii. 340. another declaration of the army ſent to the Houſe of Commons, iii. 359. of Cromwell for juſtifying his order for decimating the King's party, iii. 865. of the officers for reſtoring

ing the Long Parliament, iii. 1001. of Sir George Booth, and Sir Thomas Middleton, iii. 1019. of the King, Apr. 4, 1660, iii. 1131. of the King's party after his Majesty had sent his letters into England; which had great effect, iii. 1140.

Deering, Sir Edward, i. 873. brings a bill into the House of Commons for extirpating bishops, deans, and chapters, &c. i. 368. which is revived and committed, i. 427. but at last laid aside, i. 429.

Denbigh, Earl of, ii. 64, 349, 666, 860, 894, 942, 943, 958. iii. 134, 411.

Denny, Lord, i. 95.

Derby, Earl of, ii. 50, 216, 217, 696, 712, 715, 727. iii. 600, 612, 613, 620, 622. meets the King in Lancashire, iii. 604. parts from him at Warrington, and is sent to Lancashire to raise forces, iii. 605. his ill success, iii. 609, 610. his character and execution, iii. 622.

Derby, Countess of, iii. 623.

Desborough, iii. 642, 895, 900, 999, 1000, 1054, 1056. his regiment revolts to the Parliament, iii. 1069.

Deserters, whether to be received into favour again, ii. 606.

Design discovered at London, wherein Mr. Waller, Mr. Tomkins, &c. were concerned, ii. 370—382. this design not carried on also at Oxford, as was pretended, ii. 386.

Devizes besieged by Sir William Waller, ii. 429.

Devonshire, Earl of, i. 1024. ii. 214.

De Wit, iii. 700.

D'Ews, Lieutenant Col. ii. 344.

Differences arise between the Parliament and the army, iii. 63.

Digby, ii. 830. Digby, Lord, i. 292, 359, 553, 554, 559, 560, 589, 601, 693, 720, 730, 747, 794, 797, 879, 880, 913, 916, 922, 1062, 1112. ii. 36, 181, 301, 351, 519, 720, 742, 743, 768, 769, 770, 837, 913, 917, 918, 920, 921, 922, 924, 931, 932, 970, 975, 989, 990, 1005, 1072, 1073, 1074, 1075, 1082, 1111. iii. 23, 37, 38, 476, 478. his character, i. 533, 534, 535, 536. accused of high treason upon pretence of his levying war at Kingston upon Thames, i. 598. goes into Holland, i. 673. accused of levying war against the King, i. 675. taken by the Parliament forces, i. 1103. his transactions with Sir John Hotham in Hull, i. 1104—1110. he is routed at Sherborne in Yorkshire, ii. 1077. arrives at Jersey from Ireland, and advises the Prince of Wales to go thither, but in vain, iii. 44. thence he goes into France, iii. 16. his transactions there with the Queen of, England and Cardinal Mazarine, ibid. &c. his and the Lord Jermyn's arguments for the Prince of Wales's going into France, iii. 40. Digby, Colonel, Sir John, ii. 2, 403, 465, 590, 594, 596, 805, 806, 1009. iii. 284, 285, 291. routs the Parliament's forces at Torrington, ii. 507. takes Barnstable and Bediford, ii. 508. Digby, General, ii. 1044, 1045, 1060, 1086, 1087. Digby, Kenelm, iii. 266. Digby, Mr. ii. 6, 7, 29, 1002.

Dillon, Lord, ii. 237.

Discontents of the nation, iii. 742.

Dives, Sir Lewis, i. 534, 673, 730, 880, 922. ii. 36, 37, 589, 810, 888, 947, 1006.

Diviſions in the Parliament at Weſtminſter, ii. 839.
Doddington, Sir Francis, ii. 782.
Doleman, ii. 817, 820.
Doncaſter, Viſcount, i. 95.
Donnington-caſtle beſieged, ii. 813. relieved by the King, ii. 814.
Dorcheſter ſurrendered to the King's forces, ii. 502.
Doriſlaus, iii. 538. killed at the Hague by ſome Scotchmen, iii. 445.
Dorſet, Earl of, i. 91, 521, 1024. ii. 12, 56. his character, i. 92. he kills the Lord Bruce, i. 93. Dorſet, Counteſs of, iii. 85.
Doucet, iii. 352, 353.
Dover, Earl of, i. 1024. ii. 64.
Douglaſs, Sir Joſeph, iii. 420, 431.
Downing, Dr. ii. 120.
Drake, Sir Francis, ii. 1010, 1015.
Dublin blocked up by the Marquis of Ormond, iii. 483. Dublin, La. Biſhop of, ii. 658.
Dunbar battle, iii. 568. Dunbar, Earl of, i. 137.
Duncomb, Colonel, ii. 206.
Dunkirk beſieged by the French army, iii. 972. a battle there, iii. 975. it is ſurrendered, and delivered by the French King to the Engliſh, iii. 977.
Dunſmore, Lord, i. 242, 1024. his character, ii. 302.
Dunſtar-caſtle taken by the Marquis of Hertford, ii. 413.
Dureſme, Thomas, Biſhop of, i. 548.
Dutch war begun, and upon what account, iii. 695. The Dutch fleet beaten by Blake, iii. 702. the Dutch ſend to the Parliament for peace, ib. beaten at ſea in June 1653, iii. 738. ſend four commiſſioners to treat of peace, iii. ſend out another fleet before the end of July, iii. 739. but it is beaten, ibid.

E.

Earl, Sir Walter, ii. 8, 502.
Earles, Dr. iii. 211, 854.
Earnly, Sir Michael, iii. 888.
Edinburgh biſhopric erected, i. 133.
Edgecomb, ii. 1097.
Edge-hill fight, ii. 65.
Edward III. King, i. 349, 350, 800, 868, 906, 907, 918, 920, 971, 983, 985, 1091. ii. 132, 609. iii. 321.
Edward IV. King, i. 409, 990.
Edward VI. King, i. 347, 350. ii. 141.
Edward Confeſſor, King, i. 973.
Elizabeth, Princeſs, iii. 103, 795, 796.
Elizabeth, Queen, i. 4, 84, 101, 264, 276, 279, 350, 372, 438, 719, 821, 967. ii. 141, 275, 306. iii. 307, 403. her happy reign, i. 115.
Elliot, Thomas, i. 894. ii. 770. comes to the King: his influence upon his Majeſty, iii. 475, 476.
Elliſon, iii. 637.
Ely, Biſhop of, i. 316, 548.
Ely, Lord Viſcount, i. 345.
Engagement, oath ſo called, iii. 401.
England, (ſee Diſcontents: ſee Inſurrection: ſee Charles II) its condition under Cromwell, iii. 872. affairs of it after the defeat of Booth and Middleton, iii. 1048.
Engliſh ſeize on a French fleet going to the relief of Dunkirk, iii. 701. Engliſh ſquadron lights upon the Spaniſh Weſt India fleet; takes the Rear Admiral and another ſhip off of Cales, iii. 889.

Erſkin, Sir Charles, ii. 861.
Eſpernon, Duke of, iii. 494, 495.
Eſſex, Charles, Colonel, ii. 9, 79, 81, 85.
Eſſex, Robert, Earl of, i. 187, 191, 194, 219, 220, 235, 242, 284, 302, 328, 362, 375, 423, 430, 431, 433, 450, 457, 464, 465, 502, 511, 558, 590, 637, 662, 689, 738, 739, 740, 742, 885, 1048, 1067, 1072, 1088, 1099, 1100, 1118, 1126. ii. 16, 18, 21, 25, 26, 29, 31, 39, 42, 50, 56, 61, 62, 63, 64, 69, 70, 73, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 82, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 104, 106, 109, 110, 111, 113, 117, 121, 150, 157, 159, 168, 187, 189, 206, 208, 210, 214, 219, 220, 221, 231, 233, 235, 247, 253, 259, 278, 294, 297, 336, 338, 344, 347, 354, 355, 357, 358, 363, 366, 410, 416, 417, 432, 436, 438, 450, 476, 477, 479, 493, 496, 497, 498, 514, 520, 536, 540, 541, 542, 556, 558, 568, 578, 589, 616, 662, 663, 665, 666, 672, 673, 675, 680, 695, 706, 708, 713, 714, 715, 718, 723, 724, 725, 726, 739, 740, 744, 751, 764, 765, 766, 767, 770, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 783, 790, 797, 798, 799, 806, 810, 811, 816, 818, 839, 840, 844, 851, 853, 884, 889, 890, 892, 893, 898, 903, 907, 908, 909, 941, 942, 958, 987, 1010, 1125. iii. 58, 61, 77, 87, 168, 215, 265, 445, 675. made Lieutenant General of the army againſt the Scots, i. 178. poſſeſſes Berwick, i. 179. made Lord Chamberlain, i. 408. appoints a guard for the ſecurity of the Parliament, i. 465. moves with his army from Northampton, ii. 35. marches after the King, ii. 64. the condition of his army after the fight at Edgehill, ii. 86. his character, ii. 310. he marches to beſiege Reading April 15, 1643, ii. 340. takes it, ii. 354. marches to Thame, ii. 390. receives conſiderable loſs from Prince Rupert in his quarters about that place, ii. 391—395. marches from Thame to London; quartering his army about St. Alban's, ii. 400. returns from Thame with his army to Uxbridge, ii. 438. fails in his zeal to the Parliament, ii. 484. marches out of London to relieve Glouceſter, ii. 515. in his return from Glouceſter ſeizes upon Cirencester, ii. 517. gets into Reading, ii. 522. thence to London, ibid. and ii. 540. his anſwer to the letter of the members of both Houſes at Oxford, together with two declarations, ii. 666. he is unfortunate after the taking the Covenant, ii. 672. takes poſſeſſion of Abingdon, ii. 726 comes before Oxford, ii. 728, 729, 730. marches towards the Weſt, ii. 732, 733. takes Weymouth, ii. 741. relieves Lyme, ibid. marches into Cornwall, ii. 767. leaves his army, and eſcapes to Plymouth by ſea, ii. 785. his rude letter to Prince Rupert, and the occaſion of it, ii. 934. he and divers others reſign their commiſſions, ii. 943. he dies in Sept. 1646, iii. 64.
Eſſex, Sir William, ii. 82.
Evelyn, Sir John, ii. 105, 106, 249.
Eveſham taken by the Parliament forces, ii. 977.
Eugenio, Don, iii. 510.

Ewre, Col. iii. 359.
Exciſe impoſed by the two Houſes at Weſtminſter and Oxford, ii. 679.
Exeter (ſee Weſt) delivered to Prince Maurice upon Articles, Sept. 4th, 1643, ii. 508.
Eyres, Captain, ii. 444.

F.

Faction begun in the King's army, ii. 62.
Fairfax, Lord, i. 803, 1124. ii. 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 219, 254, 260, 449, 453, 932. iii. 1165. made General of Yorkſhire for the Parliament, ii. 211. becomes abſolute maſter of the field, ib.
Fairfax, Lady, (ſee High Court.)
Fairfax, Sir Thomas, (ſee Monk: ſee Lord Fairfax,) i. 1124. ii. 696, 753, 755, 898, 944, 958, 973, 974, 989, 994, 995, 999, 1006, 1017, 1018, 1035, 1039, 1041, 1045, 1052, 1060, 1098, 1102, 1115, 1117, 1118. iii. 2, 3, 31, 32, 33, 34, 53, 59, 64, 65, 69, 70, 78, 86, 131, 158, 169, 185, 229, 230, 231, 266, 271, 381, 382, 386, 404, 405, 486, 487, 549, 656, 1050, 1071, 1106. defeats and takes Colonel Bellaſis at Selby, ii. 682. marches into Cheſhire, ii. 683. routs the Iriſh forces at Nantwich, ii. 685. is propoſed in the Houſe of Commons to be made their General, ii. 852. made General in the room of the Earl of Eſſex, ii. 942, 943, 944. he ſits down with his army before Oxford, ii. 978. draws off from thence, ii. 982. defeats the King at Naſeby, ii. 985, 986, 987. with his army enters Somerſetſhire, ii. 1004. beats Goring near Lamport, ii. 1005. takes Bridgewater, ii. 1018. routs the Lord Hopton's forces at Torrington, ii. 1095. writes a very ſharp letter to the Parliament upon account of the petition of the apprentices, &c. iii. 93. conducts the two Speakers and other members to their ſeveral Houſes of Parliament, iii. 100. marches againſt the Kentiſh men, iii. 231. beſieges the Earl of Norwich in Colcheſter, iii. 233. marches for London, iii. 360. gives up his commiſſion, iii. 565.
Falconbridge, Lord Viſcount, ii. 205, 206, 682. iii. 908, 946, 977, 982.
Falkland, Lord, i. 126, 268, 344, 365, 366, 428, 472, 484, 486, 533, 569, 570, 742, 743, 888, 891, 893, 1024, 1041. ii. 17, 18, 40, 47, 48, 63, 105, 304, 380, 381, 385, 386, 387, 510. made Secretary of State, i. 528—532. ſlain at Newbury, ii. 526. his character, i. 529, 530. ii. 526.
Fanatics, when the name firſt began, ii. 842.
Fanning, Patrick, iii. 651.
Fanſhaw, ii. 1008, 1044, 1056, 1057, 1099, 1100.
Feild, Biſhop of St. David's, i. 90.
Felton, John, aſſaſſinates the Duke of Buckingham, i. 41: is apprehended: his behaviour afterwards, i. 45, 46.
Fern, Dr. ii. 874. Fern, Mr. i. 81.
Ferté, Monſieur la, (ſee Senneterre,) ii. 138.
Fettyplace, ii. 188.
Fielding, Lord, i. 1099. ii. 64.
Fielding, Colonel Rich. ii. 59, 345, 353, 737. iii. 313. ordered

dered to be tried for his surrender of Reading, ii. 357. sentenced to lose his head, but at last pardoned, ii. 361. this proves disadvantageous to the King, ibid.
Fiennes, Col. John, ii. 810, 815. Fiennes Col. Nath. i. 362, 437. ii. 35, 867, 443, 445, 907. iii. 995, 1000. his character, i. 288. he is tried for surrendering Bristol, and condemned; but pardoned by the General, ii. 614.
Finch, Lord, i. 111, 325, 495, 887. ii. 529. Finch, Sir John, i. 247. his character, i. 114. made Lord Keeper, i. 205. withdraws beyond sea, i. 274.
Fleet, the revolt of part of it from the King to Rainsborough, iii. 198. the revolted ships go over to Holland, iii. 206. the chief commander of the Parliament's fleet comes on the Spanish coast, iii. 513. his letter to the King of Spain, ibid. sails into the river of Lisbon, iii. 514. requires Prince Rupert's fleet to be delivered up, ibid. a fleet set forth in 1653. under three Admirals, iii. 737. beats the Dutch in June, iii. 738. and July, iii. 739. fleet under Penn, iii. 873. under Blake in 1655. goes into the Mediterranean, iii. 873. under Penn goes to the Barbadoes, iii. 877. they go to Hispaniola, their return into England, iii. 879. fleet under Blake has better success than that under Penn, ibid. forces Algiers to peace, ibid. enters the harbour of Tunis and burns the ships, ibid. The fleet receives the King lands the re-restoration, duty
both Houses did those sent to them, iii. 1147. comes on the coast of Holland, iii. 1164. the Duke of York takes possession thereof as Admiral, ibid. its sail with the King May 24th 1660. iii. 1169.
Fleetwood, ii. 56. iii. 895, 898, 999, 1049, 1050, 1051, 1053, 1056. his behaviour in the latter end of 1659. iii. 1069.
Florence, Duke of, iii. 1046.
Forbes, Sir Arthur, ii. 1195.
Ford, Sir Edward, ii. 701, 704. iii. 125.
Forest laws revived, i. 105.
Foreign Kings and States, their inclination in the cause between the King and Parliament, ii. 137.
Fortescue, Sir Faithful, ii. 69, 72, 235.
Forth, Earl of, ii. 353, 666, 672, 673.
Foster, Justice, ii. 179.
Fowler, Sir, 666.
Fountain, ii. 905, 949.
Fox, Stephen, admitted to manage the King's money, iii. 1198.
France, (see Treaty,) the affairs thereof whilst the King was at Paris, iii. 492. The Queen Mother of France designs to put an end to the war between the two crowns of France and Spain, by a treaty and marriage, iii. 1025. She advises Cardinal Mazarine to concur in it, ibid. He argues against it, ibid. but at last he yields to her purpose, iii. 1026.
Francis I. King of France, iii. 1028.
Fraser, Dr. ii. 1112. iii. 594, 1178.
Frederick, Elector Palatine, i. 67.
French Court, the troubles thereof after the fight at Worcester, iii.

iii. 881. French ſend an ambaſſador into England, iii. 701.
Fryer, Sir Thomas, i, 44, 46.
Fuenſaldagna, Conde of, iii. 469, 470, 473, 579, 881, 882, 883, 974.
Fuentarabia, (ſee Treaty.)

G.

Gage, Col. ii. 739, 788, 814, 815, 824, 826, 827, 828. his character, ii. 788 he relieves Baſing, ii. 789, 827. and is made Governor of Oxford, ii. 828. his death, ii. 829.
Galloway, Will. iii. 1122.
Garcies, Conde de, iii. 473.
Gardiner, Sir Tho. i. 262, 754. ii. 617, 858, 861, 882.
Garraway, Captain, ii. 779.
Garriſons, divers ſurrendered to the Parliament, iii. 59.
Gaſcoigne, Sir Bernard, iii. 267, 268.
Gell, Sir John, ii. 209, 220, 221, 222, 226, 660. takes the Cathedral of Lichfield, ii. 221.
George, ii. 188.
Gerrard, Lord, (ſee Herbert,) ii. 1070, 1075, 1078, 1079, 1082, 1114. iii. 744, 784, 785, 786, 787. Gerrard, Sir Gilbert, i. 292, 457. Gerrard, General, ii. 988, 989, 1016, 1017, 1022. Gerrard, Col. Charles, ii. 781, 851, 443. 810, 844, 981. Gerrard, Mr. tried before the High Court of Juſtice, iii. 743. condemned, iii. 744. beheaded on Tower-hill, iii. 745, 746.
Gilvy, iii. 850.
Glanvile, Serjeant, i. 214, 215. choſen Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, i. 200. very well qualified for it, ibid.
Glemham, Sir Tho. i. 1123. ii. 204, 682, 755, 1023, 1073.
Glencarne, Earl of, receives commiſſion from the King, iii. 766. retires to his own houſe and makes his peace with Monk, iii. 767.
Glin, ii. 907. iii. 87.
Glouceſter city's and garriſon's anſwer to the King upon his ſummoning them to ſurrender, ii. 473. beſieged by the King, ii. 475. the proſecution of the ſiege, ii. 511. the ſiege raiſed, ii. 516. A deſign of ſurpriſing it by Major General Maſſey, iii. 1010.
Glouceſter, Biſhop of, i. 548.
Glouceſter, Duke of, iii. 85, 103, 795, 796, 797, 801, 886, 919, 930, 975, 1045, 1046, 1121, 1159, 1165. an account of the endeavours at Paris to pervert the Duke of Glouceſter in his religion, iii. 827.
Glyn, (ſee Glin.)
Godolphin, Col. Will. ii. 199, 403. Godolphin, Mr. Sidney, ſlain, ii. 201. his character, ibid.
Goffe, Dr. iii. 207, 208, 669.
Goffe, Col. iii. 1000, 1001.
Goodwyn, ii. 246, 656.
Gorges, Dr. iii. 635. Gorges, Lord, ii. 811.
Goring, ii. 752, 768, 769, 796, 811, 819, 837, 902. Goring, Lord, ii. 604, 936, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 959, 966, 971, 975, 976, 981, 989, 990, 991, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 1004, 1005, 1006, 1007, 1015, 1017, 1030, 1031, 1032, 1044, 1045, 1046, 1047, 1048, 1049, 1050, 1052, 1053, 1055, 1058, 1059, 1060, 1061, 1067, 1086, 1087, 1088, 1097. iii. 408. endeavours to be made commander

commander of the Weſt, ii. 962—965. joins the King at Oxford, ii. 973. is ſent back into the Weſt, ii. 977. and defeated by Sir Tho. Fairfax near Lamport, ii. 1005. he makes propoſitions to the Prince of Wales, ii. 1025. which the Prince grants, ii. 1026. ſends the Lord Wentworth to the Prince of Wales with certain demands on his behalf, ii. 1029. a conference between him and one of the Prince of Wales's council, ii. 1033. he retires into France, ii. 1049. Goring, General, ii. 212, 772, 777. 780, 783, 784, 837. his character, ii. 830. Goring, Col. i. 415, 416, 417, 651. ii. 2, 771. iii. 1060. declares for the King at Portſmouth, i. 1113—1117. ſurrenders Portſmouth, ii. 27. Goring, Mr. i. 858, 877, 884. ii. 408.

Gourney, Sir Richard, i. 501, 526, 581, 1095.

Gowre, Colonel, ii. 206.

Graham, James, iii. 436, 439.

Grandiſon, Lord, i. 344. ii. 71, 424. dies of his wounds at Briſtol, ii. 448. his character, ibid.

Grantham taken by the King's party, ii. 214.

Grantham, Col. ii. 73.

Greenvil, ii. 796. iii. 1011. Greenvil, Sir Bevil, (ſee Hopton,) ii. 401, 403, 404, 447, 800. iii. 1114. ſlain, ii. 424, 435. Greenvil, Sir John, (ſee Parliament,) ii. 822. iii. 212, 706, 1083, 1121, 1123, 1124, 1127, 1138, 1153. introduced to General Monk by Mr. Morrice, iii. 1114. goes over to Bruſſels with Mr Mordaunt, iii. 1116. he gives the King an account of his negociation with General Monk, iii. 1117. he and Mr. Mordaunt returns towards England, iii. 1124. arrives in England, and communicates the letters from his Majeſty to the General, iii. 1139. Greenvil, Sir Richard, (ſee Barnſtable,) ii. 775, 778, 779, 897, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 959, 965, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 989, 999, 1007, 1008, 1025, 1026, 1031, 1032, 1043, 1044, 1045, 1046, 1054, 1055, 1056, 1057, 1058, 1060, 1086, 1087, 1092, 1093, 1094, 1111. left by the King to block up Plymouth, ii. 799. his original, nature, manners, and diſpoſition, ibid. &c concerning his eſtate and allowance from the King, with his inſolent behaviour to the Prince of Wales, ii. 1008, &c. conſtituted commander of the remains of the weſtern army, ii. 1088, but refuſing the command the Prince of Wales commits him to priſon, ii. 1091.

Gregory XV. Pope, i. 31.

Grey, Lord, i. 1024. ii. 219, 220, 450, 515, 635, 666, 677.

Grey, Mr. Anchetil, ii. 958.

Griffith, i. 680.

Grimſton, i. 208. Grimſton, Sir Harbottle, choſen Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, iii. 1145.

Grove, Hugh, iii. 844, 848.

Guernſey and Jerſey reduced by the Parliament forces, iii. 703.

Gunter, Col. ii. 394. iii. 648.

H.

Hales, Sir Edward, iii. 212, 213.

Hales, Mr. iii. 201, 202, 203, 204, 212, 213, 214.

Hall, Biſhop, i. 362.
Hambden, John, i. 106, 111, 208, 213, 215, 216, 228, 282, 325, 331, 362, 366, 437, 462, 485, 500, 555, 584, 595, 596, 680. ii. 57, 247, 355, 438, 530, 570, 615, 693. iii. 118; 167. receives his death's wound in Chalgrave field, ii. 396. the very ſame place where he had firſt executed the ordinance of the militia, ibid. his character, i. 286. ii. 396.
Hambden, Alexander, ii. 380, 385.
Hambden, Colonel, ii. 73.
Hamilton, Marquis of, i. 71, 122, 124, 125, 172, 187, 188, 190, 196, 224, 244, 247, 295, 302, 326, 347, 354, 426, 463, 481. ii. 97, 318. made commander of the fleet againſt the Scots, ii. 178. his character, i. 237. he is created Duke, i. 465.
Hamilton, Duke, ii. 571, 573, 576, 687, 688, 909. iii. 186, 193, 217, 218, 220, 225, 235, 253, 259, 261, 270, 391. made priſoner at Oxford, ii. 691. touching his being priſoner at Pendennis, ii. 1102. he is removed to the Mount, ii. 1116. upon ſurrender of the Mount he obtains his liberty, ii. 1113. goes into Scotland, iii. 152. enters England about the middle of July in 1648. iii. 242. his march, ibid. he is routed by Cromwell, iii. 245. taken, iii. 246. tried, iii. 402, 403. condemned, iii. 405. beheaded, iii. 411.
Hamilton, Duke, iii. 423, 435, 456, 440, 453, 527, 529, 566, 595, 597, 603, 617, 618, 773. a conference between him and an Engliſh privy counſellor concerning the affairs of Scotland, iii. 1141. he with the Earl of Lautherdale departs from the King, iii. 552. he dies of his wounds at Worceſter, iii. 628. his character, ibid. (ſee Lanerick.)
Hamilton, Sir James, ii. 421, 422.
Hamilton, Mr. ii. 1104.
Hammond, Mayor of St. Ives, ii. 1093, 1094. Hammond, Col. iii. 128, 130, 276, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 358, 359, 379. brought to the King, iii. 119. whom he conveys to Cariſbrook caſtle, iii. 120. and removes his old ſervants from about him, iii. 135.
Hammond, Dr. ii. 874. iii. 76, 118.
Harcourt, Count de, iii. 21, 473. arrives ambaſſador from France, ii. 598. returns again without any good effect to the King, ii. 602.
Harding, ii. 774.
Haro, Don Lewis de, iii. 456, 494, 497, 498, 499, 501, 503, 504, 506, 511, 563, 564, 570, 571, 576, 579, 1026, 1029, 1030, 1031, 1033, 1034, 1036, 1038, 1039, 1040, 1041, 1042, 1043, 1044, 1045. his character, iii. 507, 1034. (ſee Cottington.)
Harris, Major General, ii. 1087.
Harriſon, Colonel, iii. 65, 376, 377, 379, 381, 382, 902. his character, iii. 373, 374.
Harvey, ii. 482.
Haſſlunck, ii. 1065.
Haſlerig, Sir Arthur, i. 290, 351, 369, 429, 430, 553, 584, 588, 623, 628. ii. 422, 434, 710, 907. iii. 915, 1051, 1054, 1067, 1068, 1114. prefers a bill for ſettling the militia, i. 430. Haſlerig, Walton, and Morley go to Portſmouth, iii. 1057. Haſlerig and Morley

march from Portſmouth towards London, iii. 1068.
Haſſel, ii. 380, 385.
Haſtings, Lord, ii. 88. Haſtings, Sir Walter, ii. 946. Haſtings, Colonel, ii. 220. Haſtings, Mr. Hen. i. 1089.
Hatton, Lord, ii. 862. iii. 830. Hatton, Sir Chriſtoph. ii. 305.
Hawkins, Colonel, ii. 791.
Hawkeſly-houſe taken by the King's forces, ii. 977.
Hawley, Sir Francis, ii. 6.
Hay, Sir Francis, iii. 538.
Hayward, i. 387.
Hazienda, de la, iii. 575.
Heath, Sir Rob. i. 754. ii. 62.
Hedworth, John, iii. 959. Hedworth, Randolph, ibid.
Hemſlet, iii. 466.
Henderſon, Alexander, i. 243, 293, 470. ii. 259, 260, 268, 269, 564, 861, 868, 874, 875, 877. preſents the petition of the Scottiſh Aſſembly to the King, ii. 261. ſent to diſpute with the King about Church government, iii. 46. his death, ibid.
Henly, James, i. 730.
Henrietta, Princeſs, ii. 973. iii. 668, 795, 930.
Henry III. King, ii. 70. iii. 1148.
Henry IV. King of England, i. 349, 833, 838, 906, 1041. Henry IV. King of France, iii. 615.
Henry VI. King, i. 340.
Henry VII. King, i. 340, 443, 670, 892, 926, 985. iii. 395, 894, 912.
Henry VIII. King, i. 84, 350, 371. iii. 394.
Henry, Prince, i. 28. ii. 63. iii. 404.
Herbert, Sir Edw. Attorney General, (ſee York,) i. 208, 216, 325, 597. iii. 234, 249, 292, 311, 464, 778, 779, 930. in the Houſe of Lords accuſes the Lord Kimbolton and five members of the Houſe of Commons of high treaſon, i. 555. is examined by the Houſe of Commons touching the impeachment of the five members, i. 599. his anſwer, i. 600. he is impeached by the Commons, i. 675. the proceedings of the Parliament againſt him for accuſing the Lord Kimbolton, &c. i. 752—756. he and Sir George Ratcliffe have great intereſt in the Duke of York, iii. 584. they recommend to him the pattern of the Duke of Lorrain, iii. 585. he is made Lord Keeper, iii. 779. accuſes the Chancellor of the Exchequer of having ſpoken ill of the King, iii. 784. and produces the Lord Gerrard to prove it, ibid. he reſigns his office of Lord Keeper to the King, iii. 800.
Herbert, Lord, ii. 176, 179, 346, 416, 475. iii. 1165. made General of South Wales, ii. 227. raiſes a little army, ii. 230. is ſurpriſed and routed by Sir William Waller, ii. 232.
Hereford and Tewkeſbury taken by Sir William Waller, but immediately relinquiſhed by him, ii. 233. Hereford taken again by Sir William Waller, ii. 346.
Hereford, Lord Viſcount, iii. 1165.
Hereford, George, Biſhop of, i. 548.
Hertford, Earl of, i. 242, 302, 375. Hertford, Marquis of, (ſee Maurice,) i. 679, 1024, 1064, 1120. ii. 188, 189, 191, 195, 196, 227, 228, 301, 302, 409, 419, 421, 427, 442, 458,

439, 466, 467, 484, 494, 508, 504, 545, 546, 550, 605, 619, 773, 861, 889. iii. 123, 275, 393, 395, 792, 912, 1170. made governor to the Prince of Wales, i. 663. his character, ibid. and ii. 296. his actions in Somerſetſhire, &c. ii. 3, 4, 5. he retires to Sherborne, ii. 8. where the Earl of Bedford comes againſt him, ibid. his proceedings in the Weſt, ii. 27. from whence he tranſports himſelf into Glamorganſhire, ii. 29. he with Prince Maurice join the Corniſh army with their forces at Chard, ii. 412. he takes Taunton Bridgewater, and Dunſtar caſtle, ii. 413. he and Prince Maurice make for Oxford, and are followed by Sir William Waller, ii. 428, 429, 430 they bring relief from Oxford, and defeat Sir William at Roundway-down, ii. 429—435.

Hertford, Marchioneſs of, ii. 790.

Heſſe Caſſel, Landgrave of, iii. 814. Heſſe Darmſtadt, Landgrave of, iii 825

Hewet, Dr. tried before a High Court of Juſtice, iii. 940. condemned, iii. 945. executed, ibid. an account of him, iii. 946.

Heydon, Sir John, ii. 1, 57.

High Court of Juſtice for trial of the King, iii. 371. a diſturbance in the High Court at his trial by the Lady Fairfax, iii. 385. a new High Court of Juſtice ſits; and ſeveral trials before them, iii. 402. High Court of Juſtice erected a month after the peace with Holland, iii. 743.

Hill, Col. Arthur, ii. 241.

Hinchman, Dr. meets the King on the plains of Salisbury; and conducts him to Heale, Mrs. Hyde's houſe, iii 643.

Hippeſly, Sir John, i. 47.

Holland, Earl of, i. 94, 98, 184, 185, 187, 188, 189, 190 195, 220, 234, 242, 243, 248, 260, 422, 423, 424, 430, 443, 450, 459, 464, 590, 637, 662, 702, 703, 739, 741, 742, 885, 1068, 1071, 1085, 1086, 1087, 1099, 1112. ii. 168, 175, 313, 438, 544, 546, 547, 605. iii. 213, 237, 238, 240, 272, 300, 522. his character, i. 96. he is made General of the horſe for the army againſt the Scots, i. 178. his retreat from Dunce, i. 185. he returns into the Parliament's quarters, ii. 550. prepares to riſe with the Duke of Bucks and others, iii. 183. riſes, iii. 263. goes to Kingſton, ibid. is routed there, iii. 265. eſcapes to St. Neots, where he is taken, iii 266. his trial, iii. 402, 403. condemnation, iii. 405. beheading, iii. 412.

Holland, Sir John, i. 1068. ii. 248, 286. iii. 1165.

Holland, the States of, their anſwer to the Prince of Wales's requeſt that they would intercede with the two Houſes for the King, iii. 367. they ſend an ambaſſador into England, iii. 368. condole with King Charles II. for the murder of his father, iii. 418. Orders from the admiralty in Holland to their fleet, "not to ſtrike to "the Engliſh," iii. 694. upon which account war begins with the Dutch, iii. 695. The States ſend two ambaſſadors into England about it, iii. 696. thank the King for his propoſal to join his intereſt with theirs, but lay it aſide, iii. 700. ſend again

again to the Parliament for peace, iii. 702. invite the King to the Hague, iii. 1162.
Hollis, Mr. Denzil, i. 278, 327, 363, 394, 500, 555, 584, 646, 675, 1020. ii 4, 8, 861, 896, 907. iii. 71, 87, 88, 1111, 1165. his character, i. 291.
Hooker, i 964.
Hopton, Sir Ralph, i. 698, 1065. ii. 6, 7, 29, 256, 401, 403, 414, 418, 426, 427, 429, 447, 459, 460, 461, 462, 472, 591. his and Sir Bevil Greenvil's progreſs in Cornwall, together with other gentlemen there, ii. 190, &c. Sir Ralph beats the Parliament's forces at Bradock-down under Ruthen, ii. 198.
Hopton, Lord, i. 1120. ii. 468, 472, 487, 660, 700, 701, 702, 703, 706, 707, 708, 709, 719, 727, 751, 771, 838, 902, 936, 947, 949, 956, 962, 963, 989, 990, 995, 996, 1012, 1027, 1035, 1046, 1049, 1057, 1058, 1089, 1090, 1091, 1092, 1094, 1095, 1097, 1098, 1099. iii. 3, 44, 62, 207, 251. takes Arundel caſtle, ii. 704. defeated at Alresford by Sir William Waller, ii. 710. His character, ii. 721. made General of the remains of the weſtern army, ii. 1088. his forces are routed at Torrington by Sir Thomas Fairfax, ii. 1095. his army diſſolved, ii. 1102.
Hopton-heath battle, ii. 223.
Horner, Sir John, ii. 8, 444.
Horton, Colonel, ii. 813.
Hotham, Sir John, i. 268, 292, 370, 462, 489, 599, 606, 761, 765, 785, 788, 789, 790, 791, 793, 794, 795, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 806, 807, 809, 829, 831, 836, 838, 846, 847, 853, 900, 902, 911, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 921, 922, 923, 950, 963, 977, 979, 980, 982, 1028, 1045, 1065, 1066, 1070, 1072, 1075, 1081, 1098, 1103, 1104, 1105, 1106, 1109, 1112, 1124. ii. 156, 204, 206, 214. refuſes to let his Majeſty come into Hull, and is thereupon proclaimed a traitor, i. 791, 792. his character, i. 790. he and his ſon tried at a Court of War, ii. 930. both condemned and beheaded, ibid.
Hotham, Mr. i. 489, 678. ii. 208, 209.
Howard, Lord, i. 285. Howard, Lord, of Eſcrick, i. 242, 437, 461, 803. ii. 666. Howard, Lord, of Charleton, i. 1024. Howard, Col. Tho. ii. 411, 421. Howard, W. iii. 959.
Hudleſton, Mr. ſent to the King by Captain Careleſs, and brings him to the Lord Wilmot, iii. 629. brings the King to Mr. Lane's houſe, iii. 630.
Hudſon, iii. 33.
Hugonots declared enemies to the King, ii. 140.
Huntingdon, Earl of, i. 1089. ii. 220, 980.
Huntington, Major, iii. 113, 123, 1104.
Hurry, (ſee Urry.)
Hutton, Sir Rich. ii. 1076, 1077.
Hyde, Captain, i. 861. Hyde, Mr. Ed. i. 215, 216, 218, 295, 296, 329, 330, 364, 366, 370, 371, 372, 373, 375, 376, 377, 426, 427, 464, 472, 485, 487, 488, 489, 514, 530, 552, 888, 889, 891, 892, 893. ii. 40, 295: Hyde, Sir Edward, (ſee Chancellor: ſee Clarendon,) ii. 861. Hyde, Serjeant, iii. 643.

I.

James, —— i. 387.
James, King, i. 16, 50, 51, 70, 81, 84, 88, 90, 94, 97, 99, 100, 101, 127, 130, 132, 134, 137, 140, 174, 309, 314, 372, 409, 493, 537, 663, 1068. ii. 142, 295, 300, 311, 762, 800. iii. 171, 387, 403, 544, 578, 741, 814. a learned Prince, i. 14. delighted with handſome perſons and fine clothes, ibid. of much diſcourſe at meals, i. 15. of a very obliging temper, i. 16. very quickſighted in diſcerning difficulties, and raiſing objections, but very ſlow in maſtering them, and untying the knots he had made, i. 18. conſents to the journey of Prince Charles into Spain, i. 20. repents of it, i. 22. but at length yields again, i. 24, 25, 26. calls a Parliament after Prince Charles's return, i. 29. his perplexities and diſpleaſure againſt the Duke of Buckingham after his account of his and the Prince of Wales's journey into Spain, i. 33. he dies, i. 5, 37. and is ſucceeded by his ſon, ibid. the ſtate of the kingdom at that time, i. 5. he is very jealous at his firſt coming into England of thoſe who had the reputation of great parts, i. 92. his happy reign, i. 116, 117.
Jarvis, ii. 789, 795.
Jealouſies ariſe among the King's principal officers about the government of Briſtol, ii. 459.
Jenkins, iii. 327.
Jennings, Ralph, iii. 959.
Jephſon, ii. 795.
Jermyn, Lord, (ſee Charenton: ſee Digby: ſee St. Alban's,) ii. 519, 619. iii. 2, 8, 22, 23, 48, 176, 177, 183, 184, 206, 207, 208, 209, 216, 468, 471, 491, 660, 662, 668, 669, 670, 677, 687, 688, 703, 780, 781, 783. he and other lords arrive at Jerſey from the Queen to bring the Prince of Wales into France, iii. 36. comes to the King with compliments from Cardinal Mazarine, iii. 1047. is made Earl of St. Alban's, iii. 1160. Jermyn, Sir Tho. i. 499. ii. 305. iii. 635. Jermyn, Mr. i. 415, 417, 692, 702, 719, 858, 859, 877, 946. ii. 498, 500, 545.
Jerſey, (ſee Guernſey.)
Inchiquin, Lord, (ſee Ormond,) iii. 146, 149, 150, 181, 310, 311, 420, 481, 485, 488, 516, 517, 540, 541, 652. departs from the Marquis of Ormond for Munſter, iii. 484.
Independent: concerning the different conduct of the Independent Engliſh and the Preſbyterian Scots, iii. 164.
Ingoldſby, Col. iii. 1000, 1001, 1102, 1103, 1104. his particular caſe in reference to the King's death, iii. 1156.
Innocent X. Pope, iii. 775, 833.
Inſurrection deſigned in England by ſome of the King's party, iii. 835.
John, Don, of Auſtria, (ſee Juan.)
Jones, iii. 844. Sallies out of Dublin, and beats the Marquis of Ormond's army, iii. 484.
Joyce, Cornet, iii. 75. ſeizes upon the King at Holmby, June 3, 1647. iii. 71, 72, 73.
Ireland, (ſee Rebellion,) Lord Lieutenant of, i. 284, 294, 325, 354. Affairs in Ireland, i. 506.

i. 506. State of Ireland when the King went to York, i. 506, 507. in the end of 1642. ii. 234. the anſwer of the Lords Juſtices of Ireland to the letter of the two Houſes of Parliament in England about the ceſſation of arms, ii. 636. Affairs of Ireland in the year 1643. ii. 622. in the year 1647. iii. 146. and at the time King Charles was murdered, iii. 420. after the Marquis of Ormond's arrival there, iii. 480. at the time Prince Rupert went to Spain, iii. 515. at the time of the King's embarking himſelf for Scotland, iii. 540. at the time of Worceſter fight, iii. 647. under Oliver Cromwell, iii. 749, 870. to the King's reſtoration, iii. 1141.

Ireton, ii. 1122. iii. 65, 75, 82, 87, 90, 113, 123, 125, 126, 140, 234, 270, 374, 379, 404, 406, 410, 565, 651, 653, 654, 655, 768, 998, 1056. made Lord Deputy of Ireland by Cromwell, iii. 648. dies in Limerick of the plague, iii. 707. his character, ibid.

Iriſh army diſbanded, i. 435. Iriſh rebels increaſe, i. 713. Iriſh forces routed by Sir Thomas Fairfax at Nantwich, ii. 685. an account of the affairs of the Iriſh in 1648. iii. 307. the Iriſh rebels reſolve to invite the Duke of Lorrain into Ireland, iii. 709. Commiſſioners ſent to him to Bruſſels, iii. 711. the Duke ſends an abbot into Ireland to be informed of the ſtate thereof, iii. 712. the Marquis of Clanrickard renounces any conſent to the treaty, ibid. the abbot returns and the Duke gives over the negociation, iii. 714.

Iſabella, Archdutcheſs, i. 75. ii. 789.

Juan, Don, of Auſtria, iii. 885, 886, 921, 922, 923, 924, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 969, 972, 975, 976, 977, 979, 1042. made governor of Flanders; and Carracena appointed to command the army under him, iii. 882. after the loſs of the battle at Dunkirk he retires to Ypres, iii. 976. recalled into Spain, iii. 1023. his character, ibid.

Judges, the miſchiefs proceeding from their being for ſhip-money, i. 109.

Juſtices, (ſee Ireland.)

Juxon, Doctor, made Biſhop of London, i. 142. made Lord Treaſurer, i. 154.

K.

Keinton battle, ii. 65.

Kendall, Major, ii. 446.

Kent, commotions there for the King, iii. 200, 212. Kentiſh army marches towards Black Heath, iii. 230.

Kent, Earl of, ii. 611, 665.

Kerry, Lord, ii. 235.

Kettleby, Captain, i. 1060. Kettleby, Sir Tho. iii. 313.

Killigrew, Sir Hen. ii. 958, 1111. his death, iii. 61. and character, iii. 61, 62. Killigrew, Sir William, ii. 60. Killigrew, Major, ii. 782.

Kimbolton, Lord, i 282, 302, 328, 385, 394, 457, 555, 556, 559, 560, 576, 588, 608, 675, 692, 696, 720, 729, 850, 859, 876, 878, 939, 998, 1099, 1114, 1117, 1118. ii. 30, 64, 180, 314, 695. he and five members of the Houſe of Commons accuſed of high treaſon, i. 555.

i. 555. the proceedings of Parliament againſt the Attorney General upon this account, i. 752, &c. (ſee Mandeville: ſee Manchester.)
King, General, ii. 211.
King, Lieutenant General, ii. 761, 762, 763.
King, Dr. Hen. i. 470.
Kingſton, Earl of, ii. 861.
Kinoul, Earl of, ii. 573, 688. iii. 435.
Kirton, iii. 637.
Knight, iii. 1059.
Knighthood: law of knighthood, i. 105.
Kniverton, Daniel, ii. 613.
Knox, i. 134. iii. 676.

L.

Lambert, iii. 182, 242, 245, 246, 277, 289, 290, 291, 486, 487, 598, 601, 735, 809, 812, 892, 894, 895, 899, 900, 903, 917, 993, 997, 1000, 1001, 1050, 1051, 1056, 1057, 1058, 1064, 1065, 1068, 1069, 1070, 1071, 1075, 1110, 1118, 1139, 1143, 1144, 1145, 1158, 1171. marches againſt Sir Marmaduke Langdale and Sir P. Muſgrave, iii. 228. follows the King, but is forced to retire, iii. 605. routs Sir George Booth, and takes Cheſter, iii. 1021. the petition and propoſals of Lambert's army, iii. 1049. diſcovered to Hallerig; who then acquaints the Houſe with it, iii. 1050. and draws ſome troops together, ſtops the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, and makes him go home, iii. 1053. he is ſent by the committee againſt Monk, iii. 1058. comes with his army to Newcaſtle, iii. 1066. the army ſeparates; and he is committed to the Tower, iii. 1071. he eſcapes out of the Tower, iii. 1100. draws four troops of the army to him at Daventry, iii. 1102. two of his troops revolt to Ingoldſby, iii. 1102, 1103. he and his party diſperſed and others taken, iii. 1103.
Lamport, (ſee battle.)
Lancaſhire, Cheſhire, and Shropſhire, their condition in the latter end of 1642, ii. 214.
Landaff, Mor. Biſhop of, i. 548.
Lane, Sir George, iii. 928. Lane, Sir Richard, ii. 861, 882. iii. 778. Lane, Mr. his argument for the Earl of Strafford, i. 349, 350. Lane, Mr. iii. 629, 630. Lane, Mrs. iii. 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637.
Langdale, Sir Marmaduke, ii. 809, 810, 824, 975, 978, 984, 985, 1017, 1069, 1070, 1075, 1076, 1078. iii. 121, 128, 192, 246, 257, 278, 279, 283, 285, 288, 291, 1017. he and Sir P. Muſgrave and others treated with by the Scots, and invited into Scotland; whither they went, iii. 189. their projects for redeeming the King, iii. 215. Sir Marmaduke Langdale ſurpriſes Berwick, and Sir P. Muſgrave Carliſle ſoon after, iii. 224. Lambert marches againſt them, iii. 228. Sir Marmaduke always a day before Duke Hamilton in his march into England, iii. 243. gives an account to the Duke of the Engliſh army, iii. 244. fights with Cromwell and is beaten, iii. 245. and taken, iii. 246.
Langham, ii. 115.
Langhorn, (or Laughorn) Col. ii. 888. iii. 215, 231.
Lanrick, Earl of, ii. 269, 573, 576,

576, 687, 688, 690, 691, 1109, 1112. iii. 51, 163, 186, 218, 258, 260, 261, 263, 422, 423, 425, 440. goes to King Charles II. iii. 421. ſucceeds his brother as Duke of Hamilton in 1648, ibid. his character, iii. 186.
Lanſdown battle, ii. 423.
Lany, Dr ii. 874.
Laud, Archbiſhop, (ſee Canterbury,) i. 118, 128. the riſe of his power, i. 101. he ſucceeds Abbot, i. 139. upon the death of the Earl of Portland, is made one of the Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, and how he behaves himſelf in that office, i. 152. his character, i. 139, 233. he is accuſed of high treaſon, i. 273. tried, ii. 856. condemned by an ordinance, ii. 857. and beheaded, ii. 859.
Lautherdale, Earl of, (ſee Hamilton,) ii. 861, 872. iii. 151, 163, 186, 218, 219, 241, 248, 297, 435, 443, 444, 462, 517, 595, 597, 603, 620, 675. his character, iii. 186. he goes to King Charles II. iii. 421. returns into Scotland, iii. 256. his diſcourſe againſt Mountroſe, iii. 438.
Lawly, Col. ii. 251.
Lawſon, iii. 1104, 1105, 1164. he and the fleet declare for the Parliament, and come into the river, iii. 1068.
Lawyers and divines, animoſities between them, &c. i. 474.
League: ſolemn League and Covenant, ii. 560.
Leake, Lieut. Col. ii. 822.
Lee, Serjeant, i. 895. Lee, Sir Thomas, i. 1126.
Leg, iii. 117, 120. Leg, Captain, i. 692, 719, 798, 858, 877, 915.
Leg, Col. William, ii. 470, 471, 1043. iii. 439. Leg, Major William, ii. 351, 352.
Leganez, Marquis of, iii. 506.
Leger, (ſee St. Leger.)
Leiceſter ſtormed and taken by the King, ii. 978.
Leiceſter, Earl of, i. 466, 506. ii. 51, 239, 244, 245, 246, 618, 803. iii. 181, 795, 1060. his character, ii. 299. Leiceſter, Counteſs of, iii. 795, 796.
Lenox, Duke of, i. 123, 134, 190, 478. ii. 76.
Lenthall, William, i. 213. ii. 179, 635, 636, 677, 862. iii. 95, 1002, 1009, 1053, 1070. made Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, i. 264. iii. 752. how qualified for the charge, ibid. goes into the city, iii. 1070. changes the command of the Tower, ibid.
Leopold, Archduke, iii. 400, 579.
Leſley, David, ii. 1023, 1074, 1075. iii. 431, 532, 533, 597, 614, 615, 616, 619, 620, 818. defeats the Marquis of Mountroſe, ii. 1038. his ſaying concerning the Scottiſh army, iii. 606 he and others taken priſoners, iii. 620. Leſley, Colonel, i. 176. Leſley, General, i. 185, 248. ii. 95, 96, 753. iii. 217, 218, 609. made Earl of Leven, i. 480.
L'Eſtrange, iii. 201, 202, 203, 204, 212, 214.
Letter, (ſee Charles II.) from ſome of the Scottiſh nobility to the French King intercepted, i. 202. from the Peers on the King's ſide to the Council of Scotland, ii. 618. from the Anabaptiſts to the King, iii. 962.
Levellers grow up in the army, iii. 114. mutiny; and are ſuppreſſed by Fairfax, iii. 548.

Leven, Earl of, i. 480, 485. ii. 699, 1075. (see Lesley.)
Levingston, Sir William, iii. 259.
Lewis, iii. 87, 1141.
Lewis, Don, (see Haro.)
Leyda, Marquis of, sent ambassador by Spain to Cromwell, and after a month returns to Flanders, iii. 875. comes to Brussels to solicit for supplies for Dunkirk, but in vain, iii. 971. sallies upon the enemy at Dunkirk, iii. 976. is repulsed and slain, ibid.
Liche, Marquis de, iii. 501, 562.
Lichfield close taken by Sir John Gell, ii. 221. Lichfield taken by Prince Rupert, ii. 352.
Lichfield, Earl of, ii. 984, 1070, 1081.
Lilburn, John, iii. 91. an account of him, iii. 755, &c.
Limerick, a mutiny there: the Marquis of Ormond escaped thence, iii. 651.
Lincoln, Bishop of, i. 10, 16, 71, 335, 456. (see Williams.)
Lincoln, Earl of, ii. 665.
Lindsey, Earl of, the father, i. 70, 1024, 1181. ii. 83, 84. General of the King's army, i. 1052. ii. 62. slain at Edgehill, ii. 71, 75. his character, ii. 76.
Lindsey, Earl of, the son, ii. 984. iii. 275, 393, 395.
Lindsey, the Scottish Earl of, ii. 124.
Lisle, Lord, iii. 181, 306, 483, 485, 1062. Lisle, John, iii. 939. Lisle, Sir George, iii. 267, 494. shot to death, iii. 268. his character, iii. 269. Lisle, Col. George, ii. 819.
Littleton, i. 336, 446, 742, 1024. ii. 862. iii. 1016. made Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, i. 524. sends the Great Seal to the King at York, and goes thither himself; his character, i. 885—897. see also ii. 295.
Liturgy, concerning the Scottish, i. 168. the manner how it was received at Edinburgh, i. 170.
Lockhart, iii. 909, 916, 924, 975, 978, 989, 993, 1006, 1027, 1080, 1119 sent by Cromwell's ambassador into France; where he finishes an alliance which was begun before by the agents of France in England, iii. 880.
Loftus, Lord Chancellor, i. 338, 341, 342, 344, 345, 346.
London, Bishop of, i. 133, 163, 233, 310, 347, 394. resigns his place of Treasurer, i. 326. (see Juxon.)
London city petitions the King in the year 1641, i. 575. its state and temper at that time, i. 579. it petitions the King in the year 1642, &c. ii. 161. remarkable for its disloyalty, ii. 173. fortified, ii. 256. Transactions in the city upon the King's being seized at Holmby, &c. iii. 77. temper of the city, and the changes of their militia at the time of the impeachment of the eleven members of Parliament, iii. 89. it sends six aldermen to the General of the army and submits, iii. 99. the behaviour of the city upon the defeat of the Scots' army in 1648. iii. 271. Common Council petition for a personal treaty, ibid. the city invites Cromwell to Grocers' Hall, iii. 736. the militia of the city second the new Council of Officers in their address to Richard Cromwell, iii. 998. the Lord Mayor, &c. their dutiful reception of the King's letter, iii. 1147. the city

city ſends fourteen citizens to the King at the Hague, iii. 1166. (ſee Monk.)
Long, ii. 907, 948, 961. iii. 211, 302, 428, 645, 787, 788.
Long, Mr. Robert, ſent away from the King, iii. 553. the petition of Mr. Rob. Long to be reſtored to the Secretary's place, iii. 780. is refuſed by the King, iii. 782. the ſequel of the petition to be Secretary, ibid. Long, Sir Robert, iii. 249.
Longueville, Duke de, iii. 504, 686. Longueville, Mademoiſelle de, iii. 686, 687.
Lords, Houſe of, deliver the proteſtation of the Biſhops to the Houſe of Commons in a conference, i. 549. (ſee Parliament.)
Lords and others at York, their promiſe upon his Majeſty's declaration, June 13, 1642, i. 1022. their declaration and profeſſion diſavowing any intentions of raiſing war, i. 1023.
Lorne, Lord, iii. 569.
Lorrain, Duke of, ii. 466, 468, 471, 587, 682, 683, 709, 710, 716. his character, iii. 585. he ſends an abbot into Ireland to be informed of the ſtate of it, iii. 712. the abbot returns, and the Duke gives over the negociation, iii. 714.
Lothian, Earl of, iii. 263, 424, 425.
Love, ii. 867, 868. executed, iii. 656.
Lovel, iii. 795, 797.
Lovelace, Lord, i. 1024. ii. 485, 496.
Loughborough, Lord, ii. 980. iii. 624.
Lowden, Lord, i. 201, 202, 224, 243, 293, 294, 295, 480 ii. 96, 98, 259, 268, 269, 286, 861, 870. iii. 52, 151, 163, 186, 262, 534. tranſactions of him and other Scottiſh commiſſioners at Oxford: that they might be mediators, and for a Parliament in Scotland, ii. 280.
Lowe, iii. 237, 249.
Lowther, Gen. ii. 658.
Loyal Party in England, their low condition, iii. 547.
Lucas, Lord, iii. 269. Lucas, Sir Charles, ii. 438, 1131. iii. 404. ſhot to death, iii. 268. his character, iii. 269. Lucas, Sir Gervas, ii. 1084. Lucas, Sir John, ii. 31. Lucas, Tho. ii. 658.
Ludlow, (ſee Parliament,) iii. 715, 716, 1051, 1144. ſucceeds Ireton in the charge of the army in Ireland, iii. 707.
Lunsford, Lieutenant Colonel, i. 861. ii. 6, 448. Lunsford, Sir Thomas, i. 564, 569, 597. ii. 81. made Lieutenant of the Tower, i. 517.
Lutterel, ii. 413.
Lyme relieved by the Earl of Eſſex, ii. 741.
Lynne: a deſign of ſurpriſing it by the Lord Willoughby of Parham, and Sir Horatio Townſend, iii. 1099.
Lyonne, Monſieur de, iii. 1026, 1027, 1035.

M.

Macdonnel, Alexander, ii. 911, 912, 927.
Macguyres, iii. 308.
Mackworth, Sir Francis, ii. 995, 996, 997.
Macmahoons, iii. 308.
Madrid, ambaſſadors and public miniſters receive greater reſpect there than in any other Courts of Chriſtendom, iii. 561.

Maitland, lord, ii. 861.
Mallet, Judge, i. 758, 1096, 1 97. ii. 294.
Mallory, Col. iii. 941, 942, 943, 944, 947.
Manchester, Earl of, the father, i. 84. his character, i. 85.
Manchester, Earl of, the son, (see Mandeville: see Kimbolton,) ii. 170, 483, 484, 486, 666, 702, 724, 758, 765, 807, 811, 813, 816, 817, 819, 840, 841, 898, 908, 942, 943, 958. iii. 93, 95, 1111. his character, i. 282. ii. 313. he is ordered with his army to march into the North to join the Scots, ii. 715.
Mancini, iii. 977.
Mandeville, Lord Viscount, i. 74, 84, 242. ii. 57, 314. 1165. his character, i. 282. (see Kimbolton: see Manchester.)
Manning, discovery of his treachery, and a particular account of it, iii. 853, &c.
Mansel, Sir Rob. i. 1055.
Manton, iii. 1167.
Mantua, Duke of, ii. 1124.
Manwairing, ii. 166.
Margarita, Don Josepho de, iii. 1038.
Marie Henriette, (see Queen.)
Marlborough garrisoned by the Parliament, ii. 121. taken by the King's forces under Lieutenant General Wilmot, ii. 123.
Marlborough, Earl of, i. 74, 75. ii. 430.
Marshal, i. 316, 470. ii. 33, 120, 450, 874. iii. 74.
Marston-moor battle, ii. 759.
Martin, Sir H. i. 10, 317. Martin, Mr. H. ii. 104, 336, 364, 495, 907. (see Parliament.)
Mary, Princess, i. 612, 653, 676.
Mary, Queen, i. 350.
Massonet, iii. 782, 787.
Matley, (see Middleton,) ii. 470, 474, 514, 540, 733, 744, 943. iii. 79, 87, 363, 617, 1010, 1014. sent to march before the King, iii. 603. is wounded, iii. 616. seized on but escapes, iii. 1018.
Maurice, Prince, (see Hertford,) ii. 36, 63, 233, 346, 347, 409, 410, 411, 412, 414, 439, 458, 463, 487, 501, 503, 541, 590, 700, 718, 727, 741, 751, 767, 777, 783, 800, 805, 807, 808, 812, 817, 822, 985, 1002, 1010, 1072, 1073, 1079. iii. 777. He with the Earl of Carnarvon, &c. defeats the Parliament forces in the West in several skirmishes, ii. 417—422. defeats Sir Will. Waller at Lansdown, ii. 423—426. is sent into the West with an army, ii. 466. comes before Exeter with his army, ii. 504. and takes it, ii. 508. difference between him and the Marquis of Hertford about the government of Weymouth, ii. 508, &c. he sits down before Dartmouth and takes it, ii. 596. sits down before Plymouth too late, ibid.
Maxwell, Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, i. 271.
Maynard, iii. 985. Maynard, Serjeant, his argument against the Parliament's declaration that there should be no more addresses to the King, iii. 142.
Mazarine, Cardinal, (see France: see Treaty,) ii. 602, 1124, 1125. iii. 7, 16, 149, 399, 433, 835, 1039, 1040. pays the King all his arrears from France, iii. 793. gives notice to the Duke of York that he must leave the French service, iii. 925. will not see the King,

iii.

liii. 1043. perſuades the Queen Mother of England to ſend to the Lord Jermyn to invite the King to come into France, iii. 1160.

Meath, Antony, Biſhop of, ii. 658.

Medina de los Torres, Duke de, iii. 506. Medina Celi, Duke de, iii. 506, 558.

Meldrum, iii. 697.

Melleray, Marſhal of, iii. 788. 789.

Melos, Don Franciſco de, ii. 136. iii. 510.

Members: five members of the Houſe of Commons accuſed of high treaſon, i. 555 articles againſt them, ibid. demanded by the Serjeant at Arms, i. 556. and by the King himſelf, i. 557. remove into the city, i. 560. brought in triumph to Weſtminſter, Jan. 11, 1641, i. 591.

Mennes, Sir John, i. 1058, 1060. iii. 313, 840, 841.

Mentz, Elector of, iii. 813.

Merrick, Sir John, ii. 344.

Mervin, Col. Audley, ii. 241.

Middleſex, Lionel Cranfield, Earl of, i. 16, 36. ii. 156. iii. 1165. his riſe and fall, i. 34.

Middleton, Sir Tho. (ſee Booth,) ii. 660. iii. 1048. joins with Sir George Booth, iii. 1018. delivers up his caſtle, iii. 1021.

Middleton, Colonel, ii. 438.

Middleton, Lieutenant General, ii. 781, 782, 798, 807, 813. iii. 598, 616, 617, 618, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 680, 766, 767, 817. aſſembles ſome troops in Scotland, iii. 431. he and Maſſey priſoners in the Tower deſigned to be tried by a high court of juſtice, iii. 675. both of them eſcape, iii. 676. he is ſent into Scotland, iii. 766. an adventure made during his being in the Highlands, iii. 768, &c.

Mildmay, ii. 796, 797. Mildmay, Sir Hen. i. 272, 457. he and Sir John Danvers the only two perſons of the High Court of Juſtice the King knew beſides the officers of the army, iii. 387.

Militia, the power of it conſidered, i. 514. Votes of Parliament concerning it, i. 684, 807. (ſee Petition: ſee Parliament.)

Mitton, Col. ii. 888. iii. 213.

Modena, Duke of, iii. 927.

Mohun, Lord, i. 1824. ii. 195, 196, 199, 403, 430, 775, 779.

Moleſworth, Major Gen. ii. 1060, 1067.

Money borrowed of the city by the Parliament, i. 319. raiſed under pretence of relieving Ireland, i. 678.

Monk, General, iii. 483, 541, 542, 543, 601, 602, 650, 676, 677, 706, 737, 748, 765, 766, 767, 812, 993, 1051, 1066, 1071, 1073, 1074, 1093, 1100, 1124, 1134, 1135, 1144, 1145, 1160, 1171. from Scotland declares his obedience to the Parliament, iii. 1006. writes to the officers of the army, declaring for the Parliament, iii. 1058. poſſeſſes Berwick, ibid. impriſons Col. Cobbet, ibid. and purges his army of Fanatics, ibid. Lambert ſent againſt him, ibid. Charges, &c. ſent by the Committee of Safety to Monk, iii. 1059. his anſwer to them, ibid. appoints three commiſſioners to treat with the officers of the army at London, ibid. they at London accept of a treaty, iii. 1060. a particular account of General Monk, ibid. &c. his jealouſy of Lambert before

[illegible] this time, iii. 1064. he calls together an assembly of the Scottish nation, iii. 1064. his discourse to them, ibid. he marches towards London, iii. 1075. comes to York, ibid. the Lord Fairfax's part in this whole business, ibid. Addresses to Monk from all counties as he passed, iii. 1076. the city feasts him, by their Sword-bearer, to the same purpose, ibid. his manner of receiving their addresses, ibid. The Parliament sends Clerk and Robinson to meet him, iii. 1077. at St. Alban's he sends to the Parliament to have the other regiments removed out of town, ibid. which is ordered accordingly, ibid. he marches in about the beginning of February, iii. 1078. and is conducted to the Parliament and complimented by the Speaker, ibid. his reply, ibid. he is sent to reduce the city, iii. 1081. returns to Whitehall, iii. 1082. the Parliament resolves to join others in commission with him, and receive a commission by Ruthone from the Fanatics, ibid. this discontents his chief officers, iii. 1083. this awakens him, iii. 1084. he marches again into the city, and sends an exhortatory letter to the Parliament, ibid. his letter to the Parliament printed and dispersed, iii. 1085. he meets the Lord Mayor and Common-Council, excuses what was past, and promises to stand by them, and they by him, ibid. great rejoicing in the city upon it, ibid. the Parliament sends some members to treat with him, iii. 1086. he engages them in a conference with some selected members, ibid. returns to Whitehall, iii. 1087. sends the members of both parties, then delivers his mind to them in a paper, ibid. sends Ingoldsby against Lambert with his own regiment, and a body of foot under Col. Streater, iii. 1102. Monk and Mountague made Admirals of the fleet, iii. 1104. Monk's councils after his being made Admiral, iii. 1110. his conference with divers at Northumberland house, iii. 1111. he consults with Mr. Morrice, iii. 1112. the transactions between General Monk, Morrice, and Greenvil, iii. 1115. his behaviour after the King's letters had been communicated to him by Sir John Greenvil, iii. 1139. he acquaints the House with Sir John Greenvil's bringing him a letter from the King, iii. 1146.

Monmouth, [illegible] 1124.

Monroe, Sir George, [illegible] 956, 960. having [illegible] land, upon Hamilton's [illegible] treats towards Scotland, [illegible].

Montgomery, Philip, Earl of, his character, i. 91. Montgomery, Sir Ja. ii. 441.

Montgomery, Duke of, ii. 1104.

Montreuil, [illegible] 2. 22. 36. 47. sent from France to negociate a treaty between the King and the Scots, ii. 1122. his negociation with the King, ii. [illegible], &c. with the Scots, iii. [illegible], 26. he sends to the King the Scots propose to receive him, iii. 27. withdraws from the King, iii. 56.

Morny, Sir Robert, ii. 1128.

Mordaunt, John, (See Sir John Greenvil: see Monk,) iii. 184.

1015, 1016, 1104, 1114, 1116, 1117, 1121, 1156. is active for the King, iii. 938. seized on and committed to the Tower, iii. 939. Mr. Mordaunt, Sir Henry Slingsby, and Dr. Hewet, tried before a High Court of Justice, iii. 940. the means by which Mr. Mordaunt escaped, iii. 941, &c. he comes to Brussels to acquaint the King with the preparations made for him in England, iii. 1009.

Mordaunt, Lord Viscount, iii. 1138.

Moreton, Sir Albert, i. 99. Moreton, Sir William, ii. 734. Moreton, Bishop, i. 362. Moreton, Countess of, ii. 767. iii. 795.

Morgan, Sir Charles, i. 90. Morgan, Major-General, iii. 1066.

Morley, Col. ii. 789. iii. 1052, 1057, 1067, 1068. Morley, Dr. iii. 76, 412.

Morrice, Col. iii. 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285. Morrice, Will. (see Monk,) iii. 1112, 1113, 1114, 1115, 1117, 1124, 1139, 1170.

Moulins, iii. 989.

Mountague, Lord, ii. 29. iii. 1107. Mountague, Sir Sidney, ii. 157. Mountague, Col. Edw. iii. 73, 1107, 1108, 1109, 1158. Mountague, Mr. ii. 602. iii. 591, 592, 1135, 1158, 1164, 1170. sent to join with Blake; and put in commission with him, iii. 888. made Admiral of the fleet with General Monk, iii. 1104. an account of him, iii. 1105, &c. Mountague, Walter, iii. 1047. Mountague, Abbot, iii. 828, 829.

Mounterey, Duke de, iii. 506.

Mountjoy, Earl of Devonshire, i. 96.

Mountnorris, Lord, i. 234, 358, 341, 342, 343, 344, 346.

Montrose, Earl of, i. 463. ii. 635, 658, 687, 688, 756, 1023, 1029, 1037, 1063, 1068, 1071, 1074, 1075, 1077, 1106, 1107, 1109, 1110, 1112. iii. 11, 25, 29, 33, 51, 437, 438, 441, 442, 443, 445, 452, 453, 595, 598. comes to the King and informs him of the state of Holland, ii. 686. an account of his expedition into Scotland, ii. 909, &c. he goes privately into Scotland; and raises an army; and has great success, ii. 927. is defeated by David Lesley, ii. 1038. disbands, iii. 45. arrives in France, iii. 432. thence goes into Germany, iii. 433. comes to the Hague, iii. 435. goes to Hamburgh to solicit for forces, iii. 460, 527, 528. embarks for Scotland, iii. 530. lands there in March, 1649, ibid. publishes his declaration, ibid. the continuation of his affairs after the year 1649, iii. 531. viz. his being routed, iii. 533. taken prisoner, ibid. brought to Edinburgh, iii. 534. brought before the Parliament, ibid. his behaviour there, iii. 535. the sentence against him, iii. 536. his discourse with the Presbyterian ministers, ibid. execution, iii. 537. the execution of his officers, iii. 538. his character, ibid.

Mount Stamford taken by the King's forces, ii. 590.

Mowbray, Lord, i. 407, 1024.

Moyle, Lieutenant Col. ii. 448.

Muddyford, ii. 958.

Mulgrave, Earl of, ii. 395, 666.

Murray, Will. i. 463, 559, 611. Murray, Charles, ii. 1112, 1113.

Musgrave, Sir Phil. ii. 1070 iii.

242, 258, 259. retreats to Carliſle, iii. 258. (ſee Langdale.)
Muſkerry, Lord, iii. 310, 921, 922, 923. brings his regiment over to the Spaniards, iii. 924.

N.

Nantwich, (ſee Fairfax.)
Naſeby battle, ii. 985.
Navy poſſeſſed by the Parliament, i. 1060.
Neve, Sir William le, ii. 74.
Nevil, Sir Harry, i. 100.
Newark relieved by Prince Rupert, ii. 697, 698. the condition of the garriſon at the King's arrival in 1645, ii. 1073.
Newark, Lord, i. 1024. ii. 40.
Newburgh, Lord, iii. 375, 376, 377, 439, 677, 678, 680, 920. Newburgh, Duke of, iii. 822, 823, 824, 934, 1036. ſends the King word that Cardinal Chigi was choſen Pope; and his diſcourſe with his Majeſty concerning making ſome application to the Pope for ſupply and aſſiſtance, iii. 830, &c. the effect of this, iii. 835. Newburgh, Ducheſs of, iii. 823.
Newbury battle, the firſt, ii. 521. the ſecond, ii. 816.
Newcaſtle, Earl of, i. 122, 195, 418, 605, 788, 794, 798, 915, 916, 980, 1064. ii. 40, 124, 176, 181, 219, 254, 256, 260, 262, 304, 347, 363, 366, 483, 487, 488, 597, 617, 618, 690, 697, 713, 714, 715, 752, 753, 754, 757, 769, 932, 995, 1036. iii. 341, 610, 611, 612. reſigns his place of governor to the Prince of Wales, i. 662. comes from Newcaſtle into York, ii. 211. fixes a garriſon at Newark, ii. 213. he marches to oppoſe the Scots, ii. 682. retires to York, ibid. fights at Marſton-moor with bad ſucceſs, ii. 753. his character, ii. 301, 759.
Newport, iii. 255. Newport, Earl of, i. 96, 1024. iii. 1010.
Newton, i. 276.
Neyl, Dr. Biſhop of Durham, i. 309.
Nicholas, Sir Edward, ii. 861. Nicholas, Mr. iii. 858. Nicholas, Secretary, i. 745, 1024. ii. 40, 626. iii. 29, 197, 479, 840, 932. his character, ii. 304. he comes to Aken to the King, who gives him the ſignet, iii. 816.
Niddiſdale, Earl of, ii. 1076.
Norcot, Sir John, ii. 28.
Northampton, Earl of, i. 1024. ii. 85, 222, 223. ſlain on Hopton Heath, ii. 224. his character, ii. 225. the young Earl of Northampton, ii. 226, 366, 745, 748, 815, 816, 824. iii. 184. relieves Banbury caſtle, ii. 814.
Northern parts, an account of their diſpoſition in the latter end of 1642, ii. 204.
Northumberland, Earl of, i. 95, 224, 225, 233, 290, 347, 415, 419, 422, 637, 646, 689, 744, 745, 747, 748, 750, 884, 1061, 1076, 1098. ii. 105, 106, 175, 176, 239, 240, 248, 249, 286, 313, 336, 337, 338, 364, 372, 379, 387, 438, 486, 495, 499, 600, 601, 612, 665, 860, 866, 871, 872, 893, 898. iii. 85, 86, 94, 96, 102, 204, 795, 1111. made General of the army raiſed for the King, i. 220. falls ſick, i. 224. his commiſſion of being Admiral revoked

i. 1053—1060. his character, ii. 306.
Norton, i. 43. ii. 789, 794, 795. iii. 632, 633, 636, 637.
Norwich, Earl of, ii. 964, 1028. iii. 214, 263, 270, 937. at Maidſtone with the Kentiſh forces, iii. 228. he and ſome forces tranſport themſelves into Eſſex; and fix in Colcheſter, iii. 232. he is tried, iii. 402, 403. condemned, iii. 405. reprieved, iii. 408.
Norwich, Biſhop of, i. 163, 548.
Noy, Attorney General, i. 443. his character, i. 113.
Nye, ii. 450.

O.

Oconelly, i. 466, 692.
Officers (ſee Council) repel the rabble about Whitehall, i. 527. conſult what to do with the King, iii. 378. conclude to have him publicly tried, iii. 380. officers of the army chooſe Fleetwood General, &c. iii. 1053.
Offices: great offices deſigned for ſome heads of the party, i. 326.
Ogilby, Lord, ii. 688.
Ogle, Sir Will. ii. 701, 792, 793.
Ogniate, Mark, iii. 969.
Olivarez, Duke of, i. 55. iii. 507. Olivarez, Ducheſs of, i. 58.
Oliver, (ſee Cromwell.)
Oliver, receiver to the Duke of Buckingham, i. 52.
O'Neile, i. 246, 247. ii. 916, 917. iii. 934. O'Neile, Dan. ii. 914, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 927. iii. 1031, 1032, 1041, 1042, 1044. apprehended by order of the Council of Scotland; and baniſhed, iii. 553. O'Neile, Owen Roe, ii. 921, 924. iii. 309, 451, 452, 457, 482, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545. his character, iii. 309. his death, iii. 650. O'Neil, Sir Phelim, i. 467. O'Neiles, iii. 308.
Onſlow, ii. 789.
Oquendo, iii. 573.
Orange, Prince of, i. 246, 653, 1049, 1108. ii. 82, 133, 136, 212, 764. iii. 103, 207, 210, 248, 255, 269, 301, 303, 367, 419, 444, 454, 455, 462, 463, 464, 466, 467, 471, 472, 491, 517, 518, 520, 522, 523, 691, 698, 700, 741, 823, 824, 1091. his death, iii. 580. Orange, Princeſs of, iii. 195, 248, 454, 790, 794, 819, 930, 1121. delivered of a ſon preſently after her huſband's death, iii. 581.
Ordinance of both Houſes for ſettling the militia, i. 671. for raiſing money upon the public faith, ii. 116. for re-aſſeſſing ſome of the Londoners, ii. 147. for a weekly aſſeſſment on the whole kingdom, ii. 255. to forbid the next aſſizes, and gaol-delivery, ii. 294. for raiſing an army under the Earl of Mancheſter, ii. 483.
Orleans, Duke of, iii. 50, 493, 682, 683, 684, 689.
Ormond, Earl of, i. 220, 225, 435. Ormond, Marquis of, ii. 244, 245, 246, 619, 623, 631, 656, 659, 834, 911, 917, 918, 921, 923, 927, 1021. iii 12, 18, 108, 153, 176, 181, 312, 334, 336, 337, 341, 342, 420, 450, 452, 457, 458, 480, 481, 482, 484, 485, 488, 489, 490, 515, 516, 517, 540, 541, 544, 553, 555, 613, 661, 662, 668, 677, 678, 699, 707, 709, 710, 711, 712, 768, 769, 771, 774, 777, 778, 840, 861, 918, 928, 931, 938, 939, 943, 969, 1012, 1013, 1017,

1017, 1031, 1032, 1039, 1041, 1042, 1061, 1094, 1095, 1123, 1144. made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, ii. 683. ſends the King aſſiſtance, ibid. waits on the King at Hampton Court, iii. 107. tranſports himſelf out of England into France, iii. 147. goes out of France into Ireland, iii. 206. and why? iii. 149. his and the Lord Inchiquin's affairs in Ireland, iii. 305, 306. arrives at Kinſale, and the Pope's Nuncio leaves Ireland, iii. 311. blocks up Dublin, iii. 483. is beaten, iii. 484. his condition in Ireland, iii. 648. he makes the Marquis of Clanrickard his deputy, iii. 655. embarks for France, and waits on the King at Paris after his Majeſty's eſcape from Worceſter, ibid. the great friendſhip between him and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, iii. 658. his and the Chancellor of the Exchequer's opinion concerning the King's affairs after the fight of Worceſter, iii. 678. their exceptions againſt the King's marriage with the daughter of the Duke of Orleans, iii. 689. The Marquis of Ormond ſent into France for the Duke of Glouceſter, whom he brings to Cologne, iii. 829, 830. ſent to treat with the Lord Muſkerry at Condé about his regiment, iii. 921. the ſucceſs of his conference with Muſkerry, iii. 922. he goes into England, and why? iii. 933. the temper he found the King's friends in, iii. 934. returns out of England, iii. 937.

Oſborne, iii. 350, 354. accuſes Rolph of a deſign upon the King's life, iii. 353.

Overal, Biſhop, i. 137.

Overbury, Sir Thomas, i. 14.

Overton, iii. 91, 1052.

Owen, Sir John, ii. 448. is tried, iii. 402, 405. condemned, iii. 405. reprieved, iii. 410.

Oxford, (ſee Parliament.) Affairs there while the Earl of Eſſex lies before it, ii. 728, &c. Affairs there during the King's abſence, ii. 787. Reſolutions taken there upon the Lord Goring's arrival, ii. 973. the Univerſity viſited by the Parliament, iii. 110. the Univerſity's reaſons againſt the Covenant paſſed in Convocation, iii. 111. Learning, religion, and loyalty not extinguiſhed in Oxford, notwithſtanding the endeavours of the Preſbyterians, iii. 112.

Oxford, Robert, Biſhop of, i. 548.

Oxford, Earl of, i. 49. iii. 1165.

P.

Pacification, a treaty of, entered upon and concluded with the Scottiſh Covenanters, i. 192. the ill conſequences of it, i. 194. (ſee Treaty.)

Page, Captain, ii. 779. Page, Lieutenant Col. ii. 819, 820, 822, 979.

Paget, Lord, i. 285, 1018.

Palatine, Elector, iii. 814, 826.

Palmer, Sir Hen. i. 1057, 1058. Palmer, Geoffry, i. 485, 489. ii. 861, 882, 1116. Palmer, Mr. i. 338.

Papiſts, their activity and boldneſs about the year 1640. i. 231.

Parliament, Engliſh: an account of

of the Parliaments in the beginning of King Charles I.'s reign, i. 5. Parliaments grow formidable, and why? i. 12. A Parliament called after Prince Charles's return out of Spain, i. 29. The Parliament's reſolution (after the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Buckingham's account of their journey) to declare war with Spain, i. 33. the firſt Parliament of King Charles I. i. 39. that and the next diſſolved on account of the Duke of Buckingham, i. 40. the third Parliament diſſolved, i. 103. a Parliament called in England to ſit in April 1640, i. 204. meets, April 3, 1640, i. 205. the Houſe of Peers adviſe the Commons to begin with a ſupply, i. 209. this voted a breach of privilege by the Commons, i. 210. the King's propoſition to the Houſe of Commons, i. 211. this debated, i. 212. the Parliament diſſolved, i. 217. another meets, Nov. 3, 1640, i. 262. the temper of the nations at that time, i. 250—260. the Commons impeach the Earl of Strafford, i. 270. accuſe the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, i. 273. bring in a charge againſt the Lord Keeper Finch, i. 274. accuſe Secretary Windebank, ibid. appoint a committee to draw up a charge againſt the Earl of Strafford, i. 279. the temper of both Houſes at that time, and the characters of the then leading men in both, i. 281. a committee of both Houſes appointed to treat with the Scottiſh commiſſioners, i. 294. the Commons' propoſition for borrowing money of the city, i. 329. diſcouraged and defeated by the party, i. 331. their attainder of the Earl of Strafford, (ſee Strafford.) The Commons paſs a bill to take away the biſhops' votes, i. 363. which the Lords reject, i. 367. their bill for extirpating biſhops, deans, and chapters, &c. i. 368. laid by for that time, i. 370. their vote againſt the Court of York, ibid. their conference with the Lords about it, i. 371. who concur with the Commons, i. 372. the ill uſe the Houſe of Commons made of a pretended plot carried on in the army, i. 388, 417, 418, 419. a proteſtation taken by both Houſes, i. 391. the Commons' explanation of it, i. 393. they paſs a bill to compel all the ſubjects to take it, i. 394. paſs an act for continuing the Parliament, i. 404. the arts by which that act was obtained, ibid. the effects of it, i. 420. the mention of the pretended plot revived in the Houſe of Commons, i. 411. the two Houſes vote 300,000 pounds to the Scots for a gratuity, beſides their monthly allowance, i. 413. the Parliament very backward in diſbanding the armies, i. 422. the Commons revive the bill for extirpating epiſcopacy and commit it, i. 427. it is laid aſide, i. 429. the Commons deſire the King to defer his journey into Scotland, i. 429, 430. Acts paſſed ſince the beginning of this Parliament, i. 438. an order of both Houſes to diſarm all Papiſts, i. 451. moſt of the members of both Houſes withdraw into the country, i. 453. yet thoſe remained

to whoſe care the reformation was committed, ibid. a debate whether the Book of Common Prayer ſhall be diſuſed: i. 454. they carry on their deſigns againſt the Church, ibid. an ordinance of both Houſes for a day of thankſgiving on occaſion of the pacification between the Scots and Engliſh, i 455. Sept. 9, 1641. both Houſes adjourn to October 20. appointing a committee of each to ſit during the receſs, i. 456. the powers of the committee of the Houſe of Lords, i. 457. of the Houſe of Commons, ibid. the buſineſs before the committee of the Commons, i. 458. a ſmall committee of both Houſes attended the King in Scotland, i. 461. for the Lords, the Lord Howard of Eſcrick, ibid. for the Commons, Sir Philip Stapleton and Mr. Hambden, i. 462. a committee revived for drawing up a general remonſtrance, i. 469. a new bill in the Houſe of Commons to take away biſhops' votes, ibid. the Commons offended becauſe the King fills up divers vacant biſhoprics, i. 471. the committee for the remonſtrance make their report in the Houſe of Commons, i. 482. which is carried by nine voices, i. 485. and ordered to be printed, i. 490. the ſubſtance of it, ibid. the ways by which the party grew in the Houſe of Commons, i. 498. the Houſe of Commons prepare a bill for preſſing men for Ireland, i. 507. the preamble of the bill, as it came from the Commons, excepted againſt by the Houſe of Lords, i. 508. the bill paſſed, i. 511. the Lords and Commons declare the King's interpoſal for the relief of Ireland to be a breach of privilege, i. 510. (ſee Saint-John.) A propoſal in the Houſe of Commons for a committee to conſider of the preſent ſtate and power of the militia, i. 513. this debated, i. 514. and Solicitor General Saint John declares the power of it not to be in the King, ibid. he is appointed to bring in a bill to ſettle that matter, i. 516. which he does, ibid. the bill received, ibid the Houſe of Commons petition the King for a guard, i. 521. the Lords direct a writ to be iſſued out to appoint watches, i. 523. the Houſe of Commons diſcharge them, i. 524. the Houſe of Commons (after the five members removed into the city) adjourn themſelves for ſome days, and name a committee to ſit in the city, i. 563. the Lords likewiſe adjourn for the ſame time, i. 564 the tranſactions of the committee in the city, ibid. Votes of the Houſe of Commons upon their firſt meeting again, i. 566. Committee of the Commons ſtill tranſacts in the city, i. 583. a declaration of the Commons touching the five members, i. 584. Houſe of Commons revive the votes paſſed by their committee in the city, and add more, i. 596. both Houſes agree in, and execute acts of ſovereignty, i. 599. the Commons examine the Attorney General touching the impeachment of the five members, ibid. Vote a charge againſt him, i. 600. the Houſes

Houſes appoint committees to ſit in Grocers' Hall. i. 603. the Commons go upon Saint-John's bill of the militia, and paſs it, i. 604. both Houſes move the King that the magazine at Hull may be removed to the Tower, i. 606. they ſend both the Hothams to Hull, ibid. the committee at Grocers' Hall deſign a new remonſtrance, i. 609. the matter they prepared for it, ibid. both Houſes petition the King about the accuſed members, i. 616. Obſervations touching privilege of Parliament, i. 618. the Lords and Commons differ about addreſſing for removing Sir John Byron from the Tower, i. 621. the Commons by themſelves petition the King to do it, and to put all the other forts and the militia into the hands of confiding men, i. 622. the Commons deſire to borrow money of the city, i. 627. their reſolution about the Duke of Richmond, i. 637—641. the Lords paſs the bill touching the militia, i. 647. and the bills touching the biſhops' votes and preſſing, i. 648. both Houſes adjourn again into London, ibid. Petition the King touching the Tower, forts, and militia, &c. February 2, 1641, i. 649. the Houſe of Commons return the King thanks for his anſwer to their petition about the militia, and deſire Sir John Coniers may be made Lieutenant of the Tower, i. 655. the Houſe of Commons' anſwer to the King's demand of reparation for an expreſſion in Mr. Pym's ſpeech, i. 658. an ordinance of both Houſes for ſettling the militia, i. 671. the method taken by them for returning thanks to the Queen for her interceſſion about the bills, i. 673. they impeach the Attorney General, i. 675. their reply to the King's anſwer concerning the militia, i. 676. the Lords bail the twelve biſhops in the Tower, and the Commons recommit them, i. 678. Votes of both Houſes upon the King's further anſwer concerning the militia, i. 684. their petition to the King at Theobalds, i. 685. their reſolution upon receipt of the King's anſwer to their petition, i. 688. they ſend to the Earl of Northumberland to provide a fleet, i. 689. their declaration to his Majeſty, i. 690. both Houſes carry themſelves with great pride and impetuoſity, i. 698. cheriſh all mutinous and ſeditious petitions, i. 699. preſent the King with reaſons for his continuance near the Parliament, i. 701. their behaviour upon receipt of his anſwer, i. 704. Votes of both Houſes concerning the militia, i. 707. their order concerning Hull, i. 709. they ſpread ſtrange rumours of a foreign invaſion, &c. i. 710. provide all neceſſary means for the raiſing great ſums of money, i. 711. make propoſitions for adventurers in Ireland, i. 712. the petition of the Lords and Commons preſented to his Majeſty at York, March 26, 1642, i. 727. the meſſage of both Houſes to the King, March 28, 1642, i. 745. they get the Earl of Warwick to be made Admiral under the Earl of Northumberland in oppoſition

position to his Majesty, i. 748. their resolution about tonnage and poundage, i. 749. how they proceed at land having secured themselves at sea, i. 751. a petition from both Houses to his Majesty to remove the magazine from Hull, &c. i. 760. the answer of both Houses to his Majesty's message of his going in person into Ireland, Apr. 28, 1642, i. 769. their votes, &c. concerning Hull, i. 794. their answer to his Majesty's two messages concerning it, i. 803. their declaration about the militia, May 5, 1642, i. 809. both Houses make great preparations for war, i. 822, 823. their declaration concerning a reformation of the Liturgy, i. 824. their severity against those who oppose their votes and proceedings, i. 827. they order the Trained Bands to be mustered, and take care of the magazines, i. 8[illegible] their votes upon his Majesty's raising guards for the security of his person, i. 853. how petitions him to dissolve them, May 23, 1642, ibid. the methods by which they gained so much obedience from the people, i. 841—849. a declaration and remonstrance of the Lords and Commons, May 19, 1642, i. 849. they publish several other letters and depositions at the same time, i. 884 their remonstrance, May 26, 1642, i. 897. what effect it had upon the people, i. 928. the nineteen propositions sent to the King by both Houses, June 2, 1642, i. 992. the order of the two Houses against pawning the jewels of the Crown, i. 1000. they proceed with rigour against those members who went to the King at York, i. 1011. their propositions and orders for bringing in money and plate for maintaining horse, &c. June 10, 1642, i. 1012. the reasons why several members of both Houses went to the King at York, i 1033, &c. the proceedings of the majority that remained against them, i. 1039, 1040 Parliament's declaration to the city of London, upon a lett[illegible] the King to the Lord M[illegible] and Alderm[illegible], i. 1043 ge[illegible] possession of the [illegible] 1039. their [illegible]tes [illegible] an army [illegible]. 1067. they [illegible] tion t[illegible] King at Ly[illegible] 15[illegible] 1069. [illegible]nation to the King 26, 164[illegible] 1094. w[illegible] ord[illegible] to be pu[illegible] in all churche[illegible] Churchs [illegible] 1094. two instances of their opp[illegible]ing all that did not [illegible] with them i. 1095. [illegible] two Ho[illegible] received [illegible] j[illegible]sty's message for [illegible] 14. their answer to [illegible] 15. their answer to [illegible] message of 13. their [illegible] on to the kingdo[illegible] the rigour used by [illegible] for est[illegible] [illegible] apprehended, ii [illegible] two Houses' instructions to [illegible] General ii 39 their [illegible] to the King sent [illegible] rals to be pretented. [illegible] delivered, ii. 41, 56, 57 [illegible]es of both Houses for raising and procuring money ii [illegible] great alterations amongst [illegible] of the Parliament [illegible] the battle at Edgehill, ii. 86, 87. the two Houses' declaration to the

the subjects of Scotland, ii. 92. a petition presented to the King from both Houses, ii. 106. their ordinance for raising money upon the public faith, ii. 116. their declaration concerning their General's acceptable service, ii 117. their petition to the King, Nov. 24, 1642, ii. 118. the two Houses claim the whole sovereign power, ii. 131. the acceptance of their declaration by the States General of the United Provinces, ii. 133. new ways of raising money by the two Houses, ii. 146. both Houses procure the bill to pass for extirpation of episcopacy, ii. 1[illegible] with [illegible] about the [illegible] of January 1642, [illegible] at disown [illegible] actually agreed upon by both parties at Oxford, [illegible] agree that there should be a [illegible] cessation of arms and [illegible] to the King [illegible] at Oxford, ii. 248. who [illegible] agents to treat about the [illegible] Say, [illegible] they [illegible] them [illegible] to. their [illegible] ii. 252. the two Houses [illegible] ordinance for a weekly [illegible] the whole kingdom [illegible] their commissioners to meet [illegible] at Oxford, [illegible] the advice and desire of the two Houses to the King concerning gaol-delivery, ii. 293. they make an ordinance to hold the next assizes and gaol-delivery, ii. 294. the two Houses commit the messenger who brought the King's message for peace of the 20th of May, 1643, ii. 368. the Commons impeach the Queen of high treason, ii. 369. they send Sir Will. Waller into the West with an army, ii. 415. the two Houses send commissioners into Scotland for relief, ii. 449. are very much concerned at the surrender of Bristol, ii. 476. Propositions for peace given by the House of Lords to the House of Commons in a conference, ii. 477. which are rejected by the House of Commons, ii. 481. this causes some disturbance, ibid. both Houses make Sir Will. Waller governor and commander in chief of the forces and militia of London, ii. 483. pass an ordinance for raising an army under the Earl of Manchester, ibid. several of the Lords go over to the King, ii. 485, 486. the transactions of the committee of the two Houses [illegible] Scotland, ii. 552. the Commons vote a new broad [illegible] the Lords concur with them ii. 610. the two Houses severally to the messenger sent by his Majesty from Oxford with writs to the judges for adjournment of the term from London to Oxford, ii. 612, 613 they disown the cessation of arms in Ireland, ii. [illegible] their letters concerning it to the Lords Justices, July [illegible], ii. 633. the members of the Houses who had withdrawn from those at Westminster meet at Oxford according to the King's proclamation, ii. 661. and send a letter to the Earl of Essex, ii. 663. the two Houses' answer to his Majesty's message from Oxford of March 3d, 1643, ii. 675. means agreed upon by the Lords and Commons at Oxford to raise money, ii. 677.

the two Houſes at Weſtminſter impoſe an exciſe, ii. 679. the two Houſes at Oxford follow the example, ibid. the Parliament at Oxford prorogued to October, 1644, ii. 717. diviſions amongſt the members at Weſtminſter, ii. 839. the two Houſes agree to a treaty at Uxbridge, ii. 860. diſcontents and animoſities in the Parliament, ii. 907. the two Houſes lay aſide the King's meſſage for peace in the end of 1645, ii. 1115. their anſwer to his deſire for a ſafe conduct to the Duke of Richmond and others, ii. 1116. their anſwer to his deſire of a perſonal treaty at Weſtminſter, ii. 1118. their ordinance upon his ſecond requeſt, ii. 1119. the Parliament, upon the Scots' requeſt, ſends propoſitions of peace to the King at Newcaſtle, about the end of July, in 1646, iii. 54. require the Scots to quit the kingdom, and to deliver up the perſon of the King, iii. 56. their declaration upon the proceedings of the army, iii. 68. a committee appointed by the two Houſes to treat with the committee of the army, ibid. they give an account of ſeizing of the King by Cornet Joyce at Holmby, iii. 73. the different deſigns of the Parliament and army in 1647, relating to the King, iii. 83. a tumultuous petition of apprentices, and others, to both Houſes concerning their militia, iii. 92. the two Speakers, with other members of the two Houſes, withdraw to the army, iii. 93. both Houſes chooſe new Speakers: and their votes, iii. 94. both Speakers, and the other members, appear in the army on Hounſlow-heath, iii. 95. the Parliament's behaviour upon the news of the King's withdrawing, and where he was, iii. 129. the Parliament ſends a meſſage to the King to paſs four acts, iii. 133. the condition of the Parliament in the latter end of 1647, iii. 174. the Parliament ſends forces to ſuppreſs the commotions in Kent, iii. 213. prepares a fleet againſt the revolted fleet, under command of the Earl of Warwick, iii. 239. a committee of Parliament treats with the Common-Council of London about a treaty, iii. 271. the Parliament declares for a perſonal treaty, iii. 272. a committee of both Houſes ſent to the King for that purpoſe in the beginning of Auguſt in 1648, iii. 273. the ſubſtance of their meſſage to the King, ibid. both Houſes vote the King's propoſition ſent to them from the Iſle of Wight unſatisfactory, iii. 327. vote the King's anſwer to the third propoſition (of the commiſſioners for the treaty in the Iſle of Wight) concerning the militia unſatisfactory, iii. 332. their votes upon the King's propoſition, iii. 339. the commiſſioners' report of the treaty at Newport to the Parliament, iii. 355. a long and ſharp debate upon it, ibid. a vote of the Houſe of Commons upon the King's being carried to Hurſt caſtle, iii. 359. a vote of the Houſe of Commons, "that "the King's anſwer to their "propoſitions was a ground "for peace," iii. 361. many of the

the members entering into the Houſe ſeized upon by the ſoldiers, ibid. the remaining members vote the contrary to their former votes, iii. 362. a vote of the Houſe of Commons, "that thoſe who were abſent "at the negative vote ſhould "ſit no more in the Houſe," iii. 363. The vote of Parliament of no more addreſſes renewed, ibid. the ſecluded members' proteſtation, ibid. Voted againſt by both Houſes, iii. 364. Votes of the Houſe of Commons, ibid. a committee appointed by the Houſe of Commons to prepare a charge againſt the King, iii. 366. the charge againſt him approved by the Commons, iii. 369. rejected by the Lords; who adjourned for a week, iii. 370. the door of their Houſe locked up againſt the day to which they had adjourned, ibid. the Commons conſtitute a High Court of Juſtice, iii. 371. make Bradſhaw Lord Preſident of it, iii. 372. appoint lawyers and other officers, ibid. aboliſh the Houſe of Peers, iii. 397. Vote againſt the office of Kingſhip, ibid. they make a new Great Seal, iii. 398. ſix of their own judges give up, ibid. the Parliament after the King's murder ſend their anſwer to the Scots' proteſtation and diſſent, iii. 429. Houſe of Commons refuſe to ratify Monk's treaty with Owen O'Neile, iii. 543. Parliament reſolve to ſend an army into Scotland, iii. 565. the Parliament ſend ambaſſadors into Holland to invite them to a ſtrict union, Saint-John being the chief, iii. 691. they return without any effect, iii. 692. whereupon the Parliament make the act of navigation, ibid. the Parliament's anſwer to the Holland ambaſſadors concerning the war begun with the Dutch, iii. 696. their debate about the period of their ſitting, iii. 722 Harry Martyn's application of the ſtory of Moſes to this purpoſe, ibid. it is determined, that they would not yet think of diſſolving, iii. 723. the Parliament diſſolved by Cromwell and his officers, iii. 724, &c. Parliament choſen by Cromwell and his officers, iii. 729. Conditions and qualities of the perſons nominated, ibid. from one of the members, this was nick-named Praiſe-God Barebone's Parliament, iii. 730. the members repair to the Parliament houſe, and chooſe Rouſe their Speaker, iii. 732. they aſſume the name of a Parliament, ibid. their actings and conſultations, ibid on the 12th of December they deliver up their power to Cromwell, iii. 733. a Parliament called after a new method by Oliver, iii. 750. which meets Sept. 3, 1654, ibid. and chooſes Mr. Lenthall Speaker, iii 752. their actings, ibid. the Parliament diſſolved, Jan. 22, 1654, iii. 755. a Parliament ſummoned by Cromwell to meet, Sept. 17, 1656, iii. 890. the proceedings of it, iii. 891. a propoſition in the Parliament for Cromwell to be King, iii. 893. a committee appointed to confer with Cromwell about it, iii. 896. he gives them audience, and they offer him their reaſons, iii. 896, 897, 898.

the Parliament adjourned to Jan. 20, iii. 907. it comes together, Jan. 20, iii. 913. the Commons re-admit their excluded members, iii. 915. the Parliament diſſolved, February 4, iii. 916. a Parliament called by Richard Cromwell, iii. 995. which meets, Jan. 27, 1659, ibid. the buſineſs recommended to them by the Protector, ibid. Differences riſe in the Houſe of Commons about the accounts of money, and about the other Houſe, &c. ibid. it is carried, that the other Houſe ſhall be allowed, iii. 996. Votes of the Parliament upon news of the cabals of the army and the city, iii. 998. the Parliament diſſolved, iii. 1000. the Long Parliament reſtored by the officers, iii. 1001. ſome of the old excluded members go into the Houſe with them, but are excluded again, iii. 1002. the Parliament ſend to Richard to know whether he acquieſced and ſubmitted to their authority, iii. 1003. they make Ludlow and four other commiſſioners governors of Ireland, iii. 1004. Monk and the navy declare their obedience to the Parliament, iii. 1006. they continue Lockhart ambaſſador in France, ibid. ſend ambaſſadors to mediate peace between the two northern Crowns, ibid. paſs an act of indemnity to the army, ibid. appoint all commiſſions military to be ſigned by the Speaker, iii. 1007. baniſh all Cavaliers twenty miles from London, iii. 1008. ſend Lambert againſt Sir George Booth and Sir Thomas Middleton, iii. 1020. grow jealous of Lambert's army, iii. 1048. paſs a vote to have no more general officers, iii. 1050. declare it treaſon to raiſe money without conſent of Parliament; and make void all money acts, iii. 1051. Caſhier Lambert, and eight other principal officers of the army, ibid. make ſeven commiſſioners to govern the army, ibid. ſend for forces to defend them, and for the city militia, iii. 1052. the Parliament meets again at Weſtminſter, iii. 1070. they order Lambert's troops to their ſeveral quarters, iii. 1071. upon this return of the Parliament the King's affairs ſeem more deſperate, iii. 1072. the Parlialiament deſire, that part of Monk's forces may be ſent back to Scotland, iii. 1075. ſend Scot and Robinſon to meet General Monk, iii. 1077. reſolve to join others in commiſſion with Monk, and receive a petition by Barebone from the Fanatics, iii. 1082. ſend ſome members to treat with Monk, iii. 1086. the ſecluded members go to the Houſe, iii. 1092. their tranſactions there, ibid. they iſſue writs for a new Parliament, and diſſolve themſelves, and appoint a new Council of State, iii. 1093. the Parliament's and Council of State's prudent actions, iii. 1104. before the aſſembling of the new Parliament they releaſe Sir George Booth, &c. ibid. reform the navy by making Monk and Mountague Admirals, ibid. the Parliament meets, April 25, 1660, iii. 1145. General Monk acquaints the Houſe with Sir John Greenvil's bringing him a letter from the King,

King, iii. 1146. their proceedings thereupon, ibid. Sir John Greenvil called in, and delivers the letter to the Houſe of Commons, ibid. both letters and the declaration read, ibid. they are received with univerſal joy, ibid. all ordered to be printed, iii. 1147. Sir John Greenvil delivers the letter to the Houſe of Lords, ibid. the anſwer of the Houſe of Commons, iii. 1149. the anſwer delivered to Sir John Greenvil, iii. 1153. the committee of the Lords and Commons ſent to the King arrive at the Hague, iii. 1165. the two Houſes wait upon the King at Whitehall after his return, iii. 1170. (ſee Monk: ſee Tumult: ſee Lords: ſee Commons: ſee Members: ſee Biſhops: ſee Militia: ſee Kimbolton: ſee Fleet.)

Parliament, Scottiſh: Parliament ſummoned by the Covenanters in Scotland, ii. 571. Parliament meet in Scotland, and their deliberations, iii. 187. the Parliament being called in Scotland condemn Duke Hamilton's engagement, iii. 262. Parliament ſummoned in Scotland in the King's name, iii. 596. they meet at Stirling, and reconcile the Lords, ibid.

Parry, Sir George, ii. 958.

Parſons, Sir William, ii. 245.

Party: the violent party carry all before them, ii. 486.

Paw, iii. 367, 369.

Pawlet, Lord, i. 242, 1024, 1065, 1120. ii. 7, 29, 804, 809. Pawlet, Sir John, ii. 700.

Peace concluded between England and France, i. 103. Propoſitions of the two Houſes of Parliament for peace, ii. 175.

Peard, i. 208.

Peers in Council at York ſet down in writing the affronts and violence offered to them at London, i. 1020.

Peirey, Lord, ii. 771. iii. 234, 301, 798, 799, 802. Peirey, Mr. i. 415, 417, 419, 858, 877. 884. ii. 923.

Pembroke, Earl of, i. 191, 242, 247, 249, 423, 445, 637, 703, 743, 1099. ii. 105, 106, 175, 229, 665, 812, 860, 864, 881, 892, 894, 897. iii. 110, 855, 856, 857, 859. his character, i. 87. ii. 307. a remarkable ſtory relating to his death, i. 90. deprived of his office of Lord Chamberlain, i. 408.

Pen, (ſee Cromwell,) iii. 873, 876, 879, 880.

Pendennis caſtle ſurrendered to the Parliament, iii. 59.

Penkarnan, Edw. iii. 959.

Pennington, ii. 480. Pennington, Alderman, i. 314, 331, 457, 1096. ii. 156, 165. Pennington, Sir John, i. 693, 745, 746, 747, 1050, 1054, 1057, 1058, 1059, 1061, 1062, 1110. Pennington, Lord Mayor, made Keeper of the Tower, ii. 515. Pennington, Iſaac, 115, 147.

Pennyman, Sir William, ii. 206, 788.

Penruddock, iii. 844, 845, 848.

Peterborough, Earl of, iii. 184, 938. Peterborough, Jo. Biſhop of, i. 548.

Peters, ii. 933, 934.

Petition of ſome citizens of London againſt the government of the Church by biſhops, i. 314. great diſingenuity uſed in procuring petitions, i. 315. a petition preſented to the King together with the remonſtrance of the Houſe of Commons, and printed, i. 502. a petition publiſhed

published in the name of the apprentices against Papists and Prelates, i. 519. Petitions from several counties concerning the militia, i. 629. which are delivered to the Lords at a conference by Mr. Pym, ibid. Petition of the porters, and many thousands of people in and about London concerning the militia, i. 642. Petition of the inhabitants of the county of Surry, i. 647. of both Houses of Parliament to the King at Theobalds, i. 685. the petition of the Lords and Commons presented to his Majesty at York, March 26, 1642, i. 727. the Parliament's petition to the King at Beverly, July 15, 1642, i. 1069. the petition of both Houses to the King sent to the General to be presented, but never delivered, ii. 41, 56. the petition of both Houses to the King at Colebrook, ii. 106. of both Houses to the King, Nov. 24, 1642, ii. 118. of the city of London to the King that he would return to his Parliament, ii. 161. of the General Assembly of the Kirk in Scotland presented to the King by Mr. Henderson, signed Jan. 4, 164$\frac{2}{3}$, ii. 261. of the Common Council of London against peace, ii. 481. a tumultuous petition of apprentices, and others, to both Houses of Parliament concerning their militia, iii. 92. a petition intended of the Scottish Presbyterians by Balcarris and Frazier, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer might be removed, iii. 772. and of the Roman Catholics against him, ib. the *humble Petition and Advice*, iii. 903.

Pheasant, Serjeant, ii. 180.

Phillips, Father, iii. 591. Phillips, Col. Rob. conducts the King to a place near Salisbury, iii. 642.

Pierrepoint, ii. 248, 286, 861, 896, 908.

Pignoranda, Conde of, iii. 469, 470, 473. his character, iii. 508.

Piementel, Don Antonio, iii. 1035.

Pinkney, Quarter Master General, ii. 1061.

Plantations: the foreign plantations subdued by the Parliament forces, iii. 704.

Plate: a great deal of plate, &c. brought in for the use of the Parliament, i. 1016.

Pleffy Praslin, Marshal of, iii. 495.

Plot, (see Army.)

Plot, John, ii. 189.

Plunket, iii. 709.

Pointz, ii. 1071, 1072, 1078, 1080, 1084. defeats the King's horse at Chester, ii. 1069, 1070.

Pollard, i. 416, 417, 451, 858, 1103. iii. 1011. Pollard, Sir Hugh, i. 1065. ii. 994. iii. 860, 1063.

Pontefract castle, an account of the taking of it for the King, iii. 277. part of the garrison's attempt upon Rainsborough, iii. 285. Pontefract delivered up to Lambert, iii. 290.

Pope's Nuncio commands the Irish, iii. 310. leaves Ireland, iii. 311.

Popham, Alexander, ii. 4, 8, 417.

Popham, Col. Edw. ii. 889.

Porridge, Captain, ii. 1050.

Porter, ii. 964. Porter, Endymion, i. 25, 611. ii. 40. Porter, Lieutenant General, ii. 993, 1005, 1034, 1048, 1049.

Portland ſurrendered to the King's forces, ii. 503.
Portland, Earl of, (Sir Richard Weſton,) i. 98, 152, 153, 233, 410, 460, 827. ii. 310, 373, 379, 387, 485, 496. his character, i. 73.
Portſmouth declares for the King, i. 1113. is beſieged by the Parliament forces, ii. 2. ſurrendered to them, ii. 27. the ſoldiers before Portſmouth revolt to it, iii. 1067.
Portugal ambaſſador's brother beheaded, iii. 746, 747, 748.
Portugal, Prince of, iii. 514.
Potter, Dr. ii. 874.
Powel, Col. iii. 215, 231.
Poyer, Col. iii. 215, 231.
Poyning, i. 340.
Preaching: great licence in preaching and printing, i. 307, 313.
Preſbyterian (ſee Independents) clergy preach up rebellion, ii. 32. Preſbyterian miniſters diſpute with the King about epiſcopacy, iii. 327, &c. divers Preſbyterian divines come to the King at the Hague, iii. 1167. their private diſcourſe with him, iii. 1168.
Preſton, a fight near it, iii. 245.
Preſton, General, iii. 482, 650. his character, iii. 309.
Pretty, Captain, ii. 9.
Price, Herbert, iii. 858.
Prideaux, Dr. i. 470. Prideaux, Mr. ii. 611, 861, 890.
Prince Elector arrives at London, ii. 695.
Printing, (ſee Preaching.)
Privileges, the miſchief proceeding from the breach of them, i. 551.
Privy Council and ſome of the biſhops adviſe the King to paſs the bill of attainder againſt the Earl of Stratford i. 398.
Privy counſellors: divers new privy counſellors ſworn of the popular party, i. 302. the great diſſervice which befell the King upon this account, i. 303. the character of the privy counſellors with the King at Oxford, ii. 295, &c. of thoſe who ſtayed with the Parliament, ii. 306, &c.
Proclamation: the ill effects of the proclamation for breaking up of the ſecond Parliament of King Charles I. i. 104. a proclamation of the King from Beverly, i. 1065. of the King for aſſembling the members of Parliament at Oxford, ii. 622. againſt proclaiming Charles Stuart King, iii. 397.
Progers, Harry, iii. 559.
Projects of all kinds, i. 104. of knighthood, i. 105. of reviving foreſt laws, ibid. of ſhipmoney, ibid.
Propoſition for borrowing money in the city, i. 329. diſcouraged and defeated by the party, i. 331. the nineteen propoſitions ſent to the King by both Houſes, June 2, 1642, i. 992. Propoſitions for peace given by the Houſe of Lords to the Houſe of Commons in a conference, ii. 477. Propoſitions from Ireland rejected by the King, ii. 833.
Proteſtants of Germany and France received in England, ii. 141. but at length diſcountenanced, ii. 142.
Proteſtation taken by both Houſes of Parliament, i. 391. Explanation thereof, i. 393. Abuſe of the end of proteſtation in the Houſe of Peers, i. 634. a proteſtation of ſome of the Houſe of Peers in the caſe of the Duke of Richmond, i. 637.

637. taken into conſideration by the Houſe of Commons, ibid. a proteſtation taken by both parties in Devon and Cornwall before the treaty between them, ii. 203. the proteſtation of the ſecluded members, iii 363.
Pryn, Will. i. 146. ii. 615. his character, i. 308. the entry of Pryn, Baſtwick, and Burton into London, i. 308—313. Libellous and infamous offenders, ibid. and therefore puniſhed accordingly, ibid. yet without any good effect upon them, ibid.
Puleſton, John, ii. 180.
Pye, Sir Robert, ii. 978.
Pym, i. 223, 228, 269, 270, 271, 291, 326, 328, 338, 351, 355, 356, 363, 388, 389, 394, 415, 417, 420, 436, 457, 458, 460, 469, 487, 500, 523, 529, 555, 584, 657, 658, 659, 675, 702, 728, 733, 763, 796, 802. ii. 155, 377, 378, 484. his and others' ſpeeches concerning grievances, i. 207. begins the debate about them, i. 265. how he endeavours to prove one witneſs as good as two in the caſe of my Lord Strafford, i. 352—355. delivers the petitions of ſeveral counties about the militia to the Lords at a conference, i. 629. his ſpeech printed by order, i. 633. his ſpeech upon the King's anſwer to the petition of the city of London, that he would return to his Parliament, ii. 171. his death and character, i. 268. ii. 691.
Pyne, John, ii. 889.

Q.

Quatermaine, Dr. iii. 937.
Queen, (ſee Chancellor,) the danger ſhe is in, i. 651, 652, 653. ſhipped for Holland, i. 679. where ſhe provides powder and arms, i. 829. very diligent in providing aſſiſtance there for the King, i. 1049. ſends arms, ammunition, and artillery to him, i. 1051. advances his intereſt in Holland, ii. 212. arrives at Burlington from Holland, ibid. in great danger, i. 213. impeached of high treaſon by the Houſe of Commons, ii. 369. retires from Oxford to Exeter, ii. 715. delivered of a daughter, ii. 751. retires into France, ii. 764. A letter from the Queen to the Chancellor of the Exchequer concerning the Prince's removal into France, iii. 6. ſhe ſends a paper to be delivered to the Parliament, but it is laid aſide, iii. 368. her firſt meſſage to King Charles II. iii. 418. ſhe adviſes him to agree with the Scots upon their terms, iii. 520. conſults the Chancellor of the Exchequer about the Duke of York's marrying with Mademoiſelle de Longueville, iii. 688. her diſpleaſure againſt the Chancellor of the Exchequer in France, iii. 771. ſhe moves the King to make Herbert Lord Keeper, iii. 779. prevails with the King to leave the Duke of Glouceſter with her, iii. 801.
Queen Mother of France, (ſee France.)

R.

Ragland caſtle ſurrendered to the Parliament, iii. 59.
Rainſborough, Col. iii. 98, 99, 198, 199, 260, 277, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289. he and ſome other

other officers put on ſhore by the ſeamen, iii. 205.
Ramſey, ii. 66, 121, 123.
Ranzaw, Marſhal, iii. 247.
Ratcliff, Sir George, (ſee Herbert: ſee Charles II.) i. 332. iii. 589, 659.
Raynolds, ii. 246. iii. 909. caſt away coming out of Flanders, iii. 916
Reading, the garriſon deſerts the place, and the King takes poſſeſſion of it, ii. 104. beſieged, ii. 340. ſurrendered upon articles, ii. 355. poſſeſſed again by the King's forces, ii. 523. quitted by them, ii. 723.
Rebellion in Ireland, news of it, i. 465.
Reeve, Juſtice, i. 1089. ii. 179, 612, 613.
Remonſtrance (ſee Petition) of the Houſe of Commons carried by nine voices, i. 412. ordered to be printed, i. 490. the ſubſtance of it, ibid. a new remonſtrance deſigned by the committee at Grocers' Hall, i. 609. the matter they prepared for it, ibid. Remonſtrance of the two Houſes, May 26, 1642, i. 897. what effect it had, i. 928. the large remonſtrance of the army brought to the Houſe of Commons by ſix officers, iii. 357.
De Retz, Cardinal, ſent to the Baſtille, iii. 776.
Reynolds, iii. 1167. Reynolds, Richard, iii. 959. Reynolds, Robert, ii. 656.
Rhodes, Sir Edw. ii. 206, 208.
Rich, iii. 902. Rich, Lord, i. 96, 1024. Rich, Col. iii. 265.
Richard II. King, i. 349, 833, 838. iii. 370.
Richard III. King, i. 927.
Richaute, Monſieur, ii. 773.
Richelieu, Cardinal, i. 197. ii. 137, 598, 1124, 1125, 1126.
Richmond, Duke of, i. 123, 247, 327, 425, 636, 637, 641, 1024. ii. 40, 76, 79, 309, 711, 838, 851, 855, 861, 865, 870, 871, 930, 1019, 1116. iii. 275, 393, 395. his character, ii. 295. he and the Earl of Southampton ſent to London with a meſſage for treaty, ii. 851.
Rivers, Earl, i. 1024. ii. 40. Rivers, Counteſs, ii. 31.
Roberts, Lord, i 391, 421. ii. 64, 666, 766, 779, 785, 799, 1010, 1093.
Robinſon, iii. 1077, 1084. Robinſon, Lieut. Col. ii. 969, 1093. iii. 216.
Rocheſter, Earl of, iii. 766, 854, 858, 861, 920, 944. returns to the King from Ratiſbon, iii. 813. obtains leave of the King to go into England in order to make an inſurrection, iii 840. deſigns for the North; his enterpriſe unfortunate, iii. 849. he returns to London; whence he adviſes the King of the ill ſucceſs, iii. 850. an accident that befell him in his return, ibid. he eſcapes to the King, iii. 851, 852. (ſee Wilmot.)
Rochfort, Lord, ii. 666.
Rogers, ii. 411.
Roles, iii. 848.
Rolls, Serjeant, ii. 179.
Rolph, iii. 351, 352, 353, 354, 355.
Roſcommon, ii. 658.
Roſcorroth, ii. 958.
Roſpighoſi, Julio, (ſee Aſcham.)
Roſſiter, ii. 1078, 1084. Roſſiter, Col. iii. 75.
Rotherham, Tho. ii. 658.
Rothes, Earl of, i. 125, 293, 294, 295, 434.
Round-head, the term, whence, i. 528.

Roundway-down fight, ii. 434.
Rouſe, iii 732.
Rouſwell, Col ii. 350.
Rowe, Sir Thomas, ii. 138, 139.
Rozetti, Count of, i. 252, 494, 691, 718 858.
Rupert, Prince, i. 1052. ii. 2, 21, 35, 36, 50, 59, 61, 62, 63, 65, 66, 67, 69, 71, 77, 109, 129, 188, 432, 437, 442, 448, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 470, 471, 475, 492, 516, 518, 519, 521, 522, 523, 542, 578, 715, 719, 720, 727, 743, 752, 754, 755, 756, 762, 769, 771, 772, 809, 810, 811, 821, 824, 829, 830, 902, 906, 916, 934, 935, 953, 958, 964, 973, 975, 976, 978, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 994, 997, 1006, 1015, 1017. 1019, 1032, 1039, 1040, 1041, 1042, 1053, 1072, 1073, 1079, 1080, 1082. iii. 29, 207, 234, 235, 249, 251, 253, 292, 293, 294, 304, 311, 312, 313, 420, 513, 514, 515, 741, 788, 791, 912. in a ſkirmiſh defeats the Parliament forces near Worceſter, ii 37. marches towards the North, ii. 347. takes Bromicham, ii. 349. and Litchfield, and returns to the King, ii 352. beats up ſome of the Earl of Eſſe 's quarters with good ſucceſs, ii 391. beſieges Briſtol, ii 439. and takes it, ii. 443. takes Bedford, ii. 589. relieves Newark, ii. 697. does good ſervice in Lancaſhire, ii. 713. has ill ſucceſs at Marſton Moor, ii. 753, 754. retires from Naſeby to Briſtol, ii. 988. delivers up Briſtol, ii. 1035. commanded by the King to deliver up all his commiſſions, ii. 1042. undertakes the command of the Prince of Wales's fleet, iii. 312. ſets ſail for Ireland in December in 1648, iii. 314. comes upon the coaſt of Spain, iii. 511. his letter to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, ibid. he goes with the groſs of his fleet into the river of Liſbon, iii. 512. eſcapes out of the river of Liſbon with his fleet, iii. 515. arrives at Nantes with his fleet, iii. 777. gives an ill account of his fleet, iii 779 leaves the King; and goes into Germany, iii. 799. reſigns to him the place of Maſter of the Horſe, ibid
Ruſſel, Sir William, i. 290. ii. 848.
Ruthen, General, ii. 59, 84, 197, 198, 199, 200.
Rutland, Earl of, i. 54. ii. 450, 611, 665.
Ruvignie, iii. 3.
Ryves, ii. 958.

S.

Sa, Don Pantaleon, brother to the Portugal ambaſſador, beheaded, iii. 746—748.
Sackville, Sir Edw. afterwards Earl of Dorſet, i 92.
St. Alban's, Earl of, i 235.
Saint-George, Colonel, ii. 980.
Saint-Hill, ii 958.
Saint-John, (ſee Parliament: ſee Cromwell,) i. 218, 228, 369, 394, 457, 499, 500, 514, 604. ii. 611, 693, 861, 863, 890, 908. his character, i. 287. is made Solicitor General, i. 326. defends the bill of attainder againſt the Earl of Strafford in point of law, i. 360. ſeconds the bill preferred by Sir Arthur Haſlerig for ſettling

tling the militia, i. 431. his propofal to the King being put in practice, is voted by both Houfes a breach of privilege, i. 510. (fee Parliament) He declares the power of the militia not to be in the King, i. 514 is appointed to bring in a bill to fettle that matter, i. 516. which he does, ibid. Saint-John's, Lord, ii 64, 85 his character, ii. 79.
St. Leger, Sir William, ii. 822.
Salifbury, a rifing there, iii. 844. the unfortunate iffue of it, iii. 847.
Salifbury, Bifhop of, ii. 1024, 1047. Salifbury, Earl of, i. 242, 247, 689, 1024. ii. 175, 665 860, 894. his character, ii. 311.
Saltafh taken by the King's forces, ii. 200.
Sanderfon, Dr. iii 76.
Sandford prognofticated the Earl of Pembroke's death, i. 90.
Sandys, Col. ii. 37, 50.
Savile, Lord, i. 241, 242, 403, 502, 1024. ii. 494. his character, ii. 303.
Savoy, Duke of, iii. 987, 1046.
Say, Lord, i. 183, 242, 270, 288, 302, 327, 336, 358, 362, 385, 394, 395, 396, 407, 542, 700. ii. 35, 67, 84, 105, 248, 249, 250, 309, 369, 666, 810, 907. iii. 316, 321. his character, i. 281. ii. 316.
Scarborough caftle delivered up to the Queen, ii. 214.
Scawen, ii. 958.
Schomberg, iii 821, 928, 929.
Schout, Theodore, ii. 639.
Scilly delivered up to Sir George Ayfcue, iii. 706.
Scot, iii. 1077, 1084.
Scottifh canons, concerning them, i. 163. touching the Scottifh Liturgy, i. 168. the manner how it was received at Edinburgh, i. 170. the Scottifh Covenant, i. 174. the Scottifh commiffioners come to London, and lodge in the city, i. 293. prefent two diftinct declarations againft the Archbifhop of Canterbury and the Earl of Stratford, i 297 wait upon the King, iii. 108 they enter a proteftation againft the four acts which the Parliament fends to the King to pafs, iii. 133 their private treaty with the King at Hampton Court, iii 153. the Scottifh commiffioners come to Breda; and the terms they bring, iii. 521. the Scottifh Clergy always about the King, iii. 534. their fermons before him, ibid. (fee Lowden)
Scotland (fee Act. fee Montrofe) tranfactions about introducing a Liturgy into Scotland, i 128. Affairs in Scotland after the King's return thence, relating chiefly to the compofing a Liturgy and Canons, i. 161. Tranfactions in Scotland touching Montrofe, Argyle, and Hamilton, i. 463 the condition and inclinations of Scotland after the battle at Edgehill, ii. 95 the petition of the General Affembly of the Kirk of Scotland to the King, ii. 261. the condition of Scotland about the time the King was beheaded, iii. 422 Commiffioners fent from the Parliament of Scotland before the death of the King to the Parliament of England, iii 424 their private inftructions from Argyle's party, iii. 425 upon the King's trial they enter their proteftation and diffent,

iii. 426. the Parliament ſend their anſwer to it after the King's murder, iii. 429. the commiſſioners reply, and are impriſoned, but afterwards freed, iii. 430 an account of Scotland brought to the King by a Scottiſh vicar that Middleton brought with him, iii. 676. the requeſts to the King of his friends there, iii 677. the ſtate of Scotland under Cromwell, iii. 748, 765, 870.

Scots' army rout the Lord Conway at Newburn, i 225. enter Newcaſtle, i. 226. Petition the King, i. 242 upon it a treaty appointed at Rippon, ibid. where the commiſſioners meet and tranſact, i. 243. 200,000 pounds voted to the Scots for a gratuity, beſides their monthly allowance, i. 413. the acts offered by the Scots to the King to be confirmed, i. 479, 480. they raiſe an army under Leſley, ii. 576. enter England in Jan. 1643, ii. 617. riſe from before Hertford, and march into the North, ii 1039. how the Scots' army treated the King upon his delivery of himſelf up to them, iii. 34 they march northward with the King to Newcaſtle, ibid. enforce the Parliament's propoſitions for peace by their Chancellor, iii. 54. agree to deliver up the King, iii. 56. their preparations for an expedition into England, iii 185. the parties of the Scots at the Hague in the beginning of the reign of King Charles II. iii. 430 the Scots raiſe an army againſt Cromwell, iii. 566 but are defeated by him at Dunbar, iii 568

Scroop, Lord, i. 372. Scroop, Colonel, iii. 266. Scroop, Mr. ii. 83. Scroop, Sir Gervas, ibid.

Seaford, Earl of, iii. 435.

Sects: divers ſects increaſe in the army, iii. 63.

Selden, i. 886, 891, 1041.

Self-denying ordinance, ii. 850. it paſſes the Commons, ii. 908. and the Lords, ii. 942.

Senneterre, Monſieur la Ferté, ii. 599.

Sexby, an account of him and his negociation, iii. 970.

Seymour, iii. 645. Seymour, Queen Jane, ii. 394. Seymour, Lord, i. 337, 1024, 1065, 1120. ii. 29, 861. his character, ii. 302. Seymour, Sir John, ii. 444. Seymour, Col. ii. 596. Seymour, Harry, ii. 494. iii. 240. ſent to the King from his friends in England, iii. 791.

Sheffield, Col. ii. 395.

Sheldon, Dr. ii. 874. iii. 76. Sheldon, Serjeant Major, ii. 427.

Sherborne, (ſee Digby.)

Ship-money, i. 105, 107. Miſchiefs accruing from the judges being for it, i. 109.

Ships, (ſee Fleet.)

Shrewſbury, Earl of, i. 88.

Shrewſbury, great houſe of, i. 86.

Shrewſbury taken by the Parliament forces, ii. 888.

Shropſhire: (ſee Lancaſhire:) the gentlemen of Shropſhire ready for bringing in the King, iii. 1010.

Shurley, Geo. ii. 658.

Sidney, Algernon, iii. 1106.

Skippon, Serjeant-Major-General, i. 591, 593, 598, 599, 830, 847, 976. ii. 344, 787. makes conditions with the King for the Earl of Eſſex's foot after the eſcape of the horſe, ii. 786.

Slanning, Sir Nich. ii. 194, 199, 403, 424, 429, 442. flain, ii. 447. his character, ibid.
Slannings, iii. 62.
Slingfby, Captain, i. 1059.
Slingfby, Sir Harry, tried before a High Court of Juftice, iii. 940. condemned, iii 944 executed, iii. 945. an account of him, ibid. Slingfby, Lieut. Col. ii. 442.
Smith, Dudley, ii. 436 Smith, Major, i. 248. Smith, Captain, ii. 71 Smith, Sir John, ii. 711. Smith, Mr. ii. 990
Soldiers in London refolve to reftore the Parliament; and wait on the Speaker, iii. 1069.
Somerfet, Earl of, i. 14, 88. Somerfet, Lord John, ii. 231, 232.
Soubize, Monfieur de, i. 47.
Southampton, Earl of, (fee Richmond.) i. 391, 421, 1018, 1024. ii. 10, 12, 14, 858, 851, 861, 930, 1116 iii. 117, 123, 275. his character, ii 298.
Southerland, Earl of, iii 532.
Spain, King of, (fee Treaty: fee Cottington.)
Spaniſh fleet beaten by the Engliſh, iii. 889 the bullion taken from it conveyed from Portſmouth to London, ibid.
Spencer, Lord, i. 1018.
Spiller, Sir H. i. 10.
Spotſwood, Sir Robert, iii. 51.
Spurflow, iii. 327.
Stacy, Col. condemned and executed, iii. 947.
Stafford garriſoned by ſome gentlemen for the King, ii. 222.
Stafford, Sir Edw. iii. 577.
Staines, Dr. iii. 126
Stamford, Earl of, i. 1089, 1090 ii. 189, 197, 199, 200, 203, 219. 220. 409, 421, 470, 504, 508, 666. iii 675 marches into Cornwall with an army, ii. 401 beaten near Stratton, May 16, 1643, ii 404. endeavours to clear himſelf from the cenſure of ill conduct, but in vain, ii 406.
Stapleton, i. 292. 370, 487 1125. ii 907 iii. 87, 97. Stapleton, Sir Philip, i 462, 1068.
Stapley, iii. 940, 941, 942. his engagement for the King, iii. 937. he diſcovers what he knows of the plot. iii. 939
Starchamber, (ſee Council Table)
Stawel, Lord, i. 1120 Stawel, Sir John, ii 7, 413, 808, 925, 949, 959, 996, 997.
Stayner, Captain, iii. 911
Steel, iii. 403, 1056
Stenny, (ſee Buckingham)
Stephens, Sir John, iii 1094
Stephens, Edw. ii. 414.
Steward, Dr. ii 868, 874, 876. iii. 211, 464 dies preſently after the Kings return into France, iii. 671
Stewart, Lord, ii 76. Stewart, Lord Bernard, ii 65, 78, 746, 748, 778, 984 Stewart, Lord John, ii. 78, 711.
Storm, (ſee Wind)
Story, a pleaſant ſtory of two men of great fortunes near Nottingham, ii. 46
Stradling, Captain, i 1060
Stradling, Sir Edw. ii 81.
Stratford, Earl of, i 196, 217, 220, 227, 233, 234, 235, 239, 241, 243, 244, 246, 247, 248, 250, 253, 254, 260, 266, 270, 291, 311, 328, 358, 363, 371, 372, 373, 374, 376, 385, 388, 394, 395, 396, 428, 411, 417, 435, 460, 462, 490, 495, 517, 527, 541, 743, 553.

553, 581, 606, 638, 663, 763, 796, 887, 888. ii. 239, 245, 297, 298, 299, 302, 303, 319, 529, 693, 694, 768, 915, 916, 931. iii. 89, 1143. Lieutenant General under the Earl of Northumberland, i. 225. impeached of high treason, i. 270. committed to the Black Rod, i. 271. a committee of members draw up a charge against him, i. 279. proceedings towards his trial, i. 297—302. a committee from Ireland in order to the prosecution of him, i. 332. considerations touching the manner of his trial, i. 333—337. his trial begins March 22, 1640, i. 337. the charge against him, i. 338. his defence, i. 339—347. the conclusion of his defence, i. 347. his Council heard as to matters of law, i. 348. A bill of attainder brought into the House of Commons against him, i. 351. which passes in few days, i. 379 and is sent up to the House of Lords, and defended in point of law by Mr. Saint-John, i. 360. the bill not received very warmly in the House of Lords, i. 377. two accidents that contributed much towards the passing of it, i. 378. it passes the House of Lords, i. 398. the Earl himself writes to the King to pass it, i. 400. which he did, i. 401. the Earl was beheaded May 12, 1641, i. 402. his character, i. 234, 402, 403, 404.

Straffordians: under that name exposed, i. 360.

Strange, Lord, ii. 50, 215.

Strangeways Sir John, i. 329. ii. 958.

Stratton, a fight near that place ii. 404.

Straughan, i. 1050. sent against the Marquis of Mountrose, iii. 531. defeats him, iii. 533.

Streater, Col. iii. 1102.

Strickland, ii. 136. iii. 419.

Strickland, Sir Rob. iii. 258.

Strode, i. 223, 292, 457, 469, 489, 555, 584, 588, 675. ii. 417, 501. Strode, Sir George, ii. 81. Strode, Will. ii. 88.

Sturgion, John, iii. 959.

Sudely castle surendered to Sir William Waller, ii. 734.

Suffolk, Earl of, i. 74. ii. 666, 801, 802.

Sunderland, Earl of, iii. 707 slain in the battle at Newbury, ii. 524.

Swaffenburgh, Count of, iii. 882

Syms, ii. 968, 969.

Syndercome, iii 968. his design against Cromwell, iii 981. his death, iii. 981.

T.

Taffe, Lord, ii 236, 237.

Tarah, Lord, iii. 886.

Taunton taken by the Marquis of Hertford, ii. 413.

Temper of the army and the Court at Oxford upon return of the King thither, ii. 541. of the nation at the beginning of the year 1642, iii 179.

Tewkesbury, (see Hereford)

Thelwell, Col. ii. 745, 820.

Thomas, iii. 959. Thomas, Prince, iii. 927.

Thornhill, Col. ii. 991.

Throgmorton, Sir Will. iii. 610.

Thurles, Lord, iii 658.

Thurlow, iii. 859, 862, 942, 1012.

Tichborne, Hen. ii. 658.

Tichburn, iii 998, 1056.

Tildesley,

Tildesley, Sir Thomas, iii. 610. retires to Monroe, iii. 257. his character, iii. 612.
Times before the Long Parliament, the felicity of them, notwithstanding some invasions on the subject, i. 115. compared with the times of Queen Elizabeth, ibid. and with those of King James, i. 116.
Titus, Captain, iii. 597.
Tomkins, (see Walter:) ii. 386, 481. iii. 375. his trial and execution, ii. 385.
Tomlinson, Col. iii. 382.
Tonnage, the truth of the case of tonnage and poundage, i. 408.
Topping, Lieut. Col. ii. 822.
Torre, Don Diego de la, iii. 510.
Torrington, an action there, ii. 506.
Tower, reflections of it committed by the two Houses to the Lord Mayor Pennington, ii. 513.
Townsend, Sir Horatio, iii. 1009, 1018, 1075, 1165.
Traquaire, Earl of, i. 169, 192. ii. 453.
Treasury put into commission, i. 326.
Treaty with the Scots appointed at Rippon, i 242. it is adjourned to London, i. 250. Treaty between the two parties in Devon and Cornwall, after a protestation was first taken by both, ii. 203. between the King and Parliament begins at Oxford upon the propofals of cessation, but that takes no effect, ii. 287. the sum of the demands and concessions of both sides upon the first article of the treaty, ii. 321. the treaty expires, ii. 335. the substance of the treaty between the English commissioners and the Scots, ii 575. a treaty at Uxbridge, ii 864. a treaty between the King and the Scots set on foot by the interposition of France, ii. 1122. a treaty with the Scots signed by the King, December 26, 1647, iii. 153, 154. the substance of it, iii. 156. a treaty concluded to be at Newport, iii. 276 a treaty in the Isle of Wight, iii 315. the whole history of it, iii 315—355. a treaty signed, April 1657 between Spain and King Charles II. iii. 885. a treaty of peace between France and Spain, iii. 1025 a full account of it, iii. 1025—1033. (see Pacification)
Trelawny, i. 698. iii. 1011.
Trelawnies, iii 62.
Trevannion, Colonel John, ii. 194, 109, 403, 442 slain, ii 447. his character, ibid.
Trevannions, iii 62.
Trevor, Baron, ii 566, 612.
Trial of the Earl of Strafford i. 377 of Mr. Wallins and Mr Chaloner, ii. 385. of Archbishop Laud, ii 850 of King Charles I. iii 8.
Trimouille, Duke de iii 625.
Tullibardine, Earl of, i 82
Tumult about Lambeth House, i 223 great tumults about the House of Peers, i. 397, 522. about Whitehall, ibid the tumults increase about Whitehall and Westminster, i 525.
Turenne, Marshal of, iii 504, 667, 682, 808, 880, 971, 972, 973, 974, 976, 1022. Turenne, Madam, iii. 990.
Tyrenes, Anth. ii. 639, 640.

V.

Vall-Periso, Marquis de, iii 506
Vandruske, ii. 946, 948, 964, 995.

Vane, Sir Harry, i. 191, 216, 217, 233, 234, 235, 247, 248, 278, 300, 317, 346, 347, 351, 352, 353, 355, 359, 362, 404, 457, 499, 528, 1099. ii. 304, 450, 533, 574, 575, 714, 715, 766, 842, 861, 890, 907, 942, 1122. iii. 93, 95, 96, 185, 271, 276, 316, 426, 720, 724, 749, 915, 1051, 1054, 1056, 1068. made Secretary of State, i. 196. turned out of that office, i. 502. Vane, Sir Harry, the elder's character, ii. 318. Vane, Sir Harry, the junior's character, i. 289. ii. 569. his ſpeech upon the commiſſioners' report of the treaty at Newport, iii. 355. he with others that concurred with the Committee of Safety confined to their houſes, iii. 1071.

Van Trump beaten, iii. 738. comes to ſea with another fleet, iii. 739. is beaten and ſlain, iii. 739, 740.

Varney, i. 1127.

Vavaſour, Sir Charles, ii. 700. Vavaſour, Sir William, ii. 81, 475.

Vaughan, Sir Geo. ii. 426.

Udall, Sir William, ii. 12.

Venables, General, (ſee Cromwell.) iii. 873. beaten by a few Spaniards, iii. 877. he reembarks and makes a deſcent upon Jamaica; where he ſucceeds, iii. 878.

Venn, Captain, i. 457, 526. ii. 166.

Vere, Lord, i. 221. ii. 800. iii. 386, 1060. Vere, Lady, iii. 86.

Verney, Sir Edm. ii. 66, 71, 76, 79.

Vic, Sir Hen. de, iii. 588, 930.

Vieu Ville, Marquis of, ii. 519.

Villa Magna, Marquis of, iii. 506.

Villiers, Lord Francis, iii. 183, 264, 265. Villiers, Sir George, father to the Duke of Buckingham, i. 13, 65. Villiers, Geo. Duke of Buckingham, (ſee Buckingham.) Villiers, Mr. Edward, i. 1056, 1057, 1058, 1059, 1110.

Vines, ii. 874.

Viole, iii. 1038.

Virginia delivered up to the Parliament forces, iii. 706.

Univerſities: the two Univerſities contribute their money and plate to the King, ii. 45.

Votes of both Houſes concerning the militia, i. 707. for raiſing an army, i. 1067. for raiſing and procuring money, ii. 43. a vote of no more addreſſes to the King, &c. iii. 139. which is ſeconded by a declaration, iii. 141. The vote of no more addreſſes repealed, iii. 276. a vote of the Houſe of Commons upon the King's being carried to Hurſt caſtle, iii 359. a vote of the Houſe of Commons, "that the King's anſwer to their propoſitions "was a ground for peace," iii. 361. a vote of the Houſe of Commons, "that thoſe who "were abſent at the negative "vote ſhould ſit no more in "the Houſe," iii. 363. The vote of no more addreſſes renewed, ibid. Votes of the Houſe of Commons, iii. 364. a vote againſt the office of Kingſhip, iii. 397.

Vow, (ſee Covenant.)

Vowel tried before the High Court of Juſtice, iii. 743. condemned, iii. 744. executed at Charing Croſs, iii. 745. his magnanimous behaviour, ibid.

Urry, Col. ii. 823. deſerts the Parliament, comes over to the King, and does good ſervice,

ii. 390. is received with great kindneſs by the King, ii. 393. deſerts the King, and diſcovers to the Parliament what he knows of the King's army, ii. 816. Urry, Sir William, iii. 538.

Uſher, Colonel, ii. 351.

Uxbridge treaty, ii 864 firſt of religion, ii. 868. ſecondly of the militia, ii. 882. thirdly of Ireland, ii. 883. ſome accidents happened in the time of this treaty, which made impreſſion on each party, ii. 888. the end of it without effect, ii. 900.

W.

Wagſtaffe, Colonel, ii. 351, 352, 442. Wagſtaff, Sir Joſeph, ii. 955, 1051. goes into England with the Earl of Rocheſter in order to make an inſurrection, iii. 840. deſigns for the Weſt, iii. 843. his enterpriſe unfortunate, iii. 847.

Wainman, Lord, ii. 861. Wainman, Captain Samuel, ii. 797.

Wake, Baldwin, ii. 1099. Wake, Captain ii. 1032.

Wales, Prince of, (ſee Charles I.) i. 21, 22, 23, 98, 309. a treaty ſet on foot for his marriage with the daughter of the King of France, after the match with the Infanta of Spain was broke, i. 37.

Wales, Prince of, (ſee Council: ſee Charles II.) i. 195, 605, 679, 680, 832. ii. 31, 39, 71, 224, 297, 300, 301, 671, 975, 989, 1028, 1043, 1086. iii. 6, 17, 18, 19, 39, 147, 153, 305, 358, 433, 496, 497, 799. the ſtate of the principality of Wales in the end of the year 1642, ii. 227. Prince of Wales made General of the King's forces and of the weſtern aſſociation, ii. 906. ſent by the King to reſide at Briſtol, ii. 930. the ſtate of the weſtern counties when he came thither, ii. 945, &c. the end of his journey into the Weſt, ibid. he gives too much ear to his nurſe Mrs. Windham, ii. 960. the inconvenience of this, ibid. the commiſſioners of Devon complain to him of Sir Richard Grenvil, ii. 965. upon which the Prince ſends three commiſſioners of his own to Exeter, and ſo to return to Briſtol, ii. 967. comes to Barnſtable, ii. 994. Propoſitions made to him by the Lord Goring, ii. 1025. which he grants, ii. 1026. a deſign to petition the Prince of Wales to ſend conditions of peace prevented, ii. 1032. he goes to Pendennis, ii 1095. thence by ſea to Scilly, ii. 1101. a meſſage to him from the Parliament, ii. he embarks from Scilly, and lands at Jerſey, April 17, 1646. iii. 5. inclined to go into France, but his Council averſe, iii 6, 10. ſends the Lord Capel and Colepepper to the Queen about that matter, iii 10. his anſwer to the Lord Digby's requeſt that he would go into Ireland, iii. 14 Debates in his Council concerning his going into France, iii 37 he reſolves to go, iii. 41 all but one of his Council diſſent and ſtay behind, ibid his treatment when he came into France, iii. 49 his condition at Paris, iii. 175. he goes into Holland from Calais, iii. 176.

is received at the fleet, iii. 207. factions in his fleet, iii 207, 234. he comes into the Downs with the fleet, iii. 210. thence into the river of Thames. iii. 212. takes several ships, iii. 235. writes to the city of London, iii. 237. writes to the earl of Warwick, iii. 240. goes to sea towards Holland, after having attempted to fight the Earl of Warwick, iii. 241. comes to the Hague, iii. 248. Divisions in his Court there, iii. 249. the letter of the Parliament of Scotland to the Prince of Wales, iii. 252. Deliberation in his Council about the letter, iii 254. the condition of the Prince and the Duke of York at the Hague, and the factions among their followers, iii. 291. the ill condition of his fleet in Holland, iii. 295 he has the small pox, iii. 299. recovers and takes account of his melancholic and perplexed affairs, ibid. defies the States to intercede with the two Houses, iii. 366. sends a letter to Fairfax and the Council of War, iii. 381. which is read and laid aside, iii. 382. Proclamation against proclaiming him King, iii. 397.

Walker, Sir Edw. ii. 749. iii. 553. Walker, Mr. ii. 614.

Waller, Sir Hardress, ii. 241, 1060. Waller, Sir William, i. 1113, 1119. ii. 29, 69, 123, 187, 247, 346, 409, 410, 411, 438, 439, 441, 450, 453, 479, 482, 483, 495, 514, 523, 540, 552, 568, 615, 660, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 716, 717, 718, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 737, 738, 739, 740, 742, 743, 744, 745, 747, 751, 765, 778, 780, 781, 787, 790, 803, 804, 807, 810, 811, 812, 816, 818, 837, 845, 902, 907, 936, 943, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 958, 975. 987. iii. 77, 87, 563, 375, 486, 1111 routs the Lord Herbert, ii. 232. takes Hereford and Tewkesbury; both which he presently leaves, ii. 233 comes before Worcester; but is repulsed, ii. 346. sent by the Parliament into the West with an army, ii 415. takes up his quarters at Bath, ii 417—422. defeats Sir James Hamilton, ii. 422. is defeated at Lansdown, ii. 423—426. he follows the Marquis of Hertford towards Oxford, ii. 428 besieges the Devizes, ii. 430. engages with the King's forces in Roundway-down, and is defeated, ii. 430, &c. defeats the King's forces in a skirmish at Alton, ii 706 takes Arundel castle, ii 707. defeats the Lord Hopton at Alresford, ii. 710 marches towards Worcester after the King, ii. 734 fights with the King at Cropredy-bridge, and is defeated, ii. 744, &c nominated General of Ireland, but opposed by Cromwell, who propotes Lambert, iii. 181. Waller, Mr. ii. 385, 495, 496. iii. 375. concerned with Tomkins, &c. ii. 370. his behaviour on that occasion, ii. 385, &c.

Walsh, Sir Robert, iii. 292, 293, 294.

Walsingham, iii. 774.

Walton, iii. 1052, 1057.

War against Spain, i. 30. War declared

declared with France, i. 40. War with France and Spain prejudicial to England, i. 61. thence the ruin of the Duke of Buckingham to be dated, i. 64. the levying of war in England from what day to be dated, i. 596. War with the Dutch begins, and upon what account, iii. 695.
Warbeck, Perkin, i. 926, 985.
Ware, Col. ii. 409. Ware, James, ii 658.
Warneford, ii. 188.
Warren, Harry, iii. 1061.
Warreton, iii. 1056.
Warwick, Earl of, i. 96, 282, 285, 302, 362, 425, 426, 430, 431, 457, 744, 745, 746, 747, 750, 765, 1050, 1054, 1055, 1056, 1058, 1059, 1060, 1061, 1062, 1072. ii. 58, 117, 213, 312, 313, 314, 338, 421, 612, 666, 714, 898, 934, 942. iii. 96, 183, 199, 212, 241, 242, 251, 288, 300, 407, 906, 908, 1165. made Admiral of the fleet by the Parliament, i. 1059, 1060. his character, ii. 312. with his fleet, attempts the relief of Exeter; but succeeds not, ii. 505. his answer to the Prince of Wales's letter in 1648, iii. 240. he follows the Prince of Wales towards Holland, iii. 242. with his fleet comes upon the coast of Holland, iii. 298. the death of him and his grandson, iii. 981.
Wathington, Col ii. 442.
Watson, iii. 126. 140.
Web, Colonel William, ii. 792. 855. Web, Major General, ii. 1060, 1101.
Weemes, ii. 747.
Wemmes, iii 598.
Wentworth, i. 191, 967. Wentworth, G. ii 658. Wentworth, Lord, ii. 1029, 1030, 1034, 1036, 1046, 1048, 1049, 1051, 1058, 1059, 1060, 1061, 1062, 1086, 1087, 1089, 1090, 1091. iii. 23, 27, 234, 522, 662, 920. his horse beaten at Ashburton, ii. 1067, 1068. constituted commander of the horse of the remains of the western army, ii 1088. Wentworth, Col. Harry, ii. 59.
West: the King's affairs in the West, ii. 400, 501, 589. The state of the western counties upon the arrival of the Prince of Wales at Bristol, ii. 945, &c. The affairs of the West about the time of the battle at Naseby, ii. 989. The King's affairs in the West about the time of his arrival at Oxford after the battle at Naseby in 1645, ii. 1086. Designs in the West upon Plymouth and Exeter in behalf of the King, iii. 1011.
Westfield, Dr i. 470
Westminster distractions there upon notice of the armys coming towards London, iii 74.
Westmoreland, Earl of, i 1024.
Weston, Lord, i. 8, 9, 234 his great power and interest, i. 8 cause of his ruin, (vid Weston, Sir Richard, (see Portland.)
Weymouth surrendered to the King's forces, ii 503 delivered to the Earl of Essex, ii 741. surprised by Sir Lewis Dives, ii. 888.
Whaley, Colonel, iii. 73. 115, 895, 1000, 1001
Wharton, Lord, i 242, 285, 477, 823. ii. 64, 85, 235, 236, 666. iii. 350, 353, 374.
Wharton, Sir Tho. ii. 649
Whetcomb, Truftam, i. 691, 692, 718, 858
Whetham, Col iii. 1057

Whitaker,

Whitaker, Laurence, i. 272.
Whitchcot, Col. iii. 393.
White, i. 308. ii. 112.
Whitehead, ii. 789.
Whitford, Col. iii. 538.
Whitlock, ii. 248, 286, 861, 896, 908. iii 906, 1056.
Wibrant, Daniel, ii. 639, 640.
Wich, Sir Peter, i. 1024. ii. 305.
Wight, Ifle of, (fee Treaty.)
Wild, Serjeant, ii. 179, 611. iii. 137, 354.
Wildman, John, iii. 959 an account of him, iii. 755, &c.
Wilks, Col. iii. 1059, 1066.
William of Wickham, ii. 316.
Williams, Bifhop of Lincoln, afterwards Archbifhop of York, writes a learned book againft innovations (as he called them) in religion, i. 150. his character, i. 536—542. he is fentenced, fined, and committed to the Tower, i. 537. fet at liberty, i. 542. his behaviour afterwards, i. 542—548.
Willis, Sir Rich. ii. 1079, 1081. iii. 1016. his treachery, ii. 1011. his character, ii. 1013.
Willoughby, Fr. ii. 658. Willoughby, Lord, i. 1024, 1066. ii. 66, 71, 81, 666. iii. 209, 210, 299, 302, 311, 705, 1009, 1018.
Wilmot, i. 246, 247, 451, 1103, 1126. ii. 923. Wilmot, Lord, i 340. ii. 438, 439, 516, 542, 719, 720, 725, 742, 743, 744, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772. iii. 23, 234, 522, 629, 630, 633, 636, 637, 638, 639, 642, 643, 646, 662, 677, 685. Defeats Sir William Waller at Roundway-down, ii. 431—436. his character, ii. 720, 830, 831. made Earl of Rocheſter, and ſent by the King to the Diet at Ratiſbon, iii. 764, 765. (fee Rocheſter.) Wilmot, Mr. i. 416, 417, 858. ii. 66, 70, 121, 345 Wilmot, Commiſſary General, ii. 36.
Wimbledon, Lord Viſcount, i. 62.
Wincheſter taken by Cromwell, ii. 1115.
Wincheſter, Marquis of, ii. 789, 804. Wincheſter, Marchioneſs of, ii. 790.
Wind, the terrible ſtorm on the day of Oliver's death, iii. 983.
Windebank, Sir Francis, i. 233, 327, 347, 495. ii. 305. accuſed by the Houſe of Commons, and thereupon withdraws into France, i. 274, 275. a pleaſant ſtory concerning him, i. 276, 277, 278.
Windham, Lord, i 1120 Windham, Edm. ii. 414. Windham, Col. Francis, ii. 413, 809, 946, 954, 995, 996, 997. iii 636, 637, 641. Windham, Mrs. ii 960.
Wingate, Capain, ii. 37.
Winniff, Dr. i. 470.
Winter, John, i. 611
Wife, ii. 474.
Withart, Dr. iii. 436.
Wit, (fee De Wit.)
Withrington, iii. 905, 906. Withrington, Lord, iii. 605. killed at Wigan in Lancaſhire, iii. 610. his character, iii. 611
Wogan, Captain, iii. 768, 769, 770.
Wolfelte, iii. 458, 527.
Wolſey, Cardinal, i. 550.
Wood, Sir Harry, iii 968
Worceſter: a rencounter between the forces near Worceſter, where Prince Rupert gets the better, ii. 37. which proves of great advantage to the King, ibid. Worceſter beſieged by Sir William Waller, ii. 346 Worceſter fight, iii. 617.
Worceſter, Earl of, ii. 179. Worceſter

ceſter, Marquis of, ii. 227, 229, 1016, 1041. iii. 59, 853.
Wren, Doctor, Biſhop of Norwich, i. 162. ii. 143.
Wright, Sir Benj. iii. 496, 497, 498, 499, 500.
Wyat, Sir Dudley, ii. 1097. iii. 2, 11, 36.

Y.

Yeomans, Alderman, ii. 369.
York: accident there which was a ſad preſage of the misfortunes which followed, i. 1124. delivered to the Parliament forces, ii. 756.
York, Archbiſhop of, i. 399, 526, 861.
York, Duke of, (ſee Wales,) i. 789, 792, 1100. ii. 39, 71, 666, 730, 836, 981. iii. 53, 85, 102, 104, 123, 154, 194, 207, 208, 209, 210, 248, 303, 358, 474, 591, 592, 593, 682, 686, 688, 689, 691, 778, 782, 795, 808, 924, 925, 969, 975, 976, 979, 1011, 1046, 1048, 1072, 1107, 1121, 1159, 1165 he eſcapes beyond ſea from Saint James's, iii. 194 left with the Queen after the King's arrival in Scotland, iii. 582. he acquaints his mother with his going to Bruſſels, iii. 586. his two counſellors Sir Edw. Herbert and Sir George Ratcliff propoſe a match for him with the Duke of Lorrain's baſtard daughter, iii. 588. viſits his ſiſter at the Hague, iii. 589. Factions in his family at Breda, iii. 593. he returns to Paris, iii. 594. the neceſſities and factions of his family there, iii. 659. Deliberation in the Council whether he ſhould go into the French army, iii. 666. he goes to the army, iii. 667. he leaves Paris, and comes to the King at Bruges, iii. 930 goes to Boulogne, iii. 1017. confers with Monſieur Turenne, who offers to aſſiſt the King, iii 1022. returns to Bruſſels, iii. 1023. is invited into Spain, iii. 1046. takes poſſeſſion of the Engliſh fleet as Admiral, iii. 1164

Z.

Zouch, Lord, ii. 305.

FINIS

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

REBELLION, &c.

BOOK XIII.

EXOD. ix. 16, 17.

And in very deed for this cauſe have I raiſed thee up, for to ſhew in thee my power, and that my name may be declared throughout all the earth. As yet exalteſt thou thyſelf againſt my people?

THE Marquis of Argyle, who did not believe that the King would ever have ventured into Scotland upon the conditions he had ſent, was ſurpriſed with the account the commiſſioners had given him, "that his Majeſty "reſolved to embark the next day; that he would leave "all his chaplains and his other ſervants behind him, "and only deferred to take the Covenant himſelf till he "came thither, with a reſolution to ſatisfy the Kirk if "they preſſed it." Thereupon he immediately diſpatched away another veſſel with new propoſitions, which the commiſſioners were to inſiſt upon, and not to conſent to the King's coming into that kingdom, without he likewiſe conſented to thoſe. But that veſſel met not

Argyle ſends new propoſitions; which miſſed the King.

with the King's fleet, which, that it might avoid that of the Parliament, which attended to intercept the King, had held its courſe more northward, where there are good harbours; and ſo had put into a harbour near Stirling, that is, within a day's journey of it, but where there was no town nearer than that for his Majeſty's reception, or where there was any accommodation even for very ordinary paſſengers.

The King arrives in Scotland.

From thence notice was ſent to the Council of the King's arrival: the firſt welcome he received was a new demand "that he would ſign the Covenant himſelf, "before he ſet his foot on ſhore;" which all about him preſſed him to do: and he now found, that he had made haſte thither upon very unſkilful imaginations and preſumptions: yet he conſented unto what they ſo imperiouſly required, that he might have leave to put himſelf into the hands of thoſe who reſolved nothing leſs than to ſerve him. The lords of the other party, who had prevailed with him to ſubmit to all that had been required of him, quickly found that they had deceived both him and themſelves, and that nobody had any authority but thoſe men who were their mortal enemies. So that they would not expoſe themſelves to be impriſoned, or to be removed from the King; but, with his Majeſty's leave, and having given him the beſt advice they could, what he ſhould do for himſelf, and what he ſhould do for them, they put themſelves on ſhore before the King diſembarked; and found means to go to thoſe places where they might be ſome time concealed, and which were like to be at diſtance enough from the King. And ſhortly after Duke Hamilton retired to the iſland of Arran, which belonged to himſelf; where he had a little houſe well enough accommodated, the iſland being for the moſt part inhabited with wild beaſts:

The King takes the Covenant.

Hamilton and Lautherdale depart from the King.

beaſts: Lautherdale concealed himſelf amongſt his friends, taking care both to be well informed of all that ſhould paſs about the King, and to receive their advice upon any occaſions.

The King was received by the Marquis of Argyle with all the outward reſpect imaginable; but, within two days after his landing, all the Engliſh ſervants he had of any quality were removed from his perſon, the Duke of Buckingham only excepted. The reſt, for the moſt part, were received into the houſes of ſome perſons of honour, who lived at a diſtance from the Court, and were themſelves under a cloud for their known affections, and durſt only attend the King to kiſs his hand, and then retired to their houſes, that they might give no occaſion of jealouſy; others of his ſervants were not ſuffered to remain in the kingdom, but were forced preſently to re-embark themſelves for Holland; amongſt which was Daniel O'Neile, who hath been often mentioned before, and who came from the Marquis of Ormond into Holland, juſt when his Majeſty was ready to embark, and ſo waited upon him; and was no ſooner known to be with his Majeſty, (as he was a perſon very generally known), but he was apprehended by order from the Council, for being an Iriſhman, and having been in arms on the late King's behalf in the late war; for which they were not without ſome diſcourſe of putting him to death; but they did immediately baniſh him the kingdom, and obliged him to ſign a paper, by which he conſented to be put to death, if he were ever after found in the kingdom.

Argyle receives the King.

Moſt of the King's Engliſh ſervants removed from him.

Daniel O'Neile apprehended by order of the Council of Scotland; and baniſhed.

They ſent away likewiſe Mr. Robert Long, who was his principal, if not only, Secretary of State, and had very much perſuaded his going thither; and Sir Edward Walker, who was Clerk of the Council, and had

Mr. Long alſo ſent away.

been Secretary at War during the late war, and ſome others, upon the like exceptions. They placed other ſervants of all conditions about the King, but principally relied upon their Clergy; who were in ſuch a continual attendance about him, that he was never free from their importunities, under pretence of inſtructing him in religion: and ſo they obliged him to their conſtant hours of their long prayers, and made him obſerve the Sundays with more rigour than the Jews accuſtomed to do their Sabbath; and reprehended him very ſharply if he ſmiled on thoſe days, and if his looks and geſtures did not pleaſe them, whilſt all their prayers and ſermons, at which he was compelled to be preſent, were libels, and bitter invectives againſt all the actions of his father, the idolatry of his mother, and his own malignity.

Their Clergy always about the King.

Their ſermons before him.

He was not preſent in their councils, nor were the reſults thereof communicated to him; nor was he, in the leaſt degree, communicated with, in any part of the government: yet they made great ſhew of outward reverence to him, and even the chaplains, when they uſed rudeneſs and barbarity in their reprehenſions and reproaches, approached him ſtill with bended knees, and in the humbleſt poſtures. There was never a better courtier than Argyle; who uſed all poſſible addreſs to make himſelf gracious to the King, entertained him with very pleaſant diſcourſes, with ſuch inſinuations, that the King did not only very well like his converſation, but often believed that he had a mind to pleaſe and gratify him: but then, when his Majeſty made any attempt to get ſome of his ſervants about him, or to reconcile the two factions, that the kingdom might be united, he gathered up his countenance, and retired from him, without even yielding to any one propoſition that was made to him by his

Argyle's behaviour to him.

his Majeſty. In a word, the King's table was well ſerved; there he ſate in majeſty, waited upon with decency: he had good horſes to ride abroad to take the air, and was then well attended; and, in all public appearances, ſeemed to want nothing that was due to a great king. In all other reſpects, with reference to power to oblige or gratify any man, to diſpoſe or order any thing, or himſelf to go to any other place than was aſſigned to him, he had nothing of a prince, but might very well be looked upon as a priſoner.

But that which was of ſtate and luſtre made moſt noiſe, and was induſtriouſly tranſmitted into all nations and ſtates; the other of diſreſpect or reſtraint was not communicated; and if it could not be entirely concealed, it was conſidered only as a faction between particular great men, who contended to get the power into their hands, that they might the more notoriouſly and eminently ſerve that Prince whom they all equally acknowledged. The King's condition ſeemed wonderfully advanced, and his being poſſeſſed of a kingdom without a rival, in which there was no appearance of an enemy, looked like an earneſt for the recovery of the other two, and, for the preſent, as a great addition of power to him in his kingdom of Ireland, by a conjunction and abſolute ſubmiſſion of all the Scots in Ulſter to the Marquis of Ormond, the King's Lieutenant there.

All men who had diſſuaded his Majeſty's repair into Scotland were looked upon as very weak politicians, or as men who oppoſed the public good, becauſe they were excluded, and might not be ſuffered to act any part in the adventure; and they who had advanced the deſign valued themſelves exceedingly upon their activity in that ſervice. The States of Holland thought they had

merited much in ſuffering their ſhips to tranſport him, and ſo being miniſterial to his greatneſs; which they hoped would be remembered; and they gave all countenance to the Scottiſh merchants and factors who lived in their dominions, and ſome ſecret credit, that they might ſend arms and ammunition, and whatſoever elſe was neceſſary for the King's ſervice, into that kingdom. France itſelf looked very cheerfully upon the change; congratulated the Queen with much ceremony, and many profeſſions; and took pains to have it thought and believed, that they had had a ſhare in the counſel, and contributed very much to the reception the King found in Scotland, by their influence upon Argyle and his party. And it hath been mentioned before, how great a reputation this little dawning of power, how clouded ſoever, gave to the ambaſſadors in Spain, and had raiſed them from ſuch a degree of diſreſpect, as was near to contempt, to the full dignity and eſtimation in that Court that was due to the ſtation in which they were.

There fell out there an accident at this time, which was a great manifeſtation of the affection of that Court, and indeed of the nation. As Don Alonzo de Cardinas had uſed all the credit he had, to diſpoſe that Court to a good correſpondence with the Parliament, ſo he had employed as much care to incline thoſe in England to have a confidence in the affection of his maſter, and aſſured them, "that if they would ſend an ambaſſador or other minſter into Spain, he ſhould find a good reception." The Parliament, in the infancy of their Commonwealth, had more inclination to make a friendſhip with Spain than with France, having at that time a very great prejudice to the Cardinal; and therefore, upon this encouragement from Don Alonzo, they reſolved to ſend

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an envoy to Madrid; and made choice of one Aſcham, a ſcholar, who had been concerned in drawing up the King's trial, and had written a book to determine in what time, and after how many years, the allegiance which is due from ſubjects to their ſovereigns comes to be determined after a conqueſt; and that from that term it ought to be paid to thoſe who had ſubdued them: a ſpeculation they thought fit to cheriſh. Aſcham ſent agent into Spain from the Parliament of England.

This man, unacquainted with buſineſs, and unſkilled in language, attended by three others, the one a renegado Franciſcan friar, who had been bred in Spain, and was well verſed in the language; another, who was to ſerve in the condition of a ſecretary; and the third, an inferior fellow for any ſervice, arrived all in Spain in an Engliſh merchant's ſhip: of which Don Alonzo gave ſuch timely notice, that he was received and entertained by the chief magiſtrate at his landing, until they gave notice of it to the Court. The town was quickly full of the rumour, that an ambaſſador was landed from England, and would be received there; which nobody ſeemed to be well pleaſed with. And the ambaſſadors expoſtulated with Don Lewis de Haro with ſome warmth, "that his Catholic Majeſty ſhould "be the firſt Chriſtian Prince that would receive an "ambaſſador from the odious and execrable murderers "of a Chriſtian King, his brother and ally; which no "other Prince had yet done, out of the deteſtation of "that horrible parricide." And therefore they deſired him, "that Spain would not give ſo infamous an ex-"ample to the other parts of the world." Don Lewis aſſured them, "that there was no ſuch thing as an am-"baſſador coming from England, nor had the King "any purpoſe to receive any: that it was true, they "were informed that there was an Engliſh gentleman The ambaſſadors there expoſtulate with Don Lewis about it. His anſwer.

" landed at Cales, and come to Seville; who ſaid, he was " ſent from the Parliament with letters for the King; " which was teſtified by a letter from Don Alonzo de " Cardinas to the Duke of Medina Celi; who there- " upon had given order for his entertainment at Seville, " till the King ſhould give further order: that it was " not poſſible for the King to refuſe to receive the let- " ter, or to ſee the man who brought it; who pretended " no kind of character: that having an ambaſſador re- " ſiding in England to preſerve the trade and commerce " between the two nations, they did believe, that this " meſſenger might be ſent with ſome propoſitions from " the Engliſh merchants for the advancement of that " trade; and if they ſhould refuſe to hear what he ſaid, " it might give a juſt offence, and deſtroy all the com- " merce; which would be a great damage to both na- " tions."

That this new agent might come ſecurely to Madrid, an old officer of the army was ſent from Seville to accompany him thither; who came with him in the coach, and gave notice every night to Don Lewis of their advance. There were at that time, over and above the Engliſh merchants, many officers and ſoldiers in Madrid, who had ſerved in the Spaniſh armies, both in Catalonia and in Portugal; and theſe men had conſulted amongſt themſelves how they might kill this fellow, who came as an agent from the new republic of England; and half a dozen of them, having notice of the day he was to come into the town, which was generally diſcourſed of, rode out of the town to meet him; but, miſſing him, they returned again, and found that he had entered into it by another way; and having taken a view of his lodging, they met again the next morning; and finding, accidentally, one of the ambaſſador's

ſador's ſervants in the ſtreets, they perſuaded him to go with them, and ſo went to the houſe where Aſcham lodged; and, without aſking any queſtions, walked directly up the ſtairs into his chamber, leaving a couple of their number at the door of the ſtreet, leſt, upon any noiſe in the houſe, that door might be ſhut upon them. They who went up drew their ſwords; and beſides their intentions, in diſorder, killed the friar as well as the agent; and ſo returned to their companions with their ſwords naked and bloody, and ſome fooliſh expreſſions of triumph, as if they had performed a very gallant and a juſtifiable ſervice. Notwithſtanding all which, they might have diſperſed themſelves, and been ſecure, the people were ſo little concerned to enquire what they had done. But they being in confuſion, and retaining no compoſed thoughts about them, finding the door of a little chapel open, went in thither for ſanctuary: only he who was in the ſervice of the ambaſſadors ſeparated himſelf from the reſt, and went into the houſe of the Venetian ambaſſador. By this time the people of the houſe where the man lay had gone up into the chamber; where they found two dead, and the other two crept, in a terrible fright, under the bed; and the magiſtrates and people were about the church, and talking with and examining the perſons who were there: and the rumour was preſently divulged about the town, "that one of the Engliſh ambaſſadors was "killed."

Aſcham killed by ſome officers at his lodgings in Madrid.

All but one fly to a chapel for ſanctuary; he, to the Venetian ambaſſador's.

They were at that time entering into their coach to take the air, according to an appointment which they had made the day before. When they were informed of what had paſſed, and that Harry Progers, who was their ſervant, had been in the action, and was retired to the houſe of the Venetian ambaſſador, they were in trouble

trouble and perplexity; diſmiſſed their coach, and returned to their lodging. Though they abhorred the action that was committed, they foreſaw, the preſence of one of their own ſervants in it, and even ſome paſſionate words they had uſed, in their expoſtulation with Don Lewis, againſt the reception of ſuch a meſſenger, as if "the King their maſter had too many ſubjects in "that place, for ſuch a fellow to appear there with any "ſecurity," would make it be believed by many, that the attempt had not been made without their conſent or privity. In this trouble of mind, they immediately writ a letter to Don Lewis de Haro, to expreſs the ſenſe they had of this unfortunate raſh action; "of which, "they hoped, he did believe, if they had had any no-"tice or ſuſpicion, they would have prevented it."

The ambaſſadors write to Don Lewis about this action.

His anſwer. Don Lewis returned them a very dry anſwer; "That he "could not imagine that they could have a hand in ſo "foul an aſſaſſination in the Court," (for all Madrid is called and looked upon as the Court), "of a perſon "under the immediate protection of the King: how-"ever, that it was an action ſo unheard of, and ſo diſ-"honourable to the King, that his Majeſty was reſolved "to have it examined to the bottom, and that exem-"plary juſtice ſhould be done upon the offenders; that "his own ambaſſador in England might be in great "danger upon this murder; and that they would ſend "an expreſs preſently thither, to ſatisfy the Parliament "how much his Catholic Majeſty deteſted and was of-"fended with it, and reſolved to do juſtice upon it; "and if his ambaſſador underwent any inconvenience "there, they were not to wonder if his Majeſty were "ſevere here:" and ſo left it to them to imagine that their own perſons might not be ſafe.

But they knew the temper of the Court too well, to have

have the leaſt apprehenſion of that: yet they were a little ſurpriſed, when they firſt ſaw the multitude of people gathered together about their houſe, upon the firſt news of the action; inſomuch that the ſtreet before their houſe, which was the broadeſt in Madrid, (the Calle de Alcala), was ſo thronged, that men could hardly paſs. But they were quickly out of that apprehenſion, being aſſured, that the jealouſy that one of the Engliſh ambaſſadors had ſuffered violence had brought that multitude together; which they found to be true; for they no ſooner ſhewed themſelves in a balcony to the people, but they ſaluted them with great kindneſs, prayed for the King their maſter, curſed and reviled the murderers of his father; and ſo departed. They who had betaken themſelves to the chapel were, the next day or the ſecond, taken from thence by a principal officer after examination, and ſent to the priſon: the other was not enquired after; but, having concealed himſelf for ten or twelve days, he went out of the town in the night; and, without any interruption or trouble, went into France.

Thoſe that fled to the chapel are taken thence, and imprifoned, the other eſcapes into France.

Of all the courts in Chriſtendom, Madrid is that where ambaſſadors and public miniſters receive the greateſt reſpect, which, beſides the honour and punctuality of that people, bred up in the obſervation of diſtances and order, proceeds from the excellent method the ambaſſadors have of living with mutual reſpect towards each other, and in mutual concernment for each other's honour and privileges: ſo that, if any ambaſſador, in himſelf or his ſervants, receive any affront or diſreſpect, all the other ambaſſadors repair to him, and offer their ſervice and interpoſition; by which means they are not only preſerved from any invaſion by any private and particular inſolence, but even from ſome acts of power,

which

which the Court itſelf hath ſometime thought fit to exerciſe, upon an extraordinary occaſion, towards a miniſter of whom they had no regard. All are united on the behalf of the character; and will not ſuffer that to be done towards one, which, by the conſequence, may reflect upon all.

It cannot be imagined, with what a general compaſſion all the ambaſſadors looked upon theſe unhappy gentlemen, who had involved themſelves by their raſhneſs in ſo much peril. They came to the Engliſh ambaſſadors to adviſe and conſult what might be done to preſerve them, every one offering his aſſiſtance. The action could in no degree be juſtified; all that could be urged and inſiſted upon in their behalf, was the privilege of ſanctuary; "They had betaken themſelves to "the church; and the taking them from thence, by "what authority ſoever, was a violation of the rights "and immunities of the church, which, by the law of "the kingdom, was ever defended with all tenderneſs." So that, before the guilt of the blood could be examined, the priſoners deſired "that their privilege "might be examined, and that they might have coun-"ſel aſſigned them to that purpoſe;" which was granted; and ſeveral arguments were made upon the matter of law before the judges; who were favourable enough to the priſoners. The King's counſel urged, "that in "caſe of aſſaſſination the privilege of ſanctuary was "never allowed," (which is true), and cited many precedents of late years in Madrid itſelf, where, for leſs crimes than of blood, men had been taken out of the ſanctuary, and tried, and executed. The Engliſh ambaſſadors thought not fit to appear on their behalf, and yet were not willing that the new republic ſhould receive ſo much countenance from that Court, as would have

have reſulted from putting thoſe gentlemen to death, as if they had killed a public miniſter. The Pope's Nuncio, Julio Roſpigliosi, who was afterwards Clement IX. could not, according to the ſtyle of the Roman Court, either give or receive viſits from the Engliſh ambaſſadors; but they performed civilities to each other by meſſages, and paſſed mutual ſalutations, with all reſpect to each other, as they met abroad. And the Venetian ambaſſador brought them frequent aſſurances, "that "the Nuncio had ſpoken very effectually to the King, "and to Don Lewis, for the re-delivery of the priſoners "to the church, and preſſed it ſo hard upon the con- "ſcience of the King, that he had ſome promiſe that "they ſhould not ſuffer." The Nuncio Roſpigliosi required them to be delivered back.

In the mean time, thundering letters came from the Parliament, with great menaces what they would do, if exemplary juſtice was not inflicted upon thoſe who had murdered their envoy; and Don Alonzo urged it, as if "he thought himſelf in danger till full ſatisfaction "ſhould be given in that particular;" all which for the preſent made deep impreſſion, ſo that they knew not what to do; the King often declaring, "that he would "not infringe the privilege of the church, and ſo un- "dergo the cenſure of the Pope, for any advantage he "could receive with reference to any of his dominions." In the end, (that the diſcourſe of this affair may not be reſumed again hereafter), after a long impriſonment, (for during the ambaſſadors' ſtay they would not bring them to any trial, leſt they might ſeem to do any thing upon their ſolicitation), the priſoners were proceeded againſt as ſoon, or ſhortly after the ambaſſadors had left Madrid, and were all condemned to die; and as ſoon as the ſentence was declared, all the priſoners were again delivered into the ſame church; where they remained The iſſue of this buſineſs after the ambaſſadors' departure.

mained many days, having proviſions of victuals ſent to them by many perſons of quality, until they had all opportunity to make their eſcape, which was very ſucceſſfully done by all but one; who, being the only Proteſtant amongſt them, was more maliciouſly looked after and watched, and was followed, and apprehended after he had made three days journey from Madrid, and carried back thither, and put to death: which was all the ſatisfaction the Parliament could obtain in that affair; and is an inſtance how far that people was from any affection to thoſe of England in their hearts, how much ſoever they complied with them out of the neceſſity of their fortune.

When ſome weeks were paſſed after that unlucky accident, the ambaſſadors went to confer with Don Lewis upon ſome other occurrence, with no purpoſe of mentioning any thing of the priſoners. Don Lewis ſpoke of it in a manner they did not expect; one expreſſion was, "*Yo tengo invidia de eſtos Cavaleros &c.* I envy "thoſe gentlemen for having done ſo noble an action, "how penal ſoever it may prove to them, to revenge "the blood of their King. Whereas," he ſaid, "the "King his maſter wanted ſuch reſolute ſubjects; other-"wiſe he would never have loſt a kingdom, as he had "done Portugal, for want of one brave man; who, by "taking away the life of the uſurper, might at any "time, during the firſt two years, have put an end to "that rebellion."

To return now to the affairs of Scotland: whether, when the Marquis of Argyle firſt knew that the King would venture himſelf into Scotland, he ſuſpected his own ſtrength, and ſo ſent for his friend Cromwell to aſſiſt him; or whether it ſeemed more reaſonable to the Parliament, when it was aſſured of the King's being there,

there, to visit him in that kingdom, than to expect a visit from him, is not enough clear at this time. But as soon as the King was in Scotland, Cromwell, being sent for by the Parliament, left what remained to be done in Ireland to Ireton, (who had married his daughter,) and made him deputy; and transported himself into England; where the Parliament, not without great opposition from all the Presbyterian party, resolved to send an army into Scotland. Many opposed it, as they thought it an unjust and unprofitable war, and knew it must be a very expensive one; and others, because it would keep up and increase the power and authority of the army in England; which was already found to be very grievous.

Cromwell, sent for by the Parliament out of Ireland, leaves Ireton his deputy.

The Parliament resolves to send an army into Scotland.

This resolution produced another great alteration; Fairfax, who had hitherto worn the name of General, declared positively that he would not command the army against Scotland. The Presbyterians said, "it "was because he thought the war unlawful, in regard it "was against those of the same religion;" but his friends would have it believed, that he would not fight against the King. Hereupon Cromwell was chosen General; which made no alteration in the army; which he had modelled to his own mind before, and commanded as absolutely. But in all other places he grew more absolute and more imperious; he discountenanced and suppressed the Presbyterians in all places; who had been supported by Fairfax. The Independents had all credit about him; and the churches and pulpits were open to all kind of people who would shew their gifts there; and a general distraction and confusion in religion covered the whole kingdom; which raised as general a discontent in the minds of the people, who, finding no ease from the burdens they had so long sustained,

Fairfax gives up his commission.

Cromwell made General.

tained, but an increaſe of the taxes and impoſitions every day, grew weary of their new government; and heartily prayed, that their General might never return from Scotland, but that, he being deſtroyed there, the King might return victorious into London. The bitterneſs and proſecution againſt their brethren in England, and the old animoſity they had long borne againſt the perſon of Cromwell, made thoſe in authority in that kingdom reſolve to defend themſelves againſt his invaſion, and to draw together a very numerous body of men well provided, and ſupplied with all things neceſſary but courage and conduct. They were ſo careful in the modelling this army, that they ſuffered few or no officers, or ſoldiers, who had been in the engagement of Duke Hamilton, or who gave the leaſt occaſion to be ſuſpected to wiſh well to the King or to the Hamiltonian party, to be liſted or received into their ſervice. So that they had only ſome old diſcredited officers, who, being formerly thought unworthy of command, had ſtuck cloſe to Argyle and to the party of the Kirk. The truth is, the whole army was under the government of a committee of the Kirk and the State; in which the miniſters exerciſed the ſole authority, and prayed and preached againſt the vices of the Court, and the impiety and tyranny of Cromwell, equally; and promiſed their army victory over the enemy as poſitively, and in as confident terms, as if God himſelf had directed them to declare it. The King deſired that he might command this army, at leaſt run the fortune of it. But they were hardly prevailed with to give him leave once to ſee it; and, after he had been in it three or four hours, upon the obſervation that the common ſoldiers ſeemed to be much pleaſed to ſee him, they cauſed him to return, and the next day carried him to a

The Scots raiſe an army againſt him.

place

place at a greater diſtance from the army; declaring, "that they found the ſoldiers too much inclined to put "their confidence in the arm of fleſh; whereas their "hope and dependence was to be only in God; and "they were moſt aſſured of victory by the prayers and "piety of the Kirk."

In July Cromwell entered Scotland, and marched without any oppoſition till he came within leſs than a day's journey of Edinburgh; where he found the Scottiſh army encamped upon a very advantageous ground; and he made his quarters as near as he could conveniently, and yet with diſadvantages enough. For the country was ſo deſtroyed behind him, and the paſſes ſo guarded before, that he was compelled to ſend for all his proviſion for horſe and foot from England by ſea; inſomuch as the army was reduced to great ſtraits; and the Scots really believed, that they had them all at their mercy, except ſuch as would embark on board their ſhips. But as ſoon as Cromwell had recovered ſome proviſions, his army begun to remove, and ſeemed to provide for their march. Whether that march was to retire out of ſo barren a country for want of proviſions, (which no doubt were very ſcarce; and the ſeaſon of the year would not permit them to depend upon all neceſſary ſupplies by ſea, for it was now the month of September), or whether that motion was only to draw the Scots from the advantageous poſt of which they were poſſeſſed, is not yet underſtood. But it was confeſſed on all ſides, that, if the Scots had remained within their trenches, and ſent parties of horſe to have followed the Engliſh army cloſely, they muſt have ſo diſordered them, that they would have left their cannon and all their heavy carriage behind them, beſides the danger the foot muſt have been in. But the Scots did

Cromwell enters Scotland.

The diſtreſs of Cromwell's army.

did not intend to part with them ſo eaſily; they doubted not but to have the ſpoil of the whole army. And therefore they no ſooner diſcerned that the Engliſh were upon their march, but they decamped, and followed with their whole body all the night following, and found themſelves in the morning within a ſmall diſtance of the enemy: for Cromwell was quickly advertiſed that the Scottiſh army was diſlodged, and marched after him; and thereupon he made a ſtand, and put his men in good order. The Scots found they were not upon ſo clear a chaſe as they imagined, and placed themſelves again upon ſuch a ſide of a hill, as they believed the Engliſh would not have the courage to attack them there.

Cromwell entirely routs the Scots in the battle of Dunbar.

But Cromwell knew them too well to fear them upon any ground, when there were no trenches or fortifications to keep him from them; and therefore he made haſte to charge them on all ſides, upon what advantage-ground ſoever they ſtood. Their horſe did not ſuſtain one charge; but fled, and were purſued with a great execution. The foot depended much upon their miniſters, who preached, and prayed, and aſſured them of the victory, till the Engliſh were upon them; and ſome of their preachers were knocked in the head, whilſt they were promiſing the victory. Though there was ſo little reſiſtance made, that Cromwell loſt very few men by that day's ſervice, yet the execution was very terrible upon the enemy; the whole body of the foot being, upon the matter, cut in pieces; no quarter was given till they were weary of killing; ſo that there were between five and ſix thouſand dead upon the place; and very few, but they who eſcaped by the heels of their horſe, were without terrible wounds; of which very many died ſhortly after; eſpecially ſuch of their miniſters

miniſters who were not killed upon the place, as very many were, had very notable marks about the head, and the face, that any body might know that they were not hurt by chance, or in the crowd, but by very good will. All the cannon, ammunition, carriages, and baggage, were entirely taken, and Cromwell with his victorious army marched directly to Edinburgh; where he found plenty of all things which he wanted, and good accommodation for the refreſhing his army, which ſtood in need of it. Cromwell enters Edinburgh.

Never victory was attended with leſs lamentations: for as Cromwell had great argument of triumph in the total defeat and deſtruction of the only army that was in Scotland; which defeat had put a great part of that kingdom, and the chief city of it, under his obedience; ſo the King, who was then at St. Johnſton's, was glad of it, as the greateſt happineſs that could befall him, in the loſs of ſo ſtrong a body of his enemies; who, if they ſhould have prevailed, his Majeſty did believe that they would have ſhut him up in a priſon the next day; which had been only a ſtricter confinement than he ſuffered already: for the Lord Lorne, eldeſt ſon to the Marquis of Argyle, being captain of his guard, had ſo watchful a care of him both night and day, that his Majeſty could not go any whither without his leave. But, after this defeat, they all looked upon the King as one they might ſtand in need of: they permitted his ſervants, who had been ſequeſtered from him from his arrival in the kingdom, to attend and wait upon him, and begun to talk of calling a Parliament, and of a time for the King's coronation; which had not hitherto been ſpoken of. Some miniſters begun to preach obedience to the King; the officers, who had been caſhiered for their malignity, talked aloud of "the miſcarriages in The King gets advantage by this.

" the government, and that the kingdom was betrayed " to the enemy for want of confidence in the King, " who alone could preſerve the nation." They of the Council ſeemed not to have ſo abſolute a dependence upon the Marquis of Argyle, but ſpoke more freely than they had uſed to do; and the Marquis applied himſelf more to the King, and to thoſe about him: ſo that the King did, in a good degree, enjoy the fruit of this victory, as well as Cromwell, though his Majeſty's advantage was diſcerned by a few men only, and thoſe reduced into an obſcure quarter of the kingdom; but the other made the *éclat*. The deſtruction of the only army, and the poſſeſſing of Edinburgh, was looked upon, in all places, as the entire conqueſt of the whole kingdom.

Don Alonzo made haſte to ſend the news into Spain of " the total and irrecoverable defeat of the King; that " he was driven into the Highlands; from whence he " would be compelled to fly, as ſoon as he could get " means to eſcape: that the Republic was now ſettled, " and no more fear or hope of the King:" the effect of all which the ambaſſadors quickly found at Madrid, by the carriage and countenance of that King and the Council; though it cannot be denied that the common people appeared to have a much more generous ſenſe of the alteration, than the others did. The ambaſſadors received ſhortly a full advertiſement of the truth; and " that the King thought his condition much im- " proved by the defeat;" and they uſed all the means they could, by ſeveral audiences, to inform the King of Spain and Don Lewis of the truth; and " that they " were miſinformed, as if the army overthrown was the " King's; whereas they were indeed as much his ene- " mies, as Cromwell's was." But in this they could obtain

obtain no credit, and all ways were taken to make them perceive, that it was heartily wiſhed they were gone; which they were reſolved to take no notice of.

In the end, one morning, the Secretary of State came to them from the King; and told them, "that they "had been now above a year in that Court, where they "had been well treated, notwithſtanding ſome miſcar- "riages, which might very juſtly have incenſed his Ca- "tholic Majeſty," (mentioning the death of Aſcham); "that they were extraordinary ambaſſadors, and ſo "needed not any letters of revocation; that they had "received anſwers to all they had propoſed, and were "at liberty to depart; which his Catholic Majeſty de- "ſired they would do, ſince their preſence in the Court "would be very prejudicial to his affairs." This unex- pected and unuſual meſſage, delivered ungracefully enough by an old man, who, notwithſtanding his office, was looked upon with little reverence to his parts, made them believe "that he had miſtaken his meſſage, at "leaſt that he had delivered it with leſs courtly cir- "cumſtances than he ought to have done." And therefore they returned no other anſwer, than "that "they would attend Don Lewis de Haro, and under- "ſtand from him the King's pleaſure." The next day, they ſent for an audience to Don Lewis; whom they found with a leſs open countenance than he uſed to have; nor did he appear any thing more courtly than the Secretary had done; but told them, that there were orders ſent to ſuch a perſon (whom he named) to pre- pare their preſent; which ſhould be ready within very few days; and preſſed them very plainly, and without any regard to the ſeaſon of the year, it being then towards the end of January, to uſe all poſſible expedi- tion for their departure, as a thing that, even in that re-

The Secretary of State brings a meſſage from the King of Spain to the ambaſſadors, to deſire them to be gone.

They apply to Don Lewis.

ſpect, did exceedingly concern the ſervice of the King. This made the ambaſſadors imagine, which was likewiſe reported, that there was a formal ambaſſador upon his way from England, and that the Court would be no more liable to the like accidents. But they knew afterwards, that the cauſe of all this haſte was, that they might bring into the town as many pictures, and other choice and rich furniture, as did load eighteen mules; which, as was ſaid before, Don Alonzo had bought of the King's goods, and then ſent to the Groyne, and which they did not then think could be decently brought to the palace, whilſt the ambaſſadors ſhould continue and remain in the town.

The reaſon of their being preſſed to depart Madrid in ſuch haſte.

This injunction to leave Madrid, in ſo unſeaſonable a time of the year, was very ſevere to the ambaſſadors. The Lord Cottington was at this time ſeventy-ſix years of age, once or twice in a year troubled with the gout, in other reſpects of great vigour of body and mind; nor did there appear in his natural parts any kind of decay. He had reſolved, when he firſt propoſed this embaſſy to the King, and, it may be, it was the chief reaſon of propoſing it, that, if there ſhould be no door open to let him return into England, by the time that his embaſſy ſhould expire, he would remain and die in Spain. But he did then believe that he ſhould have found another kind of entertainment there than he had done. He had, without doubt, deſerved very well from that nation, having always performed thoſe offices towards them, which made him looked upon at home as too well affected to that people, which, together with his conſtant oppoſition of the French, had rendered him very ungracious to the Queen: yet there were ſome ſeaſons, in which his credit and authority was not great enough to obtain all things for them which they de-

desired, and expected; as when their fleet, under the command of Oquendo, about the year 1639, had been assaulted in the Downs, and defeated by the Dutch fleet, for want of that protection which they thought the King might have given to them. And it is probable their ambassadors, who were then in England, whereof Don Alonzo was one, did not find that readiness and alacrity in him to appear in their service, as they had formerly done; he very well knowing, that the being solicitous for them, in that conjuncture, might do himself harm, and could do them no good. But these omissions were now remembered, and all his services forgotten: so that (as hath been touched before) his reception, from the first hour of his coming last thither, was very cold both from the King and the Court. And though he was now willing to resume his former resolution of staying there; yet the treatment he had received, and this last farewell, made him doubt, very reasonably, whether he should be permitted to stay there or not.

There was another circumstance, which was necessary to his residing in Spain, in which he met with some difficulties that he had not foreseen, and which did exceedingly perplex him; and which he plainly enough discerned, and knew to be the true cause of all the discountenance he had met with in that Court, (though he was willing the other ambassador, who knew nothing of it, should believe that it proceeded from what had passed in England), which was then remembered in the discourse of the Court, and was the true cause of the general prejudice to him there. He had been formerly reconciled in that kingdom to the Church of Rome, and had constantly gone to the mass there; and declaring himself afterwards in England to be of the religion of the Church of England, he was apostatized from the

other; which, in that country, is looked upon as ſuch a brand, as the infamy of it can never be wiped out; and this indeed was the reaſon of that King's ſo notable averſion from him. The truth is, he had never made any enquiry into religion to inform himſelf, but had conformed to that which the province he held obliged him to; and though he could never get the reputation in England of being well affected to that Church, and was always looked upon as moſt inclined to the Roman, yet he convinced thoſe who would have taken advantage of that guilt, by being preſent at prayers and ſermons, and ſometimes receiving the ſacrament, as he did the very laſt Sunday he ſtayed in the Hague before he begun his journey towards Spain; and, even after his arrival there, was conſtant at the reading the common prayers both morning and evening, by their own chaplain, in their houſe, as long as the chaplain lived: and many, who knew him very well, did believe that if he had died in England, he would have died in the communion of that Church. But there is no doubt, he did reſolve, from the time that he meant to remain and die in Spain, that he would become a Roman Catholic again, which he thought to be a much eaſier thing than it was; and that he might have been reconciled by any prieſt in as private a manner as he could deſire. But when he conſulted that affair with a Jeſuit, who frequently came to the houſe, he found, that after an apoſtaſy, as they termed it, it was not in the power of any prieſt to reconcile him, but that it was reſerved to the Pope himſelf; who rarely gives the faculty to any but to his own Nuncios. This obliged him to reſort thither; which he could not eaſily do without communicating it to the other ambaſſador; towards whom this was the only ſecret he reſerved. And he found a way,

as

as he thought, to elude him in this particular. He told him, ſeveral days, that the Nuncio had ſent him ſuch and ſuch meſſages by that Jeſuit concerning thoſe gentlemen who were in priſon, the ſubſtance whereof did not differ from what the Venetian ambaſſador had formerly delivered from him: at laſt, he told him, "that he found "the Nuncio had ſomewhat to ſay in that affair which "he would not communicate by meſſage, but wiſhed to "ſpeak with him in private; for publicly he muſt not "be known to have any conference with him; and that "hereupon he reſolved to go *incognito* in Sir Benjamin "Wright's coach to him:" which he did, and was then reconciled; and returned home, making ſuch a relation of their conference to his companion as he thought fit; and delivered the Nuncio's ſalutation to him. But within two or three days he knew what the affair was: for, beſides that the Nuncio could not perform the office alone, but was to have the aſſiſtance of two or three ſo qualified, there was really care taken that the other ambaſſador might know it. And, before that time, when they both viſited the Preſident de la Hazienda, who carried them into his library, whilſt the other ambaſſador was caſting his eyes upon ſome books, (it being the beſt private library in Madrid), the Lord Cottington told the Preſident, "that he was himſelf a Catholic, but "that his companion was an obſtinate Heretic:" of which the Preſident ſent him information the next day. But ſince himſelf forbore ever to communicate this ſecret to him, out of an opinion, it is very probable, that he might give ſome diſturbance to his reſolution, he likewiſe took no manner of notice of it to him to the minute of their parting.

This difficulty being over, there remained yet another;

The Lord Cottington reſolves to ſtay as a private man in Spain.

other; which was, his having permiſſion to ſtay in that country; for which he addreſſed himſelf to Don Lewis; mentioned "his age; his infirmity of the gout; which "would infallibly ſeize upon him, if, in that ſeaſon of "the year, he ſhould provoke it by an extraordinary mo-"tion; in a word, that it was impoſſible for him to "make the journey." Don Lewis told him, "he could "anſwer him to part of what he ſaid without ſpeaking to "the King; that he muſt not think of ſtaying with the "character of an ambaſſador, nor of reſiding in Madrid, in "how private a condition ſoever: if he deſired any thing "with theſe two reſtraints, he would move the King in it." The other told him, "that he ſubmitted to both theſe "conditions; and only deſired licence to reſide in Valla-"dolid, where he had lived many years, when the Court "remained there, in the time of King Philip the third."

This place was not diſliked; and within few days, Don Lewis ſent him word, "that the King approved it; "and that he ſhould have a letter to the chief magiſ-"trate there, to treat him with all reſpect; and that his "Majeſty would take care that he ſhould not undergo "any diſtreſs, but would ſupply him as his neceſſities "required." And, ſhortly after, a meſſage was ſent to the ambaſſadors to let them know, that the King had appointed ſuch a day for to give them an audience to take their leave. This new importunity was as extraordinary as the former; however, they performed their ceremonies; and about the beginning of March, after they had been in that Court near fifteen months, they both left Madrid in the ſame hour: the Lord Cottington taking his courſe for Valladolid; where he had the ſame houſe provided, and made ready for him by the care of the Engliſh Jeſuits there, in which he had dwelt

The ambaſſadors have audience of leave.

The Lord Cottington lives at Valladolid till he dies.

dwelt at the time of his agency, when the Court reſided there; where he died within one year after, in the 77th year of his age.

His character.

He was a very wiſe man, by the great and long experience he had in buſineſs of all kinds; and by his natural temper, which was not liable to any tranſport of anger, or any other paſſion, but could bear contradiction, and even reproach, without being moved, or put out of his way: for he was very ſteady in purſuing what he propoſed to himſelf, and had a courage not to be frighted with any oppoſition. It is true he was illiterate as to the grammar of any language, or the principles of any ſcience; but by his perfectly underſtanding the Spaniſh, (which he ſpoke as a Spaniard), the French, and Italian languages, and having read very much in all, he could not be ſaid to be ignorant in any part of learning, divinity only excepted. He had a very fine and extraordinary underſtanding in the nature of beaſts and birds, and above all in all kind of plantations and arts of huſbandry. He was born a gentleman both by father and mother, his father having a pretty entire ſeat near Bruton in Somerſetſhire, worth above two hundred pounds a year, which had deſcended from father to ſon for many hundred years, and is ſtill in the poſſeſſion of his elder brother's children, the family having been always Roman Catholic. His mother was a Stafford, nearly allied to Sir Edward Stafford; who was Vice-Chamberlain to Queen Elizabeth, and had been ambaſſador in France; by whom this gentleman was brought up, and was gentleman of his horſe, and left one of his executors of his will, and by him recommended to Sir Robert Cecil, then principal Secretary of State; who preferred him to Sir Charles Conwallis, when he went ambaſſador into Spain, in the beginning of the reign of King

King James; where he remained, for the ſpace of eleven or twelve years, in the condition of Secretary or Agent, without ever returning into England in all that time. He raiſed by his own virtue and induſtry a very fair eſtate, of which though the revenue did not exceed above four thouſand pounds by the year; yet he had four very good houſes, and three parks, the value whereof was not reckoned into that computation. He lived very nobly, well ſerved and attended in his houſe; had a better ſtable of horſes, better proviſion for ſports, (eſpecially of hawks, in which he took great delight), than moſt of his quality, and lived always with great ſplendour; for though he loved money very well, and did not warily enough conſider the circumſtances of getting it, he ſpent it well all ways but in giving, which he did not affect. He was of an excellent humour, and very eaſy to live with; and, under a grave countenance, covered the moſt of mirth, and cauſed more, than any man of the moſt pleaſant diſpoſition. He never uſed any body ill, but uſed many very well for whom he had no regard: his greateſt fault was, that he could diſſemble, and make men believe that he loved them very well, when he cared not for them. He had not very tender affections, nor bowels apt to yearn at all objects which deſerved compaſſion: he was heartily weary of the world, and no man was more willing to die; which is an argument that he had peace of conſcience. He left behind him a greater eſteem of his parts, than love to his perſon.

The other ambaſſador diſmiſſed very courteouſly.

The other ambaſſador was diſmiſſed with much more courteſy: for when they heard that his family remained at Antwerp in Flanders, and that he intended to go thither, and ſtay there till he received other orders from the King his maſter, they gave him all diſpatches thither which might be of uſe to him in thoſe parts.

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The King of Spain himſelf uſed many gracious expreſſions to him at his laſt audience, and ſent afterwards to him a letter for the Archduke Leopold; in which he expreſſed the good opinion he had of the ambaſſador; and commanded, "that, whilſt he ſhould chooſe to reſide in thoſe parts, under his government, he ſhould receive all reſpect, and enjoy all privileges as an ambaſſador:" and Don Lewis de Haro writ likewiſe to the Archduke, and the Count of Fuenſaldagna, "to look upon him as his particular friend:" all which ceremonies, though they coſt them nothing, were of real benefit and advantage to the ambaſſador: for beſides the treatment he received from the Archduke himſelf in Bruſſels, as ambaſſador, ſuch directions, or recommendations, were ſent to the magiſtrates at Antwerp, that he enjoyed the privilege of his chapel, and all the Engliſh, who were numerous then in that city, repaired thither with all freedom for their devotion, and the exerciſe of their religion: which liberty had never been before granted to any man there, and which the Engliſh, and Iriſh prieſts, and the Roman Catholics of thoſe nations, exceedingly murmured at, and uſed all the endeavours they could to have taken away, though in vain.

In his paſſage through France he waited upon the Queen Mother, who received him very graciouſly; and he found there, that the ſucceſs which Cromwell had obtained in Scotland (though the King was ſtill there, and in a better condition than before) had the ſame effect in the Court of Spain; it gave over all thoughts of the King, as in a condition not only deplorable, but as abſolutely deſperate. In his paſſage through France he waits on the Queen Mother.

There had, a little before, fallen out an accident that troubled France very much, and no leſs pleaſed Spain; which

The death of the Prince of Orange.

which was the death of the Prince of Orange; a young prince of great hope and expectation, and of a ſpirit that deſired to be in action. He had found, that the peace between Spain and the Low Countries, which his father had been ſo ſolicitous to make, even at his expiration, was not like to preſerve him in equal luſtre to what the three former princes had enjoyed; and therefore he wiſhed nothing more, than that an opportunity might be offered to enter upon the war. He complained loudly, that the Court of Spain had not obſerved, nor performed, many of thoſe conditions which it was obliged to do for the particular benefit of him and his family: whereby he continued involved in many debts, which were uneaſy to him; and ſo, upon all occaſions which fell out, he adhered to that party in the States which were known moſt to favour the intereſt of France; which inclination the Cardinal, and the other miniſters of that Crown, uſed all poſſible care and endeavour to cultivate: and Spain was ſo much affected with the apprehenſion of the conſequence of that alteration, and with the conſcience of their own having promoted it, by not having complied with their obligations, that they reſolved to redeem their error, and to reconcile him again, if poſſible, to them. To this purpoſe, a very great preſent was prepared at Madrid to be ſent to him, ten brave Spaniſh horſes, the worſt of which coſt there three hundred pounds ſterling, with many other rarities of great value, and likewiſe a preſent of plate, jewels, and perfumed leather, to the Princeſs Royal his wife; and a full aſſurance, "that they would "forthwith begin to perform all the articles which "were to be done by them, and finiſh all within a ſhort "time."

The expreſs, who was appointed to accompany the preſent,

preſent, and to perform the other functions, was to begin his journey within two days, when the news arrived, by an expreſs from Bruſſels, who came in as ſhort a time as could be imagined, that the Prince of Orange was dead of the ſmall pox, and had left the Princeſs with child, and very near her time; who was brought to bed of a ſon within few days after his deceaſe. The Court at Madrid could not conceal its joy, nor diſſemble their opinion, that the enemy whoſe influence they moſt apprehended was fortunately taken out of the way. On the other hand, France owned a great ſorrow and grief for the loſs of a man whom they believed to be more than ordinarily affected to them; and who, by a conjunction with their friends in Holland, might, in a ſhort time, be much ſuperior to that party in the States which adhered to the Spaniſh intereſt.

His Princeſs delivered of a ſon ſhortly after.

But nobody received ſo inſupportable prejudice and damage, by this fatal blow, as the King of Great Britain did; towards whom that brave Prince gave all the teſtimony and manifeſtation of the moſt entire, faſt, and unſhaken affection and friendſhip, that hath ever been performed towards any perſon under any ſignal misfortune. Beſides the aſſiſting him, upon ſeveral emergent occaſions, with greater ſums of money than were eaſy to his incumbered fortune, his reputation, and his declared reſolution, "that he would venture all he had in that "quarrel," diſpoſed many to be more concerned for his Majeſty. Though he could not prevail over that faction in Holland, which were known to favour Cromwell, (and the more out of their averſion to him, and to his power and greatneſs,) to induce them to ſerve the King, yet he kept the States General from conſenting to that infamous alliance and conjunction, which, ſhortly after his death, they entered into with the new Republic: and

The King loſt a ſure friend in the Prince.

and which they would never have yielded to, if he had lived. And, no doubt, the reſpect both France and Spain had for him, and his interpoſition, had prevailed with both to be more reſtrained than they afterwards appeared to be, in a total declining all conſideration of the King, and rejecting all thoughts of his reſtoration. It contributed very much to the negligent farewell the ambaſſadors had received in Spain: for the news of the Prince's death had arrived there ſome time before their departure; and it did not only extinguiſh all imaginations in France of any poſſible hope for our King, but very much leſſened the reſpect and civility which that Court had always ſhewed to the Queen herſelf, as a daughter of France; towards whom they expreſſed not that regard they had formerly done.

But there was another accident, which, at this time, gave the Queen more trouble than this; and of which her Majeſty made great complaint to the Chancellor of the Exchequer at his return from Spain. Upon the interview which had been between the King and the Queen at Beauvais, when the King went for Holland, upon the foreſight, if not the reſolution, that it would be fit for him to adventure his own perſon into Scotland, he had left his brother the Duke of York with the Queen, with direction, "that he ſhould conform himſelf entirely to "the will and pleaſure of the Queen his mother, mat-"ters of religion only excepted." And there was the leſs doubt of his conformity to her commands, becauſe, beſides his piety and duty, which was very entire towards her, he was to depend wholly upon her bounty for his ſupport; the Court of France not taking any notice of this increaſe of her expence, nor paying her own narrow aſſignation with any punctuality; ſo that ſhe was not able, beſides the reſervedneſs in her nature, ſo

Touching the Duke of York left with the Queen.

to

to ſupply him as to make his condition pleaſant to him; but exerciſed the ſame auſtere carriage towards him, which ſhe had done to the Prince his brother, and as unſucceſsfully. The Duke was very young, with a numerous family of his own, not well enough inclined to be contented, and conſiſting of perſons who loved not one another, nor their maſter well enough to conſider him before themſelves: which wrought that effect upon him, that none of them had that credit with him, that, at ſuch an age, ſome good men ought to have had: which proceeded from want of reaſonable providence and circumſpection. For when he made his eſcape out of England, as is mentioned before, he had only one perſon attending him, (who had, before, no relation or pretence to his ſervice), whoſe merit might have been otherwiſe requited, than by giving him a title and dependence upon him; and he quickly appeared to be ſo unworthy of it, that he was removed from it. Then was the time that ſuch perſons ſhould have been placed about him, as might have both diſcovered ſuch infirmities, as his nature might incline him to, and have infuſed thoſe principles of virtue and honour, as he was moſt capable of, and diſpoſed to; and which had been as proper for his preſent misfortune, as for his higheſt dignity. But that province was wholly committed to the Queen his mother by the late King, who was then in priſon; and her Majeſty being then at Paris, when the Duke landed in Holland, ſhe could not deliberate ſo long upon it as ſuch a ſubject required; and ſo was perſuaded by others to conſider them more than her ſon; and made haſte to put ſuch a family about him, with reference to the number, and to the offices which they were deſigned to ſerve in, as was above the greatneſs to which the younger ſon of the Crown of England could

pretend, by the uſage and cuſtom of that kingdom, when it was in the greateſt ſplendour; and all this, when there was not in view the leaſt revenue to ſupport it, but that the whole charge and burthen of it muſt inevitably fall upon her; of which her Majeſty was quickly ſenſible, and paid the penalty at leaſt in the peace and quiet of her mind.

The Duke was full of ſpirit and courage, and naturally loved deſigns, and deſired to engage himſelf in ſome action that might improve and advance the low condition of the King his brother; towards whom he had an inviolable affection and fidelity, ſuperior to any temptation. He was not pleaſed with the treatment he received in France, nor had confidence enough in any of his ſervants, to be adviſed by them towards the contriving any expedient that he might reaſonably diſpoſe himſelf to, or to be diſſuaded from any enterpriſe which his own paſſion might ſuggeſt to him; though too many had too much credit with him in contributing to his diſcontents, and in repreſenting the uncomfortableneſs of his own condition to him; "the little regard "the Queen appeared to have of him, the luſtre that "ſome of her ſervants lived in, and thoſe who de"pended upon them, whilſt his Royal Highneſs wanted "all that was neceſſary, and his ſervants were expoſed "to the moſt ſcandalous neceſſities and contempt;" which ſuggeſtions, by degrees, began to abate that reverence in him to the Queen his mother, to which he was very dutifully inclined.

Sir Edward Herbert and Sir G. Ratcliff have great intereſt in him.

There were at that time two perſons, who, though without any relation to the Court, very much frequented the Duke's lodgings, and had frequent diſcourſes with him, Sir Edward Herbert, the late King's Attorney General, (of whom much is ſaid before), and Sir George

George Ratcliff, who had been deſigned by that King to attend upon the Duke of York into Ireland, when he once thought of ſending him thither. But that deſign being quickly laid aſide, there was no more thought of uſing his ſervice there. The Duke looked upon them both as wiſe men, and fit to give him advice; and finding that they both applied themſelves to him with diligence and addreſs, he communicated his thoughts more freely to them than to any others. And they took pains to perſuade him to diſlike the condition he was in, and that he might ſpend his time more to his advantage in ſome other place than in France. They ſpoke often to him of the Duke of Lorrain, "as a "pattern and example for all unfortunate Princes to "follow: that he being, by the power and injuſtice of "the King of France, driven out of his principality and "dominions, had, by his own virtue and activity, put "himſelf in the head of an army; by which he made "himſelf ſo conſiderable, that he was courted by both "the Crowns of France and Spain, and might make his "conditions with either according to his own election; "and in the mean time lived with great reputation, and "in great plenty, eſteemed by all the world for his "courage and conduct." With theſe, and the like diſcourſes, the Duke was much pleaſed and amuſed, and wiſhed in himſelf that he could be put into ſuch a condition, when in truth there could not a more improper example have been propoſed to him, whoſe condition was more unlike his, or whoſe fortune and manners he was leſs to wiſh to follow, or leſs able to imitate. For the Duke of Lorrain had, for many years before his misfortunes, had a great name in war, and was looked upon as one of the greateſt captains of Chriſtendom; and had drawn the arms and power of France upon

They recommend to him the pattern of the Duke of Lorrain.

The Duke of Lorrain's character

him, by his inconſtancy, and adhering to Spain, contrary to his treaty and obligation with the other Crown; and when he was driven out of his own country, and not able to defend it, he was in the head of a very good army, and poſſeſſed of great wealth, which he carried with him, and could not but be very welcome, as he well knew, into Flanders, both as his misfortune proceeded from his affection to their King, and as his forces were neceſſary for their defence. And ſo he made ſuch conditions with them, as were moſt beneficial to himſelf, and yet, in the conſequence, ſo unſucceſsful, as might well terrify all other Princes from treading in the ſame footſteps.

The King believed in France to be dead.

With the report of the defeat of that army by Cromwell in Scotland, (which was the firſt good fortune to the King), or ſhortly after, ſome letters from England brought intelligence, without any ground, that the King was dangerouſly ſick; and ſhortly after, that he was dead; which was believed in England, and from thence tranſmitted into France. This gave a new alarm to thoſe two gentlemen mentioned before, who received this information from ſuch friends in England, that they did really believe it to be true; and thereupon concluded, that both the place and the company would not be fit for the new King to be found in; and therefore that it would be neceſſary for him to remove from thence, before the report ſhould be confirmed and believed.

The Duke of York acquaints his mother that he will go to Bruſſels, whether he goes.

Whether they imparted this nice conſideration to the Duke or not, his Highneſs, without any preface of the motives, told the Queen, "he was reſolved to make a "journey to Bruſſels;" who, being exceedingly ſurpriſed, aſked him the reaſon; and "how he could be "able to make ſuch a journey?" which ſhe in truth be-

believed impoſſible for him, ſince ſhe knew he had no money. His anſwer in ſhort was, "that he would viſit "the Duke of Lorrain, who had been always a friend "to his father, and continued his affection to the King "his brother; and he had ſome reaſon to believe, that "Duke would enable him to appear in action, that "might be for his Majeſty's ſervice; and that he was "reſolved to begin his journey the next day;" from which neither the Queen's advice nor authority could divert him. Her Majeſty quickly diſcerned, that neither the Lord Byron, nor Sir John Berkeley, nor Mr. Bennet, his Secretary, knew any thing of it; and therefore eaſily concluded who the counſellors were; who were both very ungracious to her, and ſhe had long done all ſhe could to leſſen the Duke's eſteem of them. They well foreſaw that the want of money would be of that force, that, without any other difficulty, the journey would be rendered impoſſible. They had therefore, upon their own credit, or out of their own ſtore, procured as much as would defray the journey to Bruſſels; which, by the Duke's directions, was put into the hands of Sir George Ratcliff, and to be managed by his providence and diſcretion. And then he publicly declared his reſolution to begin his journey the next day for Bruſſels, leaving his ſervants to make what ſhift they could to ſtay there, or follow him.

Since there was no remedy, the Queen thought it neceſſary that his chief ſervants ſhould wait on him, that ſhe might receive an account what progreſs he made, and what his deſign could be: ſo the Lord Byron and Mr. Bennet made themſelves ready for the journey; Sir John Berkeley chooſing to ſtay behind, that he might not appear inferior where he had exerciſed the ſupreme charge: And ſo, with the other two counſel-

lors, and many of the inferior ſervants, the Duke, according to his reſolution, left the Queen; and, when he came to Bruſſels, he lodged at the houſe of Sir Henry de Vic, the King's Reſident, without being taken notice of by any of that Court. There the two counſellors begun to form his family, and to confer offices upon thoſe who were moſt acceptable to them; preſuming that they ſhould ſhortly receive news from England, which would confirm all that they had done under other titles. In the mean time the government of the houſe, and ordering the expence, was committed wholly to Sir George Ratcliff, whilſt the other contented himſelf with preſiding in the councils, and directing all the politic deſigns. The Duke of Lorrain had viſited the Duke upon his firſt arrival, and, being informed of the ſtraits his Royal Highneſs was in, preſented him with one thouſand piſtoles. But now the ſecret ground of all their counſels was found to be without any reality: the King was not only alive, and in good health, but known to be in the head of an army that looked Cromwell in the face; which deſtroyed all the machine they had raiſed: yet, being too far embarked to retire with any grace, and being encouraged by the civility the Duke of Lorrain had ſhewed towards the Duke, they had the preſumption to propoſe that there might be a marriage between the Duke of York and the daughter of the Duke of Lorrain by the Counteſs of Canteeroy; whom he had publicly married, but which marriage was declared at Rome to be void, by reaſon that his former wife was ſtill alive.

His two counſellors propoſe a match for him with the Duke of Lorrain's baſtard daughter.

When the Duke of Lorrain ſaw how the affairs of this young Prince were conducted, and that the Lord Byron and Mr. Bennet, who were men well bred, and able to have diſcourſed any buſineſs to him, one whereof

was

was his Governor and the other his Secretary, who by their offices ought to be more truſted in an affair of that moment, were not at all acquainted with it, and that the other two perſons, who were men of a very unuſual mien, appeared in it, and that only Sir George Ratcliff undertook to ſpeak to him about it, who could only make himſelf underſtood in Latin, which the Duke cared not to ſpeak in, he declined entertaining the motion, till he might know that it was made with the King's approbation; which the other did not pretend it to be, but "that he did not doubt it would be afterwards ap-"proved by his Majeſty." Thus they were at the end of their projects; and there being no means to ſtay longer at Bruſſels, they perſuaded the Duke to viſit his ſiſter at the Hague, and there to conſider and adviſe what was next to be done.

The Duke viſits his ſiſter at the Hague.

Of all theſe particulars the Queen complained to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, with great bitterneſs againſt the folly and preſumption of thoſe two gentlemen, whoſe fidelity to the King ſhe did not ſuſpect; nor could ſhe imagine the motive that had engaged them in ſuch a bold undertaking; but ſhe required him, "that, "as ſoon as he ſhould come into Flanders, he would "make a journey to the Hague, and prevail with the "Duke" (to whom ſhe writ to the ſame purpoſe) "to "return again to Paris;" which the Chancellor promiſed to endeavour heartily to do, being exceedingly troubled at the general diſcourſe, which that ſally had adminiſtered, as if there were a ſchiſm in the royal family in a ſeaſon when ſo much union was requiſite.

There was another inſtance of the King's extreme low condition, and of the higheſt diſreſpect the Court of France could expreſs towards him, and of which all the Proteſtant party of the Queen's family complained very

vehemently. From the time of the Queen's being in France, the late King had appointed a chaplain of his own, Dr. Cosins, who was afterwards Bishop of Durham, to attend upon her Majesty for the constant service of that part of her household, the number of her Protestant servants being much superior to those who were Roman Catholics. And the Queen had always punctually complied with the King's directions, and used the chaplain very graciously, and assigned him a competent support with the rest of her servants. An under room in the Louvre, out of any common passage, had been assigned for their morning and evening devotions; the key whereof was committed to the chaplain; who caused the room to be decently furnished, and kept; being made use of to no other purpose. Here, when the Prince first came thither, and afterwards, whilst he stayed, he performed his devotions all the week, but went Sundays still to the Resident's house to hear sermons. At this time an order was sent from the Queen Regent, "that that room should be no more applied to "that purpose, and that the French King would not "permit the exercise of any other religion in any of his "houses than the Roman Catholic:" and the Queen gave notice to the chaplain, "that she was no longer able "to continue the payment of the exhibition she had "formerly assigned to him." The Protestants, whereof many were of the best quality, lamented this alteration to the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and desired him to intercede with the Queen, which he had the more title to do, because, at his going into Spain, she had vouchsafed to promise him, (upon some rumours, of which he took notice), "that the same privilege which "had been, should still be continued, and enjoyed by "the Protestants of her household; and that she would "provide

Dr. Cosins forbid to officiate to the Protestants in the Queen's family at Paris.

" provide for the chaplain's ſubſiſtence." He preſumed therefore to ſpeak with her Majeſty upon it; and beſought her to conſider, " what ill impreſſion this " new order would make upon the Proteſtants of all the " King's dominions; upon whom he was chiefly to de- " pend for his reſtoration; and how much prejudice it " might be to herſelf, to be looked upon as a greater " enemy to Proteſtants, than ſhe had been taken notice " of to be; and likewiſe, whether this order, which had " been given ſince the departure of the Duke of York, " might not be made uſe of as an excuſe for his not re- " turning, or indeed for his going away at firſt, ſince " the preciſe time when it iſſued would not be gene- " rally underſtood." The Queen heard him very graciouſly, and acknowledged, " that what he ſaid had rea- " ſon in it; but proteſted that ſhe knew not what re- " medy to apply to it; that ſhe had been herſelf ſur- " priſed with that order, and was troubled at it; but that " the Queen Regent was poſitive in it, and blamed her " for want of zeal in her religion; and that ſhe cared " not to advance it, or to convert any of her children." She wiſhed him " to confer with Mr. Mountague upon " it;" and implied, " that his bigotry in his new reli- " gion had contributed much to the procuring that or- " der." He had newly taken orders, and was become Prieſt in that Church, and had great power with the Queen Regent, as well for his animoſity againſt that religion he had profeſſed, as for his vehement zeal for the Church of which he now was. Upon this occaſion, her Majeſty expreſſed a great ſenſe of the loſs ſhe had ſuſtained by the death of her old confeſſor, Father Phillips; who, ſhe ſaid, " was a prudent and diſcreet man; and " would never ſuffer her to be preſſed to any paſſionate " undertakings, under pretence of doing good for Ca- " tholics;

The Chancellor ſpeaks with the Queen about it.

The Queen's anſwer.

" tholics; and always told her, that, as ſhe ought to " continue firm and conſtant to her own religion, ſo ſhe " was to live well towards the Proteſtants, who deſerved " well from her, and to whom ſhe was beholding." She ſaid, " it would not be poſſible to have the ſame or " any other room ſet aſide, or allowed to be uſed as a " chapel; but that ſhe would take ſuch courſe, that the " family might meet for the exerciſe of their devotion in " ſome private room that belonged to their lodgings: " and that though her own exhibition was ſo ill paid, " that ſhe was indebted to all her ſervants, yet ſhe " would give order that Dr. Coſins (againſt whom " ſhe had ſome perſonal exceptions) ſhould receive his " ſalary, in proportion with the reſt of her ſervants." She bid him " aſſure the Duke of York, that he ſhould " have a free exerciſe of his religion, as he had before, " though it muſt not be in the ſame place."

The Chancellor confers with Mr. Mountague about it.

The Chancellor conferred with Mr. Mountague upon the ſubject; and offered the ſame reaſons which he had done to the Queen; which he looked upon as of no moment; but ſaid, " that the King of France was maſ- " ter in his own houſe, and he was reſolved, though the " King of England himſelf ſhould come thither again, " never to permit any ſolemn exerciſe of the Proteſt- " ant religion in any houſe of his." The conſideration of what the Proteſtants in England might think on this occaſion was of leaſt moment to him; and it was indeed the common diſcourſe there, " that the Proteſt- " ants of the Church of England could never do the " King ſervice, but that all his hopes muſt be in the " Roman Catholics, and the Preſbyterians; and that " he ought to give all ſatisfaction to both thoſe parties."

When the Chancellor of the Exchequer came to Antwerp, with a purpoſe to make a journey ſpeedily to the

the Hague, he was informed, "that the States were much "offended that the Duke of York remained there; and "therefore that the Princeſs Royal" (who now more depended upon their favour than ever; her own jointure, as well as the fortune of her ſon, being to be ſettled in their judicatory) "could no longer entertain him, but "that he would be the next day at Breda." Thither the Chancellor immediately went; and found the Duke there with a family in all the confuſion imaginable, in preſent want of every thing, and not knowing what was to be done next. They all cenſured and reproached the counſel by which they had been guided, and the counſellors as bitterly inveighed againſt each other, for undertaking many things which had no foundation in truth. They who concurred in nothing elſe were equally ſevere againſt the Attorney, as a man of that intolerable pride, that it was not poſſible for any man to converſe with him. He as frankly reproached them all with being men of no parts, of no underſtanding, nor learning, no principles, and no reſolution, and was ſo juſt to them all, as to contemn every man of them alike. In truth he had rendered himſelf ſo grievous to them all, that there was no man who deſired to be in his company; yet, by the knack of his talk, which was the moſt like reaſon without being it, he retained ſtill too much credit with the Duke; who, being amuſed and confounded with his poſitive diſcourſe, thought him to be wiſer than thoſe who were more eaſily underſtood; and was himſelf ſo young, that he was rather delighted with the journeys he had made, than ſenſible that he had not entered upon them with reaſon enough; and was fortified with a firm reſolution never to acknowledge that he had committed any error. However, he was very glad to receive the Queen's letter, which the Chancellor delivered

The Chancellor finds the Duke of York at Breda, and the factions of the Duke's family there.

" tholics; and always told her, that, as ſhe ought to " continue firm and conſtant to her own religion, ſo ſhe " was to live well towards the Proteſtants, who deſerved " well from her, and to whom ſhe was beholding." She ſaid, " it would not be poſſible to have the ſame or " any other room ſet aſide, or allowed to be uſed as a " chapel; but that ſhe would take ſuch courſe, that the " family might meet for the exerciſe of their devotion in " ſome private room that belonged to their lodgings: " and that though her own exhibition was ſo ill paid, " that ſhe was indebted to all her ſervants, yet ſhe " would give order that Dr. Coſins (againſt whom " ſhe had ſome perſonal exceptions) ſhould receive his " ſalary, in proportion with the reſt of her ſervants." She bid him " aſſure the Duke of York, that he ſhould " have a free exerciſe of his religion, as he had before, " though it muſt not be in the ſame place."

The Chancellor confers with Mr. Mountague about it.

The Chancellor conferred with Mr. Mountague upon the ſubject; and offered the ſame reaſons which he had done to the Queen; which he looked upon as of no moment; but ſaid, " that the King of France was maſ- " ter in his own houſe, and he was reſolved, though the " King of England himſelf ſhould come thither again, " never to permit any ſolemn exerciſe of the Proteſt- " ant religion in any houſe of his." The conſideration of what the Proteſtants in England might think on this occaſion was of leaſt moment to him; and it was indeed the common diſcourſe there, " that the Proteſt- " ants of the Church of England could never do the " King ſervice, but that all his hopes muſt be in the " Roman Catholics, and the Preſbyterians; and that " he ought to give all ſatisfaction to both thoſe parties."

When the Chancellor of the Exchequer came to Antwerp, with a purpoſe to make a journey ſpeedily to the

the Hague, he was informed, "that the States were much "offended that the Duke of York remained there; and "therefore that the Princeſs Royal" (who now more depended upon their favour than ever; her own jointure, as well as the fortune of her ſon, being to be ſettled in their judicatory) "could no longer entertain him, but "that he would be the next day at Breda." Thither the Chancellor immediately went; and found the Duke there with a family in all the confuſion imaginable, in preſent want of every thing, and not knowing what was to be done next. They all cenſured and reproached the counſel by which they had been guided, and the counſellors as bitterly inveighed againſt each other, for undertaking many things which had no foundation in truth. They who concurred in nothing elſe were equally ſevere againſt the Attorney, as a man of that intolerable pride, that it was not poſſible for any man to converſe with him. He as frankly reproached them all with being men of no parts, of no underſtanding, nor learning, no principles, and no reſolution, and was ſo juſt to them all, as to contemn every man of them alike. In truth he had rendered himſelf ſo grievous to them all, that there was no man who deſired to be in his company; yet, by the knack of his talk, which was the moſt like reaſon without being it, he retained ſtill too much credit with the Duke; who, being amuſed and confounded with his poſitive diſcourſe, thought him to be wiſer than thoſe who were more eaſily underſtood; and was himſelf ſo young, that he was rather delighted with the journeys he had made, than ſenſible that he had not entered upon them with reaſon enough; and was fortified with a firm reſolution never to acknowledge that he had committed any error. However, he was very glad to receive the Queen's letter, which the Chancellor delivered

The Chancellor finds the Duke of York at Breda, and the factions of the Duke's family there.

livered to him; heard his advice very willingly, and re*ſolved to begin his journey to Paris without any delay;* and looked upon the occaſion, as a very ſeaſonable redemption. The next day he went to Antwerp; and from thence, with the ſame retinue he had carried with him, made haſte to Paris, and was received by the Queen his mother without thoſe expoſtulations and reprehenſions which he might reaſonably have expected; though her ſeverity was the ſame towards all thoſe, who, ſhe thought, had had the credit and power to ſeduce him; and they were not ſolicitous, by any apologies or confeſſion, to recover her favour: for the true reaſon that had ſwayed them being not to be avowed, any other that they could deviſe and ſuggeſt would have rendered them more inexcuſable.

The Duke returns to Paris to the Queen.

The King's affairs in Scotland.

During this time, the King underwent all kind of mortifications in Scotland. But after the defeat of the Scottiſh army in September, with which the King and Cromwell were equally delighted, as hath been ſaid before, the Marquis of Argyle's empire ſeemed not to be ſo abſolute. A new army was appointed to be raiſed; the King himſelf interpoſed more than he had done; and the noblemen and officers came to him with more confidence; and his Majeſty took upon him to complain and expoſtulate, when thoſe things were done which he did not like: yet the power was ſtill in Argyle's hands; who, under all the profeſſions of humility, exerciſed ſtill the ſame tyranny; inſomuch as the King grew weary of his own patience, and reſolved to make ſome attempt to free himſelf. Dr. Frazier, who had been the King's phyſician many years before, and had conſtantly attended upon his perſon, and very much contributed to the King's journey into Scotland, was, ſhortly after his coming thither, diſliked by Argyle; who knew that he was a creature of the

the Hamiltonians, and found him to be of an unquiet and over-active ſpirit; and thereupon ſequeſtered him from his attendance. There were many officers who had ſerved in Duke Hamilton's Engagement, as Middleton, and others, who had very entire affections for the King; and many of them had correſponded with Mountroſe, and reſolved to have joined with him; and finding themſelves excluded, as all of them were, from any employment by the power of Argyle, had retired into the Highlands, and remained there concealed in expectation of ſome good ſeaſon, in which they might avowedly appear. With ſome of theſe Dr. Frazier had held correſpondence whilſt he was in the Court, and had often ſpoken to the King of their affection, and readineſs to ſerve him, and of their power to do it, and had returned his Majeſty's gracious acceptation of their ſervice, and his reſolution to employ them. And now, not being himſelf ſuffered to come to the Court, he found means to meet and confer with many of them; and held intelligence with the Lord Lautherdale, who had always great confidence in him; and the officers undertaking to do more than they could, or the Doctor underſtanding them to undertake more than they did, (for his fidelity was never ſuſpected), he gave the King ſuch an account of their numbers, as well as reſolutions, that his Majeſty appointed a day for their rendezvous, and promiſed to be preſent with them, and then to publiſh a declaration (which was likewiſe prepared) of the ill treatment he had endured, and againſt the perſon of Argyle; to whom the Duke of Buckingham gave himſelf wholly up, and imparted to him all this correſpondence, having found ſome of the letters which had paſſed, by the King's having left his cabinet open; for he was not at all truſted in it.

But

The King withdraws towards the Highlands; which was called the Start.

But Argyle did not think the time ſo near; ſo that the King did proſecute this purpoſe ſo far, that he rode one day, with a dozen or twenty horſe, into the Highlands, and lodged there one night; neither the Marquis of Argyle, nor any body elſe, knowing what was become of him; which put them all into great diſtraction. It was indeed a very empty and unprepared deſign, contrived and conducted by Dr. Frazier, without any foundation to build upon; and might well have ruined the King. It was afterwards called the Start; yet it proved, contrary to the expectation of wiſe men, very much to his Majeſty's advantage. For though he was compelled the next day to return, with a circumſtance that ſeemed to have ſomewhat of force in it, (for as the company he looked for failed to appear, ſo there was a troop of horſe, which he looked not for, ſent by Argyle, who uſed very effectual inſtance with him to return), yet notwithſtanding, this declaration of his Majeſty's reſentment, together with the obſervation of what the people generally ſpoke upon it, "that the King was not treated "as he ought to be," made the Marquis of Argyle change his counſels, and to be more ſolicitous to ſatisfy the King. A ſummons was ſent out, in the King's name, to call a Parliament; and great preparations were really made for the coronation; and the ſeaſon of the year, againſt which Cromwell was ſecuring himſelf in Edinburgh, and making proviſions for his army, the winter coming on, and the ſtrong paſſes, which were eaſy then to be guarded, hindered the enemy's advance: ſo that the King reſided, ſometimes at Stirling, and ſometimes at St. Johnſton's, with convenience enough. The Parliament met at Stirling, and ſhortly after brought all the lords of the other party thither, who appeared to have credit enough to wipe off thoſe ſtains with which the

He is perſuaded to return the next day.

The King better uſed afterwards by Argyle.

A Parliament ſummoned in the King's name.

It meets at Stirling, and reconciles the lords.

Engagement

Engagement had defaced them, yet with ſubmiſſion to ſtand publicly in the ſtool of repentance, acknowledging their former tranſgreſſions; as they all did.

Duke Hamilton and Lautherdale were welcome to the King, and neareſt his confidence; which neither the Duke of Buckingham, who had caſt off their friendſhip as unuſeful, nor the Marquis of Argyle, were pleaſed with. The King himſelf grew very popular, and, by his frequent conferences with the knights and burgeſſes, got any thing paſſed in the Parliament which he deſired. He cauſed many infamous acts to be repealed, and provided for the raiſing an army, whereof himſelf was General; and no exceptions were taken to thoſe officers who had formerly ſerved the King his father.

An army raiſed, of which the King is General.

The coronation was paſſed with great ſolemnity and magnificence, all men making ſhew of joy, and of being united to ſerve his Majeſty: yet the Marquis of Argyle preſerved his greatneſs and intereſt ſo well, and was ſtill ſo conſiderable, that it was thought very expedient to raiſe an imagination in him, that the King had a purpoſe to marry one of his daughters; which was carried ſo far, that the King could no otherwiſe defend himſelf from it, than by ſending an expreſs into France for the Queen his mother's conſent, (which ſeemed not to be doubted of), and to that purpoſe Captain Titus, a perſon grateful to Argyle, and to all the Preſbyterian party, was ſent; who, finding the Queen leſs warm upon the propoſition than was expected, made leſs haſte back; ſo that the fate of Scotland was firſt determined.

The coronation.

The King's army was as well modelled, and in as good a condition as it was like to be whilſt he ſtayed in Scotland. By that time that Cromwell was ready to take the field, his Majeſty was perſuaded to make David Leſley his Lieutenant General of the army; who had very

very long experience, and a very good name in war; and Middleton commanded the horſe. The artillery was in very good order under the command of Wemmes, who had not the worſe reputation there for having been ungrateful to the King's father. He was a confeſſed good officer; and there were, or could be, very few officers of any ſuperior command, but ſuch who had drawn their ſwords againſt his late Majeſty; moſt of thoſe who had ſerved under the Marquis of Mountroſe having been put to death. Many of the greateſt noblemen had raiſed regiments, or troops; and all the young gentlemen of the kingdom appeared very hearty and cheerful in commands, or volunteers: and, in all appearance, they ſeemed a body equal in any reſpect, and ſuperior in number, to the enemy; which advanced all they could, and made it manifeſt that they deſired nothing more than to come to battle; which was not thought counſellable for the King's army to engage in, except upon very notable advantages; which they had reaſon every day to expect; for there was a very broad and a deep river between them; and if they kept the paſſes, of which they were poſſeſſed, and could hardly chooſe but keep, Cromwell muſt in a very few days want proviſions, and ſo be forced to retire, whilſt the King had plenty of all things which he ſtood in need of, and could, by the advantage of the paſſes, be in his rear as ſoon as he thought fit.

Cromwell endeavours to fight the King's army.

In this poſture both armies ſtood in view of each other near the two months of June and July, with ſome ſmall attempts upon each other, with equal ſucceſs. About the end of July, by the cowardice or treachery of Major General Brown, who had a body of four thouſand men to keep it, Cromwell's forces under Lambert gained the paſs, by which they got behind the King; and though

Both armies near each other in the months of June and July.

Cromwell gains a paſs, and gets behind the King.

though they could not compel his Majeſty to fight, for there was ſtill the great river between them, they were poſſeſſed, or might quickly be, of the moſt fruitful part of the country; and ſo would not only have ſufficient proviſion for their own army, but in a ſhort time would be able to cut off much of that which ſhould ſupply the King's. This was a great ſurpriſe to the King, and put him into new counſels; and he did, with the unanimous advice of almoſt all the principal officers, and all thoſe who were admitted to the Council, take a reſolution worthy of his courage; which, how unfortunate ſoever it proved, was evidence enough that the ſame misfortune would have fallen out if he had not taken it.

The King was now, by Cromwell's putting himſelf behind him, much nearer to England than he: nor was it poſſible for him to overtake his Majeſty, in regard of the ways he was unavoidably to paſs, till after the King had been ſome days' march before him: his Majeſty's fate depended upon the ſucceſs of one battle: for a poſſible eſcape into the Highlands, after a defeat, there was no kingly proſpect: all the northern parts of England had given him cauſe to believe that they were very well affected to his ſervice, and if he could reach thoſe countries, he might preſume to increaſe his army, which was numerous enough, with an addition of ſuch men as would make it much more conſiderable. Hereupon, with the concurrence aforeſaid, it was reſolved, that the army ſhould immediately march, with as much expedition as was poſſible, into England, by the neareſt ways, which led into Lancaſhire, whither the King ſent expreſſes to give thoſe, of whom he expected much, (by reaſon ſome of them had been in Scotland with him, with promiſe of large undertakings), notice of his purpoſe,

The King reſolves to march into England.

poſe, that they might get their ſoldiers together to receive him. His Majeſty ſent likewiſe an expreſs to the Iſle of Man, where the Earl of Derby had ſecurely repoſed himſelf from the end of the former war, "that he "ſhould meet his Majeſty in Lancaſhire." The Marquis of Argyle was the only man who diſſuaded his Majeſty's march into England, with reaſons which were not frivolous; but the contrary prevailed; and he ſtayed behind; and, when the King begun his march, retired to his houſe in the Highlands. Some were of opinion, that he ſhould then have been made priſoner, and left ſo ſecured that he might not be able to do miſchief when the King was gone, which moſt men believed he would incline to. But his Majeſty would not conſent to it, becauſe he was confident "he would not attempt "any thing while the army was entire: if it prevailed, "he neither would nor could do any harm; and if "it were defeated, it would be no great matter what he "did."

The Marquis of Argyle only diſſuaded it, and ſtayed behind, and retired to his houſe.

Though Cromwell was not frequently without good intelligence what was done in the King's army and councils, yet this laſt reſolution was conſulted with ſo great ſecrecy, and executed with that wonderful expedition, that the King had marched a whole day without his comprehending what the meaning was, and before he received the leaſt advertiſement of it. It was not a ſmall ſurpriſe to him, nor was it eaſy for him to reſolve what to do. If he ſhould follow with his whole army, all the advantages he had got in Scotland would be preſently loſt, and the whole kingdom be again united in any new miſchief. If he followed but with part, he might be too weak when he overtook the King; whoſe army, he knew, would bear the fatigue of a long march better than his could do. There were two conſiderations which

Cromwell's reſolutions and counſels upon this news.

which troubled him exceedingly; the one, the terrible conſternation he foreſaw the Parliament would be in, when they heard that the King with his army was nearer to them, than their own army was for their defence; and he knew that he had enemies enough to improve their fear, and to leſſen his conduct: the other was, the apprehenſion, that, if the King had time given to reſt in any place, he would infinitely increaſe and ſtrengthen his army by the reſort of the people, as well as the gentry and nobility, from all parts. And though he did ſo much undervalue the Scottiſh army, that he would have been glad to have found himſelf engaged with it, upon any inequality of numbers, and diſadvantage of ground, yet he did believe, that, by a good mixture with Engliſh, they might be made very conſiderable. He took a very quick reſolution to provide for all the beſt he could: he diſpatched an expreſs to the Parliament, to prevent their being ſurpriſed with the news; and to aſſure them, "that he would himſelf overtake the "enemy before they ſhould give them any trouble;" and gave ſuch farther orders for drawing the auxiliary troops together in the ſeveral counties, as he thought fit.

Orders Lambert to follow the King with a body of horſe.

He gave Lambert order, "immediately to follow the "King with ſeven or eight hundred horſe, and to draw "as many others, as he could, from the country mili- "tia; and to diſturb his Majeſty's march the moſt he "could, by being near, and obliging him to march "cloſe; not engaging his own party in any ſharp ac- "tions, without a very notorious advantage; but to "keep himſelf entire till he ſhould come up to him." With this order Lambert marched away the ſame day the advertiſement came.

Leaves Monk in Scotland.

Cromwell reſolved then to leave Major General Monk, upon whom he looked with moſt confidence, as

an excellent officer of foot, and as entirely devoted to him, with a ſtrong party of foot, and ſome troops of horſe, ſtrong enough to ſuppreſs any forces which ſhould riſe after his departure, "to keep Edinburgh, and "the harbour of Leith; to ſurpriſe and apprehend as "many of the nobility, and conſiderable gentry, as he "ſhould ſuſpect, and keep them under cuſtody; to uſe "the higheſt ſeverity againſt all who oppoſed him; "and, above all, not to endure or permit the licence of "the preachers in their pulpits; and to make himſelf as "formidable as was poſſible: in the laſt place, that, as "ſoon as there appeared no viſible force in the field, he "ſhould beſiege Stirling;" whither moſt perſons of condition were retired with their goods of value, as to a place of ſtrength, and capable of being defended; where the records of the kingdom, and many other things of moſt account were depoſited; it being the place where the King had, for the moſt part, reſided. He charged him, "if at St. Johnſton's, or any other place, he found "a ſtubborn reſiſtance, and were forced to ſpend much "time, or to take it by ſtorm, that he ſhould give no "quarter, nor exempt it from a general plunder;" all which rules Monk obſerved with the utmoſt rigour, and made himſelf as terrible as man could be.

When Cromwell had diſpatched all theſe orders and directions, with marvellous expedition, and ſeen moſt of them advanced in ſome degree, he begun his own march with the remainder of his army, three days after the King was gone, with a wonderful cheerfulneſs, and aſſurance to the officers and ſoldiers, that he ſhould obtain a full victory in England over thoſe who fled from him out of Scotland.

And follows the King three days after.

The King had, from the time that he had recovered any authority in Scotland, granted a commiſſion to the Duke

Duke of Buckingham, to raiſe a regiment of horſe which Maſſey was to command under him, and to raiſe another regiment of foot. And the Engliſh which ſhould reſort thither, of which they expected great numbers, were to liſt themſelves in thoſe regiments. And there were ſome who had liſted themſelves accordingly; but the diſcipline the Scots had uſed to the King, and their adhering to their old principles, even after they ſeemed united for his Majeſty, had kept the King's friends in England from repairing to them in Scotland. They who came from Holland with the King had diſpoſed themſelves as is ſaid before, and there was little doubt but that as ſoon as the King ſhould enter England, thoſe two regiments would be immediately full. The Duke of Buckingham had loſt much ground (and the more becauſe the King was not pleaſed with it) by his having broken off all manner of friendſhip with Duke Hamilton, and the Earl of Lautherdale, (to whom he had profeſſed ſo much), and had entered into ſo faſt a conjunction with the Marquis of Argyle, their declared irreconcileable enemy, and adhered ſo firmly to him, when he was leſs dutiful to the King than he ought to have been. Maſſey had got a great name by his defending Glouceſter againſt the late King, and was looked upon as a martyr for the Preſbyterian intereſt, and ſo very dear to that party; and therefore, as ſoon as they came within the borders of England, he was ſent with ſome troops before, and was always to march at leaſt a day before the army, to the end that he might give notice of the King's coming, and draw the gentry of the counties through which he paſſed, to be ready to attend upon his Majeſty. Beſides, he had particular acquaintance with moſt of the Preſbyterians of Lancaſhire; whom nobody imagined to be of the Scottiſh temper, or

Maſſey ſent to march before the King.

unwilling to unite and join with the royal party; nor indeed were they.

A committee of miniſters in the King's army, who ruin all.

But it was fatal at that time to all Scottiſh armies, to have always in them a committee of miniſters, who ruined all; and though there had been now all the care taken that could be, to chooſe ſuch men for that ſervice as had the reputation of being the moſt ſober and moderate of that whole body, and who had ſhewed more affection, and advanced the King's ſervice more than the reſt; yet this moderate people no ſooner heard that Maſſey was ſent before to call upon their friends, and obſerved that, from the entrance into England, thoſe about the King ſeemed to have leſs regard for the Covenant than formerly, but they ſent an expreſs to him, without communicating it in the leaſt degree with the King, with letters, and a declaration, wherein they required him "to publiſh that declaration, which ſignified "the King's and the whole army's zeal for the Cove- "nant, and their reſolution to proſecute the true intent "of it;" and forbid him "to receive or entertain any "ſoldiers in his troops, but thoſe who would ſubſcribe "that obligation." The King had ſoon notice of this, and loſt no time in ſending to Maſſey "not to publiſh "any ſuch declaration, and to behave himſelf with equal "civility towards all men who were forward to ſerve his "Majeſty." But before this inhibition was received, the matter had taken air in all places, and was ſpread over the kingdom; all men fled from their houſes, or concealed themſelves, who wiſhed the King very well; and beſides, his motion was ſo quick, that none of them could repair to him.

The Earl of Derby met the King in Lancaſhire.

In Lancaſhire the Earl of Derby met him; who, as ſoon as he received his ſummons, left the Iſle of Man. When the King's army came about Warrington in Cheſhire,

Cheſhire, they found, that there was a body of the enemy drawn up in a fair field, which did not appear conſiderable enough to ſtop their march. This was Lambert; who had made ſo much haſte, that he had that day fallen upon ſome of their troops, and beaten them into the army; but when the army came up, Lambert, according to his order and purpoſe, retired, and, being purſued by the King's horſe with a greater party, made more haſte than a well ordered retreat requires, but with no conſiderable loſs. This ſucceſs made a great noiſe, as if Lambert had been defeated.

Lambert follows, but is forced to retire.

At Warrington it was thought counſellable, very unfortunately, that the Earl of Derby, with the Lord Withrington, and ſeveral other officers of good name, ſhould return into Lancaſhire, in order to raiſe the well affected in thoſe two counties of Lancaſhire and Cheſhire; who could not come in upon ſo quick a march, as the King had made: and yet it being out of the road that Cromwell was to follow, who was entered into Yorkſhire, the remaining of thoſe perſons there was thought a good expedient to gather a body of Engliſh, which the King extremely deſired: and if they found any great difficulties, they were to follow the army. In order to which, the Earl had a body of near two hundred horſe, conſiſting, for the moſt part, of officers and gentlemen; which deprived the army of a ſtrength they wanted; and was afterwards acknowledged to be a counſel too ſuddenly entered upon.

At Warrington the Earl of Derby parts from the King, and is ſent to Lancaſhire with other officers to raiſe forces.

Upon appearance of that body of Lambert's, the whole army was drawn up, and appeared very cheerful. The King having obſerved David Leſley, throughout the whole march, ſad and melancholy, and, at that time when the enemy retired, and plainly in a quicker pace than a good retreat uſed to be made, ſlow in giving or-

ders, and reſiding by himſelf, his Majeſty rode up to him, and aſked him, with great alacrity, "how he could "be ſad, when he was in the head of ſo brave an "army?" (which he ſaid looked well that day), and demanded of him, "How he liked them?" To which David Leſley anſwered him in his ear, being at ſome diſtance from any other, "that he was melancholy in-"deed, for he well knew that army, how well ſoever it "looked, would not fight:" which the King imputed to the chagrin of his humour, and gave it no credit, nor told it to any man, till, ſome years after, upon another occaſion which will be remembered in its place, he told the Chancellor of the Exchequer of it.

David Leſley's ſaying concerning the Scottiſh army.

It was not thought fit to purſue Lambert; who, being known to be a man of courage and conduct, and his troops to be of the beſt, was ſuſpected, by ſo diſorderly a retreat, to have only deſigned to have drawn the army another way, to diſorder and diſturb their march; which they reſolved to continue with the ſame expedition they had hitherto uſed, which was incredible; until they ſhould come to ſuch a poſt as they might ſecurely reſt themſelves. And there was an imagination, that they might have continued it even to London; which would have produced wonderful effects. But they quickly found that to be impoſſible, and that both horſe and foot grew ſo weary, that they muſt have reſt: the weather was exceedingly hot; the march having been begun near the beginning of Auguſt; ſo that if they had not ſome reſt before an enemy approached them, how willing ſoever they might be, they could not be able to fight.

There was a ſmall garriſon in Shrewſbury commanded by a gentleman, who, it was thought, might be prevailed with to give it up to the King; but his Majeſty ſending to him, he returned a rude denial: ſo that his Majeſty's

The King ſummons Shrewſbury in vain.

Majeſty's eye was upon Worceſter; that was ſo little out of his way to London, that the going thither would not much retard the march, if they found the army able to continue it. Worceſter had always been a place very well affected in itſelf, and moſt of the gentlemen of that county had been engaged for the King in the former war, and the city was the laſt that had ſurrendered to the Parliament, of all thoſe which had been garriſoned for his Majeſty; when all the works were thrown down, and no garriſon from that time had been kept there; the ſheriff, and juſtices, and committees, having had power enough to defend it againſt any malignity of the town, or county; and at this time all the principal gentry of that county had been ſeized upon, and were now priſoners there. Thither the King came with his army even as ſoon as they had heard that he was in England: whereupon the committee, and all thoſe who were employed by the Parliament, fled in all the confuſion imaginable, leaving their priſoners behind them, leſt they themſelve ſhould become priſoners to them; and the city opened their gates, and received the King, with all the demonſtration of affection and duty that could be expreſſed; and made ſuch proviſion for the army, that it wanted nothing it could deſire; the mayor taking care for the preſent proviſion of ſhoes and ſtockings, the want whereof, in ſo long a march, was very apparent and grievous. The principal perſons of the country found themſelves at liberty; and they, and the mayor and aldermen, with all the ſolemnity they could prepare, attended the herald, who proclaimed the King, as he had done, in more haſte, and with leſs formality, in all thoſe conſiderable towns through which his Majeſty had paſſed.

The King marches to Worceſter.

Where he is proclaimed.

The army liked their quarters here ſo well, that neither officer nor ſoldier was in any degree willing to quit them,

them, till they ſhould be throughly refreſhed: and it could not be denied that the fatigue had been even inſupportable; never had ſo many hundred miles been marched in ſo few days, and with ſo little reſt; nor did it in truth appear reaſonable to any that they ſhould remove from thence, ſince it was not poſſible that they ſhould be able to reach London, though it had been better prepared for the King's reception than it appeared to be, before Cromwell would be there: who, having with great haſte continued his march in a direct line, was now as near to it as the King's army was, and ſtood only at a gaze to be informed what his Majeſty meant to do. Worceſter was a very good poſt, ſeated almoſt in the middle of the kingdom, and in as fruitful a country as any part of it; a good city, ſerved by the noble river of Severn from all the adjacent counties; Wales behind it, from whence levies might be made of great numbers of ſtout men: it was a place where the King's friends might repair, if they had the affections they pretended to have; and it was a place where he might defend himſelf, if the enemy would attack him, with many advantages, and could not be compelled to engage his army in a battle, till Cromwell had gotten men enough to encompaſs him on all ſides: and then the King might chooſe on which ſide to fight, ſince the enemy muſt be on both ſides the river, and could not come ſuddenly to relieve each other, and the ſtraitening the King to this degree would require much time; in which there might be an opportunity for ſeveral inſurrections in the kingdom, if they were ſo weary of the preſent tyranny, and ſo ſolicitous to be reſtored to the King's government, as they were conceived to be: for nobody could ever hope for a more ſecure ſeaſon to manifeſt their loyalty, than when the King was in the heart

of

of the kingdom, with a formed army of about fifteen thouſand men, horſe and foot, (for ſo they might be accounted to be), with which he might relieve thoſe who were in danger to be oppreſſed by a more powerful party. Theſe conſiderations produced the reſolution to provide, in the beſt manner, to expect Cromwell there; and a hope that he might be delayed by other diverſions: and there was like to be time enough to caſt up ſuch works upon the hill before the town, as might keep the enemy at a diſtance, and their own quarters from being ſuddenly ſtraitened: all which were recommended to General Leſley to take care of, and to take ſuch a perfect view of the ground, that no advantage might be loſt when the time required it.

The firſt ill omen that happened was the news of the defeat of the Earl of Derby, and the total deſtruction of thoſe gallant perſons who accompanied him. The Earl of Derby, within two or three days after he had left the King, with a body of near two hundred horſe, all gallant men, employed his ſervants and tenants to give the country notice of his ſtaying behind the King, to head and command thoſe perſons who ſhould repair to his ſervice; which the quick march his Majeſty made through the country would not permit them to do. In expectation of a good appearance of the people, he went to a little market-town, called Wigan in Lancaſhire, where he ſtayed that night; when in the morning a regiment or two of the militia of the neighbour counties, and ſome other troops of the army, commanded by a man of courage, whom Cromwell had ſent to follow in the track of the King's march, to gather up the ſtragglers, and ſuch as were not able to keep pace with the army, having received ſome advertiſement that a troop of the King's horſe were behind the army in that town,

The ill ſucceſs of the Earl of Derby.

fell

fell very early into it, before the perſons in the town were out of their beds, having aſſurance, upon all the enquiry they could make, that there was no enemy near them. Nor indeed was there any ſuſpicion of thoſe forces, which conſiſted of the ſeveral troops of the ſeveral counties with others of the army, and paſſed that way by accident. As many as could get to their horſes, preſently mounted; they who could not, put themſelves together on foot, and all endeavoured to keep the enemy from entering into the town; and the few who were got on horſeback charged them with great courage. But the number of the enemy was too great, and the town too open, to put a ſtop to them in any one place, when they could enter at ſo many, and encompaſs thoſe who oppoſed them. The Earl of Derby, after his horſe had been killed under him, made a ſhift to mount again; and ſo, with a ſmall party of horſe, through many difficulties and dangers, eſcaped wounded to the King to Worceſter.

The Lord Withrington killed upon the place.

The Lord Withrington, after he had received many wounds, and given as many, and merited his death by the vengeance he took upon thoſe who aſſaulted him, was killed upon the place; and ſo was Sir Thomas Tildeſley, and many other gallant gentlemen, very few eſcaping to carry news of the defeat. Sir William Throgmorton, who had been formerly Major General of the Marquis of Newcaſtle's army, and was left to command in the ſame function, received ſo many wounds, that he was looked upon as dead, and not fit to be carried away with the priſoners; and ſo fell into ſuch charitable and generous hands in the town, that, being believed to be dead, he was afterwards ſo well recovered, though with great maims and loſs of blood, that he at laſt got himſelf tranſported into Holland; where he was, at firſt appearance, taken for a ghoſt, all men believing him to have

have been buried long before. Moſt of thoſe who were taken priſoners, of any quality, were afterwards ſacrificed as a ſpectacle to the people, and barbarouſly put to death in ſeveral places; ſome, with the Earl of Derby; and others, near the ſame time, in other places.

The Lord Withrington was one of the moſt goodly perſons of that age, being near the head higher than moſt tall men, and a gentleman of the beſt and moſt ancient extraction of the county of Northumberland, and of a very fair fortune, and one of the four which the laſt King made choice of to be about the perſon of his ſon the Prince as Gentleman of his Privy Chamber, when he firſt ſettled his family. His affection to the King was always remarkable; and ſerving in the Houſe of Commons as knight of the ſhire for the county of Northumberland, he quickly got the reputation of being amongſt the moſt malignant. As ſoon as the war broke out, he was of the firſt who raiſed both horſe and foot at his own charge, and ſerved eminently with them under the Marquis of Newcaſtle; with whom he had a very particular and entire friendſhip. He was very nearly allied to the Marquis; and by his teſtimony that he had performed many ſignal ſervices, he was, about the middle of the war, made a Peer of the kingdom. He was a man of great courage, but of ſome paſſion, by which he incurred the ill will of many, who imputed it to an inſolence of nature, which no man was farther from; no man of a nature more civil, and candid towards all, in buſineſs, or converſation. But having ſate long in the Houſe of Commons, and obſerved the diſingenuity of the proceedings there, and the groſs cheats, by which they deceived and cozened the people, he had contracted ſo hearty an indignation againſt them, and all who were cozened by them, and againſt all who had not his zeal

The Lord Withrington's character.

to

to oppoſe and deſtroy them, that he often ſaid things to ſlow and phlegmatic men, which offended them, and, it may be, injured them; which his good nature often obliged him to acknowledge, and aſk pardon of thoſe who would not queſtion him for it. He tranſported himſelf into the parts beyond the ſea at the ſame time with the Marquis of Newcaſtle, to accompany him, and remained ſtill with him till the King went into Scotland; and then waited upon his Majeſty, and endured the ſame affronts which others did, during the time of his reſidence there. And, it may be, the obſervation of their behaviour, the knowledge of their principles, and the diſdain of their treatment, produced that averſion from their converſation, that prevailed upon his impatience to part too ſoon from their company, in hope that the Earl of Derby, under whom he was very willing to ſerve, and he himſelf, might quickly draw together ſuch a body of the royal party, as might give ſome check to the unbounded imaginations of that nation. It was reported by the enemy, that, in reſpect of his brave perſon and behaviour, they did offer him quarter; which he refuſed; and that they were thereby compelled, in their own defence, to kill him; which is probable enough; for he knew well the animoſity the Parliament had againſt him, and it cannot be doubted but that, if he had fallen into their hands, they would not have uſed him better than they did the Earl of Derby; who had not more enemies.

And Sir Thomas Tildeſley's.

Sir Thomas Tildeſley was a gentleman of a good family, and a good fortune, who had raiſed men at his own charge at the beginning of the war, and had ſerved in the command of them till the very end of it, with great courage; and refuſing to make any compoſition after the murder of the King, he found means to tranſport

port himſelf into Ireland to the Marquis of Ormond; with whom he ſtayed, till he was, with the reſt of the Engliſh officers, diſmiſſed, to ſatisfy the barbarous jealouſy of the Iriſh; and then got over into Scotland a little before the King marched from thence, and was deſired by the Earl of Derby to remain with him. The names of the other perſons of quality who were killed in that encounter, and thoſe who were taken priſoners, and afterwards put to death, ought to be diſcovered, and mentioned honourably, by any who ſhall propoſe to himſelf to communicate particularly thoſe tranſactions to the view of poſterity.

When the news of this defeat came to Worceſter, as it did even almoſt as ſoon as the King came thither, it exceedingly afflicted his Majeſty, and abated much of the hope he had of a general riſing of the people on his behalf. His army was very little increaſed by the acceſs of any Engliſh; and though he had paſſed near the habitation of many perſons of honour and quality, whoſe affections and loyalty had been eminent, not a man of them repaired to him. The ſenſe of their former ſufferings remained, and the ſmart was not over: nor did his ſtay in Worceſter for ſo many days add any reſort to his Court. The gentlemen of the country whom his coming thither had redeemed from impriſonment, remained ſtill with him, and were uſeful to him; they who were in their houſes in the country, though as well affected, remained there, and came not to him; and though letters from London had given him cauſe to believe that many prepared to come to him, which for ſome days they might eaſily have done, none appeared, except only ſome few gentlemen, and ſome common men who had formerly ſerved the laſt King, and repaired again to Worceſter.

There

Tranſactions of the King at Worceſter.

There were ſome other accidents and obſervations which adminiſtered matter of mortification to the King. The Duke of Buckingham had a mind very reſtleſs, and thought he had not credit enough with the King if it were not made manifeſt that he had more than any body elſe: and therefore, as ſoon as the King had entered England, though he had reaſon to believe that his Majeſty had not been abundantly ſatisfied with his behaviour in Scotland, he came to the King and told him, "the buſineſs was now to reduce England to his obe-"dience; and therefore he ought to do all things "gracious, and popular in the eyes of the nation; and "nothing could be leſs ſo, than that the army ſhould be "under the command of a Scottiſh General: that Da-"vid Leſley was only Lieutenant General; and if had "been unreaſonable, whilſt he remained in Scotland, "to have put any other to have commanded over him; "but that it would be as unreaſonable, now they were in "England, and had hope to increaſe the army by the "acceſs of the Engliſh, upon whom his principal de-"pendence muſt be, to expect that they would be wil-"ling to ſerve under Leſley: that it would not conſiſt "with the honour of any Peer of England to receive "his orders; and, he believed, that very few of that "rank would repair to his Majeſty, till they were ſe-"cure from that apprehenſion;" and uſed much more diſcourſe to that purpoſe. The King was ſo much ſurpriſed with it, that he could not imagine what he meant, and what the end of it would be; and aſked him, "who it was that he thought fit his Majeſty ſhould "give that command to?" when, to his aſtoniſhment, the Duke told him, "he hoped his Majeſty would con-"fer it upon himſelf." At which the King was ſo amazed, that he found an occaſion to break off the diſ-

courſe,

courſe, by calling upon ſomebody who was near, to come to him; and, by aſking many queſtions, declined the former argument. The Duke would not be ſo put off; but, the next day, in the march, renewed his importunity; and told the King, "that, he was confi-"dent, what he had propoſed to him was ſo evi-"dently for his ſervice, that David Leſley himſelf would "willingly conſent to it." The King, angry at his proſecuting it in that manner, told him, "he could hardly "believe that he was in earneſt, or that he could in "truth believe that he could be fit for ſuch a charge;" which the Duke ſeemed to wonder at, and aſked, "wherein "his unfitneſs lay?" To which the King replied, "that "he was too young:" and he as readily alleged, "that "Harry the Fourth of France commanded an army, "and won a battle, when he was younger than he:" ſo that, in the end, the King was compelled to tell him, "that he would have no Generaliſſimo but himſelf:" upon which the Duke was ſo diſcontented, that he came no more to the Council, ſcarce ſpoke to the King, neglected every body elſe and himſelf, inſomuch as for many days he ſcarce put on clean linen, nor converſed with any body; nor did he recover this ill humour whilſt the army ſtayed at Worceſter.

There was another worſe accident fell out ſoon after the King's coming thither: Major General Maſſey, who thought himſelf now in his own territory, and that all between Worceſter and Glouceſter would be quickly his own conqueſt, knowing every ſtep both by land and the river, went out with a party to ſecure a paſs, which the enemy might make over the river; which he did very well; but would then make a farther inroad into the country, and poſſeſs a houſe which was of ſmall importance, and in which there were men to defend it; where he received

General Maſſey wounded in an attempt.

a very dangerous wound, that tore his arm and hand in ſuch manner that he was in great torment, and could not ſtir out of his bed, in a time when his activity and induſtry was moſt wanted. By this means, the paſs he had ſecured was either totally neglected, or not enough taken care for.

The ill diſpoſition of the King's officers.

There was no good underſtanding between the officers of the army: David Leſley appeared diſpirited, and confounded; gave and revoked his orders, and ſometimes contradicted them. He did not love Middleton, and was very jealous that all the officers loved him too well; who was indeed an excellent officer, and kept up the ſpirits of the reſt, who had no eſteem of Leſley. In this very unhappy diſtemper was the court and the army, in a ſeaſon when they were ready to be ſwallowed by the power and multitude of the enemy, and when nothing could preſerve them, but the moſt ſincere unity in their prayers to God, and a joint concurrence in their counſels and endeavours; in all which they were miſerably divided.

The King had been ſeveral days in Worceſter, when Cromwell was known to be within leſs than half a day's march, with an addition of very many regiments of horſe and foot to thoſe which he had brought with him from Scotland; and many other regiments were drawing towards him of the militia of the ſeveral counties, under the command of the principal gentlemen of their party in the countries: ſo that he was already very much ſuperior, if not double in number to the army the King had with him. However, if thoſe rules had been obſerved, thoſe works caſt up, and that order in quartering their men, as were reſolved upon when the King came thither, there muſt have been a good defence made, and the advantages of the ground, the river, and the city, would

would have preſerved them from being preſently overrun. But, alas! the army was in amazement and confuſion. Cromwell, without troubling himſelf with the formality of a ſiege, marched directly on as to a prey, and poſſeſſed the hill and all other places of advantage, with very little oppoſition. It was upon the third of September, when the King having been upon his horſe moſt part of the night, and having taken a full view of the enemy, and every body being upon the poſt they were appointed, and the enemy making ſuch a ſtand, that it was concluded he meant to make no attempt then, and if he ſhould, he might be repelled with eaſe; his Majeſty, a little before noon, retired to his lodging to eat, and refreſh himſelf: where he had not been near an hour, when the alarm came, "that both armies were engaged;" and though his Majeſty's own horſe was ready at the door, and he preſently mounted, before or as ſoon as he came out of the city, he met the whole body of his horſe running in ſo great diſorder, that he could not ſtop them, though he uſed all the means he could, and called to many officers by their names; and hardly preſerved himſelf, by letting them paſs by, from being overthrown, and overrun by them.

The King's defeat at Worceſter 3d of September.

Cromwell had uſed none of the delay, nor circumſpection which was imagined; but directed the troops to fall on in all places at once; and had cauſed a ſtrong party to go over the river at the paſs, which Maſſey had formerly ſecured, at a good diſtance from the town. And that being not at all guarded, they were never known to be on that ſide the river, till they were even ready to charge the King's troops. On that part where Middleton was, and with whom Duke Hamilton charged, there was a very brave reſiſtance; and they charged the enemy ſo vigorouſly, that they beat the body that

charged them back, but they were quickly overpowered; and many gentlemen being killed, and Middleton hurt, and Duke Hamilton's leg broke with a ſhot, the reſt were forced to retire and ſhift for themſelves. In no other part was there reſiſtance made; but ſuch a general conſternation poſſeſſed the whole army, that the reſt of the horſe fled, and all the foot threw down their arms before they were charged. When the King came back into the town, he found a good body of horſe, which had been perſuaded to make a ſtand, though much the major part paſſed through upon the ſpur. The King deſired thoſe who ſtayed, "that they would "follow him, that they might look upon the enemy, "who, he believed, did not purſue them." But when his Majeſty had gone a little way, he found moſt of the horſe were gone the other way, and that he had none but a few ſervants of his own about him. Then he ſent to have the gates of the town ſhut, that none might get in one way, nor out the other: but all was confuſion; there were few to command, and none to obey: ſo that the King ſtayed till very many of the enemy's horſe were entered the town, and then he was perſuaded to withdraw himſelf.

Duke Hamilton died of his wounds.

Duke Hamilton fell into the enemy's hands; and, the next day, died of his wounds; and thereby prevented the being made a ſpectacle, as his brother had been; which the pride and animoſity of his enemies would no doubt have cauſed to be, having the ſame pretence for it by his being a Peer of England, as the other was. He was in all reſpects to be much preferred before the other, a much wiſer, though, it may be, a leſs cunning man: for he did not affect diſſimulation, which was the other's maſter-piece. He had unqueſtionable courage: he was in truth a very accompliſhed perſon,

His character.

perſon, of an excellent judgment, and clear and ready expreſſions: and though he had been driven into ſome unwarrantable actions, he made it very evident he had not been led by any inclinations of his own, and paſſionately and heartily run to all opportunities of redeeming it: and, in the very article of his death, he expreſſed a marvellous cheerfulneſs, "that he had the honour to "loſe his life in the King's ſervice, and thereby to "wipe out the memory of his former tranſgreſſions;" which he always profeſſed were odious to himſelf.

As the victory coſt the enemy little blood, ſo after it there was not much cruelty uſed to the priſoners who were taken upon the ſpot. But very many of thoſe who run away were every day knocked in the head by the country people, and uſed with barbarity. Towards the King's menial ſervants, whereof moſt were taken, there was nothing of ſeverity; but within few days they were all diſcharged, and ſet at liberty.

The King's retreat, and concealment.

Though the King could not get a body of horſe to fight, he could have too many to fly with him; and he had not been many hours from Worceſter, when he found about him near, if not above, four thouſand of his horſe. There was David Leſley with all his own equipage, as if he had not fled upon the ſudden; ſo that good order, and regularity, and obedience, might yet have made a retreat even into Scotland itſelf. But there was paleneſs in every man's looks, and jealouſy and confuſion in their faces; and ſcarce any thing could worſe befall the King, than a return into Scotland; which yet he could not reaſonably promiſe to himſelf in that company. But when the night covered them, he found means to withdraw himſelf with one or two of his own ſervants: whom he likewiſe diſcharged, when it begun to be light; and after he had

made them cut off his hair, he betook himself alone into an adjacent wood, and relied only upon him for his preservation who alone could, and did miraculously deliver him.

When it was morning, and the troops, which had marched all night, and who knew that when it begun to be dark the King was with them, found now that he was not there, they cared less for each other's company; and most of them who were English separated themselves, and went into other roads; and wherever twenty horse appeared of the country, which was now awake, and upon their guard to stop and arrest the runaways, the whole body of the Scottish horse would fly, and run several ways; and twenty of them would give themselves prisoners to two country fellows: however, David Lesley reached Yorkshire with above fifteen hundred horse in a body. But the jealousies increased every day; and those of his own country were so unsatisfied with his whole conduct and behaviour, that they did, that is many of them, believe that he was corrupted by Cromwell; and the rest, who did not think so, believed him not to understand his profession, in which he had been bred from his cradle. When he was in his flight, considering one morning with the principal persons, which way they should take, some proposed this, and others that way; Sir William Armorer asked him, "which "way he thought best?" which when he had named, the other said, "he would then go the other; for, he "swore, he had betrayed the King and the army all the "time;" and so left him.

David Lesley and the rest taken.

Well nigh all of them in this long flight were taken, and amongst them the Earl of Lautherdale, and many of the Scottish nobility, and the Earls of Cleveland and Derby, and divers other men of quality of the English nation. And it is hard to be believed how very few of that numerous

numerous body of horſe (for there can be no imagination that any of the foot eſcaped) returned into Scotland. Upon all the enquiry that was made, when moſt of the falſe and treacherous actions which had been committed were diſcovered, there appeared no cauſe to ſuſpect that David Leſley had been unfaithful in his charge: though he never recovered any reputation with thoſe of his own country who wedded the King's intereſt. And it was ſome vindication to him, that, from the time of his impriſonment, he never received any favour from the Parliament, whom he had ſerved ſo long; nor from Cromwell, in whoſe company he had ſerved; but underwent all the ſeverities, and long impriſonment, the reſt of his countrymen ſuffered. The King did not believe him falſe; and did always think him an excellent officer of horſe, to diſtribute and execute orders, but in no degree capable of commanding in chief. And without doubt he was ſo amazed in that fatal day, that he performed not the office of a General, or of any competent officer.

The King's foot driven priſoners to London, and ſold to the plantations.

They who fled out of Worceſter, and were not killed, but made priſoners, and all the foot, and others who were taken in the town, except ſome few officers and perſons of quality, were driven like cattle with a guard to London, and there treated with great rigour; and many periſhed for want of food; and being incloſed in little room, till they were ſold to the plantations for ſlaves, they died of all diſeaſes. Cromwell returned in triumph; was received with univerſal joy and acclamation, as if he had deſtroyed the enemy of the nation, and for ever ſecured the liberty and happineſs of the people: a price was ſet upon the King's head, whoſe eſcape was thought to be impoſſible; and order taken

for the trial of the Earl of Derby, and ſuch other notorious priſoners as they had voted to deſtruction.

The Earl of Derby's character and execution.

The Earl of Derby was a man of unqueſtionable loyalty to the late King, and gave clear teſtimony of it before he received any obligations from the Court, and when he thought himſelf diſobliged by it. This King, in his firſt year, ſent him the Garter; which, in many reſpects, he had expected from the laſt. And the ſenſe of that honour made him ſo readily comply with the King's command in attending him, when he had no confidence in the undertaking, nor any inclination to the Scots; who, he thought, had too much guilt upon them, in having depreſſed the Crown, to be made inſtruments of repairing and reſtoring it. He was a man of great honour and clear courage; and all his defects and misfortunes proceeded from his having lived ſo little time among his equals, that he knew not how to treat his inferiors; which was the ſource of all the ill that befell him, having thereby drawn ſuch prejudice againſt him from perſons of inferior quality, who yet thought themſelves too good to be contemned, that they purſued him to death. The King's army was no ſooner defeated at Worceſter, but the Parliament renewed their old method of murdering in cold blood, and ſent a commiſſion to erect a High Court of Juſtice to perſons of ordinary quality, many not being gentlemen, and all notoriouſly his enemies, to try the Earl of Derby for his treaſon and rebellion; which they eaſily found him guilty of; and put him to death in a town of his own, againſt which he had expreſſed a ſevere diſpleaſure for their obſtinate rebellion againſt the King, with all the circumſtances of rudeneſs and barbarity they could invent. The ſame night, one of thoſe who was amongſt his

his judges ſent a trumpet to the Iſle of Man with a letter directed to the Counteſs of Derby, by which he required her "to deliver up the caſtle and iſland to the "Parliament:" nor did their malice abate, till they had reduced that lady, a woman of very high and princely extraction, being the daughter of the Duke de Tremouille in France, and of the moſt exemplary virtue and piety of her time, and that whole moſt noble family, to the loweſt penury and want, by diſpoſing, giving, and ſelling, all the fortune and eſtate that ſhould ſupport it.

They of the King's friends in Flanders, France, and Holland, who had not been permitted to attend upon his Majeſty in Scotland, were much exalted with the news of his being entered England with a powerful army, and being poſſeſſed of Worceſter, which made all men prepare to make haſte thither. But they were confounded with the news of that fatal day, and more confounded with the various reports of the perſon of the King, "of his being found amongſt the dead; of his "being priſoner;" and all thoſe imaginations which naturally attend upon ſuch unproſperous events. Many who had made eſcapes arrived every day in France, Flanders, and Holland, but knew no more what was become of the King, than they did who had not been in England. The only comfort that any of them brought, was, that he was amongſt thoſe that fled, and ſome of them had ſeen him that evening after the battle, many miles out of Worceſter. Theſe unſteady degrees of hope and fear tormented them very long; ſometimes they heard he was at the Hague with his ſiſter, which was occaſioned by the arrival of the Duke of Buckingham in Holland; and it was thought good policy to publiſh that the King himſelf was landed, that the ſearch after him in England

England might be diſcontinued. But it was quickly known that he was not there, nor in any place on that ſide the ſea. And this anxiety of mind diſquieted the hearts of all honeſt men during the whole months of September and October, and part of November; in which month his Majeſty was known to be at Rouen; where he made himſelf known, and ſtayed ſome days to provide clothes; and from thence gave notice to the Queen of his arrival.

The King came to Rouen in November.

It is great pity that there was never a journal made of that miraculous deliverance, in which there might be ſeen ſo many viſible impreſſions of the immediate hand of God. When the darkneſs of the night was over, after the King had caſt himſelf into that wood, he diſcerned another man, who had gotten upon an oak in the ſame wood, near the place where the King had reſted himſelf, and had ſlept ſoundly. The man upon the tree had firſt ſeen the King, and knew him, and came down to him, and was known to the King, being a gentleman of the neighbour county of Staffordſhire, who had ſerved his late Majeſty during the war, and had now been one of the few who reſorted to the King after his coming to Worceſter. His name was Careleſs, who had had a command of foot, about the degree of a captain, under the Lord Loughborough. He perſuaded the King, ſince it could not be ſafe for him to go out of the wood, and that, as ſoon as it ſhould be fully light, the wood itſelf would probably be viſited by thoſe of the country, who would be ſearching to find thoſe whom they might make priſoners, that he would get up into that tree, where he had been; where the boughs were ſo thick with leaves, that a man would not be diſcovered there without a narrower enquiry than people uſually make in places which they do not ſuſpect.

The particulars of the King's eſcape, as the Author had them from the King himſelf.

The King meets Captain Careleſs in a wood, who perſuades him to get up into an oak.

The

The King thought it good counſel; and, with the other's help, climbed into the tree; and then helped his companion to aſcend after him; where they ſate all that day, and ſecurely ſaw many who came purpoſely into the wood to look after them, and heard all their diſcourſe, how they would uſe the King himſelf if they could take him. This wood was either in or upon the borders of Staffordſhire; and though there was a highway near one ſide of it, where the King had entered into it, yet it was large, and all other ſides of it opened amongſt incloſures, and Careleſs was not unacquainted with the neighbour villages; and it was part of the King's good fortune, that this gentleman, by being a Roman Catholic, was acquainted with thoſe of that profeſſion of all degrees, who had the beſt opportunities of concealing him: for it muſt never be denied, that ſome of that religion had a very great ſhare in his Majeſty's preſervation.

The day being ſpent in the tree, it was not in the King's power to forget that he had lived two days with eating very little, and two nights with as little ſleep; ſo that, when the night came, he was willing to make ſome proviſion for both: and he reſolved, with the advice and aſſiſtance of his companion, to leave his bleſſed tree; and, when the night was dark, they walked through the wood into thoſe incloſures which were fartheſt from any highway, and making a ſhift to get over hedges and ditches, after walking at leaſt eight or nine miles, which were the more grievous to the King by the weight of his boots, (for he could not put them off, when he cut off his hair, for want of ſhoes), before morning they came to a poor cottage, the owner whereof being a Roman Catholic was known to Careleſs. He was called up, and as ſoon as he knew one of them, he eaſily

Thence he came to a cottage nine miles off, where he lay in a barn.

eaſily concluded in what condition they both were; and preſently carried them into a little barn, full of hay; which was a better lodging than he had for himſelf. But when they were there, and had conferred with their hoſt of the news and temper of the country, it was agreed, that the danger would be the greater if they ſtayed together; and therefore that Careleſs ſhould preſently be gone; and ſhould, within two days, ſend an honeſt man to the King, to guide him to ſome other place of ſecurity; and in the mean time his Majeſty ſhould ſtay upon the hay-mow. The poor man had nothing for him to eat, but promiſed him good butter-milk; and ſo he was once more left alone, his companion, how weary ſoever, departing from him before day, the poor man of the houſe knowing no more, than that he was a friend of the captain's, and one of thoſe who had eſcaped from Worceſter. The King ſlept very well in his lodging, till the time that his hoſt brought him a piece of bread, and a great pot of buttermilk, which he thought the beſt food he ever had eaten. The poor man ſpoke very intelligently to him of the country, and of the people who were well or ill affected to the King, and of the great fear and terror, that poſſeſſed the hearts of thoſe who were beſt affected. He told him, "that he himſelf lived by his daily labour, and that "what he had brought him was the fare he and his "wife had; and that he feared, if he ſhould endeavour "to procure better, it might draw ſuſpicion upon him, "and people might be apt to think he had ſomebody "with him that was not of his own family. However, "if he would have him get ſome meat, he would do it; "but if he could bear this hard diet, he ſhould have "enough of the milk, and ſome of the butter that was "made with it." The King was ſatisfied with his reaſon.

ſon, and would not run the hazard for a change of diet; deſired only the man, "that he might have his com-"pany as often, and as much as he could give it him;" there being the ſame reaſon againſt the poor man's diſcontinuing his labour, as the alteration of his fare.

After he had reſted upon this hay-mow, and fed upon this diet two days and two nights, in the evening before the third night, another fellow, a little above the condition of his hoſt, came to the houſe, ſent from Careleſs, to conduct the King to another houſe, more out of any road near which any part of the army was like to march. It was above twelve miles that he was to go, and was to uſe the ſame caution he had done the firſt night, not to go in any common road; which his guide knew well how to avoid. Here he new dreſſed himſelf, changing clothes with his landlord: he had a great mind to have kept his own ſhirt; but he conſidered, that men are not ſooner diſcovered by any mark in diſguiſes, than by having fine linen in ill clothes; and ſo he parted with his ſhirt too, and took the ſame his poor hoſt had then on. Though he had foreſeen that he muſt leave his boots, and his landlord had taken the beſt care he could to provide an old pair of ſhoes, yet they were not eaſy to him when he firſt put them on, and, in a ſhort time after, grew very grievous to him. In this equipage he ſet out from his firſt lodging in the beginning of the night, under the conduct of this guide; who guided him the neareſt way, croſſing over hedges and ditches, that they might be in leaſt danger of meeting paſſengers. This was ſo grievous a march, and he was ſo tired, that he was even ready to deſpair, and to prefer being taken and ſuffered to reſt, before purchaſing his ſafety at that price. His ſhoes had, after a few miles, hurt him ſo much, that he had thrown them

Thence he is conducted to another houſe twelve miles off.

them away, and walked the reſt of the way in his ill ſtockings, which were quickly worn out; and his feet, with the thorns in getting over hedges, and with the ſtones in other places, were ſo hurt and wounded, that he many times caſt himſelf upon the ground, with a deſperate and obſtinate reſolution to reſt there till the morning, that he might ſhift with leſs torment, what hazard ſoever he run. But his ſtout guide ſtill prevailed with him to make a new attempt, ſometimes promiſing that the way ſhould be better, and ſometimes aſſuring him that he had but little farther to go: and in this diſtreſs and perplexity, before the morning, they arrived at the houſe deſigned; which though it was better than that which he had left, his lodging was ſtill in the barn, upon ſtraw inſtead of hay, a place being made as eaſy in it, as the expectation of a gueſt could diſpoſe it. Here he had ſuch meat and porridge as ſuch people uſe to have; with which, but eſpecially with the butter and the cheeſe, he thought himſelf well feaſted; and took the beſt care he could to be ſupplied with other, little better, ſhoes and ſtockings: and after his feet were enough recovered that he could go, he was conducted from thence to another poor houſe, within ſuch a diſtance as put him not to much trouble: for having not yet in his thought which way, or by what means to make his eſcape, all that was deſigned was only, by ſhifting from one houſe to another, to avoid diſcovery. And being now in that quarter which was more inhabited by the Roman Catholics than moſt other parts in England, he was led from one to another of that perſuaſion, and concealed with great fidelity. But he then obſerved that he was never carried to any gentleman's houſe, though that country was full of them, but only to poor houſes of poor men, which only yielded him reſt

Thence to another; and ſo to others.

reſt with very unpleaſant ſuſtenance; whether there was more danger in thoſe better houſes, in regard of the reſort, and the many ſervants; or whether the owners of great eſtates were the owners likewiſe of more fears and apprehenſions.

Mr. Hudleſton ſent to him by Careleſs; who brought him to the Lord Wilmot

Within few days, a very honeſt and diſcreet perſon, one Mr. Hudleſton, a Benedictine Monk, who attended the ſervice of the Roman Catholics in thoſe parts, came to him, ſent by Careleſs; and was a very great aſſiſtance and comfort to him. And when the places to which he carried him were at too great a diſtance to walk, he provided him a horſe, and more proper habit than the rags he wore. This man told him, "that the Lord Wilmot lay concealed likewiſe in "a friend's houſe of his; which his Majeſty was very "glad of; and wiſhed him to contrive ſome means, how "they might ſpeak together;" which the other eaſily did; and, within a night or two, brought them into one place. Wilmot told the King, "that he had by "very good fortune fallen into the houſe of an honeſt "gentleman, one Mr. Lane, a perſon of an excellent "reputation for his fidelity to the King, but of ſo uni-"verſal and general a good name, that, though he had "a ſon, who had been a colonel in the King's ſervice, "during the late war, and was then upon his way "with men to Worceſter the very day of the defeat, "men of all affections in the country, and of all opi-"nions, paid the old man a very great reſpect: that he "had been very civilly treated there, and that the old "gentleman had uſed ſome diligence to find out where "the King was, that he might get him to his houſe; "where, he was ſure, he could conceal him till he "might contrive a full deliverance." He told him, "he had withdrawn from that houſe, in hope that he "might,

" might, in ſome other place, diſcover where his Majeſty " was, and having now happily found him, adviſed him " to repair to that houſe, which ſtood not near any " other."

The King enquired of the monk of the reputation of this gentleman; who told him, "that he had a fair " eſtate; was exceedingly beloved; and the eldeſt " juſtice of peace of that county of Stafford; and " though he was a very zealous Proteſtant, yet he lived " with ſo much civility and candour towards the Ca- " tholics, that they would all truſt him, as much as " they would do any of their own profeſſion; and that " he could not think of any place of ſo good repoſe " and ſecurity for his Majeſty's repair to." The King liked the propoſition, yet thought not fit to ſurpriſe the gentleman; but ſent Wilmot thither again, to aſſure himſelf that he might be received there; and was willing that he ſhould know what gueſt he received; which hitherto was ſo much concealed, that none of the houſes, where he had yet been, knew, or ſeemed to ſuſpect more than that he was one of the King's party that fled from Worceſter. The monk carried him to a houſe at a reaſonable diſtance, where he was to expect an account from the Lord Wilmot; who returned very punctually, with as much aſſurance of welcome as he could wiſh.

The King brought by him to Mr. Lane's houſe.

And ſo they two went together to Mr. Lane's houſe; where the King found he was welcome, and conveniently accommodated in ſuch places, as in a large houſe had been provided to conceal the perſons of malignants, or to preſerve goods of value from being plundered. Here he lodged, and eat very well; and begun to hope that he was in preſent ſafety. Wilmot returned under the care of the monk, and expected ſummons, when any farther motion ſhould be thought to be neceſſary.

In

In this ſtation the King remained in quiet and bleſſed ſecurity many days, receiving every day information of the general conſternation the kingdom was in, out of the apprehenſion that his perſon might fall into the hands of his enemies, and of the great diligence they uſed to enquire for him. He ſaw the proclamation that was iſſued out and printed; in which a thouſand pounds were promiſed to any man who would deliver and diſcover the perſon of Charles Stuart, and the penalty of high treaſon declared againſt thoſe who preſumed to harbour or conceal him: by which he ſaw how much he was beholding to all thoſe who were faithful to him. It was now time to conſider how he might get near the ſea, from whence he might find ſome means to tranſport himſelf: and he was now near the middle of the kingdom, ſaving that it was a little more northward, where he was utterly unacquainted with all the ports, and with that coaſt. In the Weſt he was beſt acquainted, and that coaſt was moſt proper to tranſport him into France; to which he was inclined. Upon this matter he communicated with thoſe of this family to whom he was known, that is, with the old gentleman the father, a very grave and venerable perſon, the colonel his eldeſt ſon, a very plain man in his diſcourſe and behaviour, but of a fearleſs courage, and an integrity ſuperior to any temptation, and a daughter of the houſe, of a very good wit and diſcretion, and very fit to bear any part in ſuch a truſt. It was a benefit, as well as an inconvenience, in thoſe unhappy times, that the affections of all men were almoſt as well known as their faces, by the diſcovery they had made of themſelves, in thoſe ſad ſeaſons, in many trials and perſecutions: ſo that men knew not only the minds of their next neighbours, and thoſe who inhabited near them, but, upon conference with their friends,

could chooſe fit houſes, at any diſtance, to repoſe themſelves in ſecurity, from one end of the kingdom to another, without truſting the hoſpitality of a common inn: and men were very rarely deceived in their confidence upon ſuch occaſions, but the perſons with whom they were at any time, could conduct them to another houſe of the ſame affection.

Mr. Lane had a niece, or very near kinſwoman, who was married to a gentleman, one Mr. Norton, a perſon of eight or nine hundred pounds *per annum*, who lived within four or five miles of Briſtol, which was at leaſt four or five days journey from the place where the King then was, but a place moſt to be wiſhed for the King to be in, becauſe he did not only know all that country very well, but knew many perſons alſo, to whom, in an extraordinary caſe, he durſt make himſelf known. It was hereupon reſolved, that Mrs. Lane ſhould viſit this couſin, who was known to be of good affections; and that ſhe ſhould ride behind the King, who was fitted with clothes and boots for ſuch a ſervice; and that a ſervant of her father's, in his livery, ſhould wait upon her. A good houſe was eaſily pitched upon for the firſt night's lodging; where Wilmot had notice given him to meet. And in this equipage the King begun his journey; the colonel keeping him company at a diſtance with a hawk upon his fiſt, and two or three ſpaniels; which, where there were any fields at hand, warranted him to ride out of the way, keeping his company ſtill in his eye, and not ſeeming to be of it. In this manner they came to their firſt night's lodging; and they need not now contrive to come to their journey's end about the cloſe of the evening, for it was in the month of October far advanced, that the long journeys they made could not be diſpatched ſooner. Here the

Here it was reſolved the King ſhould go to Mr. Norton's; riding before Mrs. Lane.

Lord

Lord Wilmot found them; and their journeys being then adjuſted, he was inſtructed where he ſhould be every night: ſo they were ſeldom ſeen together in the journey, and rarely lodged in the ſame houſe at night. In this manner the colonel hawked two or three days, till he had brought them within leſs than a day's journey of Mr. Norton's houſe; and then he gave his hawk to the Lord Wilmot; who continued the journey in the ſame exerciſe.

There was great care taken when they came to any houſe, that the King might be preſently carried into ſome chamber; Mrs. Lane declaring, "that he was a "neighbour's ſon, whom his father had lent her to ride "before her, in hope that he would the ſooner recover "from a quartan ague, with which he had been miſera-"bly afflicted, and was not yet free." And by this artifice ſhe cauſed a good bed to be ſtill provided for him, and the beſt meat to be ſent; which ſhe often carried herſelf, to hinder others from doing it. There was no reſting in any place till they came to Mr. Norton's, nor any thing extraordinary that happened in the way, ſave that they met many people every day in the way, who were very well known to the King; and the day that they went to Mr. Norton's, they were neceſſarily to ride quite through the city of Briſtol; a place, and people, the King had been ſo well acquainted with, that he could not but ſend his eyes abroad to view the great alterations which had been made there, after his departure from thence: and when he rode near the place where the great fort had ſtood, he could not forbear putting his horſe out of the way, and rode with his miſtreſs behind him round about it.

They came to Mr. Norton's houſe ſooner than uſual, and it being on a holiday, they ſaw many people about a bowl- They came ſafe to Mr. Norton's through Briſtol.

a bowling-green that was before the door; and the firſt man the King ſaw was a chaplain of his own, who was allied to the gentleman of the houſe, and was ſitting upon the rails to ſee how the bowlers played. William, by which name the King went, walked with his horſe into the ſtable, until his miſtreſs could provide for his retreat. Mrs. Lane was very welcome to her couſin, and was preſently conducted to her chamber; where ſhe no ſooner was, than ſhe lamented the condition of "a "good youth, who came with her, and whom ſhe had "borrowed of his father to ride before her, who was "very ſick, being newly recovered of an ague;" and deſired her couſin, "that a chamber might be provided "for him, and a good fire made: for that he would go "early to bed, and was not fit to be below ſtairs." A pretty little chamber was preſently made ready, and a fire prepared, and a boy ſent into the ſtable to call William, and to ſhew him his chamber; who was very glad to be there, freed from ſo much company as was below. Mrs. Lane was put to find ſome excuſe for making a viſit at that time of the year, and ſo many days' journey from her father, and where ſhe had never been before, though the miſtreſs of the houſe and ſhe had been bred together, and friends as well as kindred. She pretended, "that ſhe was, after a little reſt, to go into Dorſetſhire "to another friend." When it was ſupper-time, there being broth brought to the table, Mrs. Lane filled a little diſh, and deſired the butler, who waited at the table, "to carry that diſh of porridge to William, and to tell "him that he ſhould have ſome meat ſent to him pre-"ſently." The butler carried the porridge into the chamber, with a napkin, and ſpoon, and bread, and ſpoke kindly to the young man; who was willing to be eating.

The

The butler, looking narrowly upon him, fell upon his knees, and with tears told him, "he was glad to see his "Majesty." The King was infinitely surprised, yet recollected himself enough to laugh at the man, and to ask him, "what he meant?" The man had been falconer to Sir Thomas Jermyn, and made it appear that he knew well enough to whom he spoke, repeating some particulars, which the King had not forgot. Whereupon the King conjured him "not to speak of what he "knew, so much as to his master, though he believed "him a very honest man." The fellow promised, and kept his word; and the King was the better waited upon during the time of his abode there. The King is known to the butler of the house.

Dr. Gorges, the King's chaplain, being a gentleman of a good family near that place, and allied to Mr. Norton, supped with them; and, being a man of a cheerful conversation, asked Mrs. Lane many questions concerning William, of whom he saw she was so careful by sending up meat to him, "how long his ague had been "gone? and whether he had purged since it left him?" and the like; to which she gave such answers as occurred. The Doctor, from the final prevalence of the Parliament, had, as many others of that function had done, declined his profession, and pretended to study physic. As soon as supper was done, out of good nature, and without telling any body, he went to see William. The King saw him coming into the chamber, and withdrew to the inside of the bed, that he might be fartheſt from the candle; and the Doctor came, and sat down by him, felt his pulse, and asked him many questions, which he answered in as few words as was possible, and expressing great inclination to go to his bed; to which the Doctor left him, and went to Mrs. Lane, and told her, "that he had been with William, and that he

"would do well;" and adviſed her what ſhe ſhould do if his ague returned. The next morning the Doctor went away, ſo that the King ſaw him no more. The next day the Lord Wilmot came to the houſe with his hawk, to ſee Mrs. Lane, and ſo conferred with William; who was to conſider what he was to do. They thought it neceſſary to reſt ſome days, till they were informed what port lay moſt convenient for them, and what perſon lived neareſt to it, upon whoſe fidelity they might rely: and the King gave him directions to enquire after ſome perſons, and ſome other particulars, of which when he ſhould be fully inſtructed, he ſhould return again to him. In the mean time, Wilmot lodged at a houſe not far from Mr. Norton's, to which he had been recommended.

After ſome days' ſtay here, and communication between the King and the Lord Wilmot by letters, the King came to know that Colonel Francis Windham lived within little more than a day's journey of the place where he was; of which he was very glad; for beſides the inclination he had to his elder brother, whoſe wife had been his nurſe, this gentleman had behaved himſelf very well during the war, and had been governor of Dunſtar caſtle, where the King had lodged when he was in the Weſt. After the end of the war, and when all other places were ſurrendered in that county, he likewiſe ſurrendered that, upon fair conditions, and made his peace, and afterwards married a wife with a competent fortune, and lived quietly, without any ſuſpicion of having leſſened his affection towards the King.

The King ſent Wilmot to him, and acquainted him where he was, and "that he would gladly ſpeak with "him." It was not hard for him to chooſe a good place where to meet, and thereupon the day was appointed.

pointed. After the King had taken his leave of Mrs. Lane, who remained with her couſin Norton, the King, and the Lord Wilmot, met the colonel; and, in the way, he met in a town, through which they paſſed, Mr. Kirton, a ſervant of the King's, who well knew the Lord Wilmot, who had no other diſguiſe than the hawk, but took no notice of him, nor ſuſpected the King to be there; yet that day made the King more wary of having him in his company upon the way. At the place of meeting they reſted only one night, and then the King went to the colonel's houſe; where he reſted many days, whilſt the colonel projected at what place the King might embark, and how they might procure a veſſel to be ready there; which was not eaſy to find; there being ſo great a fear poſſeſſing thoſe who were honeſt, that it was hard to procure any veſſel that was outward bound to take in any paſſenger.

The King goes to Colonel Francis Windham's houſe.

There was a gentleman, one Mr. Elliſon, who lived near Lyme in Dorſetſhire, and was well known to Colonel Windham, having been a captain in the King's army, and was ſtill looked upon as a very honeſt man. With him the colonel conſulted, how they might get a veſſel to be ready to take in a couple of gentlemen, friends of his, who were in danger to be arreſted, and tranſport them into France. Though no man would aſk who the perſons were, yet it could not but be ſuſpected who they were; at leaſt they concluded, that it was ſome of Worceſter party. Lyme was generally as malicious and diſaffected a town to the King's intereſt, as any town in England could be: yet there was in it a maſter of a bark, of whoſe honeſty this captain was very confident. This man was lately returned from France, and had unladen his veſſel, when Elliſon aſked him, "when he would make another voyage?" And he anſwered,

ſwered, "as ſoon as he could get lading for his ſhip." The other aſked, "whether he would undertake to carry "over a couple of gentlemen, and land them in France, "if he might be as well paid for his voyage as he uſed "to be when he was freighted by the merchants." In concluſion, he told him, "he ſhould receive fifty pounds "for his fare." The large recompence had that effect, that the man undertook it; though he ſaid "he muſt "make his proviſion very ſecretly; for that he might "be well ſuſpected for going to ſea again without being "freighted, after he was ſo newly returned." Colonel Windham, being advertiſed of this, came together with the Lord Wilmot to the captain's houſe, from whence the lord and the captain rid to a houſe near Lyme; where the maſter of the bark met them; and the Lord Wilmot being ſatisfied with the diſcourſe of the man, and his warineſs in foreſeeing ſuſpicions, which would ariſe, it was reſolved, that on ſuch a night, which, upon conſideration of the tides, was agreed upon, the man ſhould draw out his veſſel from the pier, and, being at ſea, ſhould come to ſuch a point about a mile from the town, where his ſhip ſhould remain upon the beach when the water was gone; which would take it off again about break of day the next morning. There was very near that point, even in the view of it, a ſmall inn, kept by a man who was reputed honeſt, to which the Cavaliers of the country often reſorted; and London road paſſed that way; ſo that it was ſeldom without company. Into that inn the two gentlemen were to come in the beginning of the night, that they might put themſelves on board. All things being thus concerted, and good earneſt given to the maſter, the Lord Wilmot and the colonel returned to the colonel's houſe, above a day's journey from the place, the captain undertaking every day

to

to look that the master should provide, and, if any thing fell out contrary to expectation, to give the colonel notice at such a place, where they intended the King should be the day before he was to embark.

The King, being satisfied with these preparations, came, at the time appointed, to that house where he was to hear that all went as it ought to do; of which he received assurance from the captain; who found that the man had honestly put his provisions on board, and had his company ready, which were but four men; and that the vessel should be drawn out that night: so that it was fit for the two persons to come to the aforesaid inn, and the captain conducted them within sight of it; and then went to his own house, not distant a mile from it; the colonel remaining still at the house where they had lodged the night before, till he might hear the news of their being embarked.

Thence he is brought to an inn near Lyme; and a ship hired by Captain Elliot.

They found many passengers in the inn; and so were to be contented with an ordinary chamber, which they did not intend to sleep long in. But as soon as there appeared any light, Wilmot went out to discover the bark, of which there was no appearance. In a word, the sun arose, and nothing like a ship in view. They sent to the captain, who was as much amazed; and he sent to the town; and his servant could not find the master of the bark, which was still in the pier. They suspected the captain, and the captain suspected the master. However, it being past ten of the clock, they concluded it was not fit for them to stay longer there, and so they mounted their horses again to return to the house where they had left the colonel, who, they knew, resolved to stay there till he were assured that they were gone.

The ship failed by an accident; and the King left the inn.

The truth of the disappointment was this; the man meant honestly, and made all things ready for his departure;

parture; and the night he was to go out with his veſſel, he had ſtayed in his own houſe, and ſlept two or three hours; and the time of the tide being come, that it was neceſſary to be on board, he took out of a cupboard ſome linen, and other things, which he uſed to carry with him to ſea. His wife had obſerved, that he had been for ſome days fuller of thoughts than he uſed to be, and that he had been ſpeaking with ſeamen, who uſed to go with him, and that ſome of them had carried proviſions on board the bark; of which ſhe had aſked her huſband the reaſon; who had told her, "that "he was promiſed freight ſpeedily, and therefore he would "make all things ready." She was ſure that there was yet no lading in the ſhip, and therefore, when ſhe ſaw her huſband take all thoſe materials with him, which was a ſure ſign that he meant to go to ſea, and it being late in the night, ſhe ſhut the door, and ſwore he ſhould not go out of his houſe. He told her, "he muſt go, "and was engaged to go to ſea that night; for which "he ſhould be well paid." His wife told him, "ſhe "was ſure he was doing ſomewhat that would undo "him, and ſhe was reſolved he ſhould not go out of his "houſe; and if he ſhould perſiſt in it, ſhe would tell "the neighbours, and carry him before the mayor to be "examined, that the truth might be found out." The poor man, thus maſtered by the paſſion and violence of his wife, was forced to yield to her, that there might be no farther noiſe; and ſo went into his bed.

And it was very happy that the King's jealouſy haſtened him from that inn. It was the ſolemn faſt day, which was obſerved in thoſe times principally to inflame the people againſt the King, and all thoſe who were loyal to him; and there was a chapel in that village over againſt that inn, where a weaver, who had been a ſoldier, uſed

uſed to preach, and utter all the villainy imaginable againſt the old order of government: and he was then in the chapel preaching to his congregation, when the King went from thence, and telling the people, "that "Charles Stuart was lurking ſomewhere in that country, "and that they would merit from God Almighty, if "they could find him out." The paſſengers, who had lodged in the inn that night, had, as ſoon as they were up, ſent for a ſmith to viſit their horſes, it being a hard froſt. The ſmith, when he had done what he was ſent for, according to the cuſtom of that people, examined the feet of the other two horſes to find more work. When he had obſerved them, he told the hoſt of the houſe, "that one of thoſe horſes had travelled far; and "that he was ſure that his four ſhoes had been made in "four ſeveral counties;" which, whether his ſkill was able to diſcover or no, was very true. The ſmith going to the ſermon told this ſtory to ſome of his neighbours; and ſo it came to the ears of the preacher, when his ſermon was done. Immediately he ſent for an officer, and ſearched the inn, and enquired for thoſe horſes; and being informed that they were gone, he cauſed horſes to be ſent to follow them, and to make enquiry after the two men who rid thoſe horſes, and poſitively declared, "that one of them was Charles Stuart."

Like to be diſcovered by a ſmith ſhoeing their horſes.

When they came again to the colonel, they preſently concluded that they were to make no longer ſtay in thoſe parts, nor any more to endeavour to find a ſhip upon that coaſt; and, without any farther delay, they rode back to the colonel's houſe; where they arrived in the night. Then they reſolved to make their next attempt in Hampſhire and Suſſex, where Colonel Windham had no intereſt. They muſt paſs through all Wiltſhire before they came thither; which would require

The King goes back to the colonel's houſe.

quire many days' journey: and they were firſt to conſider what honeſt houſes there were in or near the way, where they might ſecurely repoſe; and it was thought very dangerous for the King to ride through any great town, as Saliſbury, or Wincheſter, which might probably lie in their way.

There was between that and Saliſbury a very honeſt gentleman, Colonel Robert Philips, a younger brother of a very good family, which had always been very loyal; and he had ſerved the King during the war.

The King ſends Wilmot for Robert Philips.

The King was reſolved to truſt him; and ſo ſent the Lord Wilmot to a place from whence he might ſend to Mr. Philips to come to him, and when he had ſpoken with him, Mr. Philips ſhould come to the King, and Wilmot was to ſtay in ſuch a place as they two ſhould agree. Mr. Philips accordingly came to the colonel's houſe; which he could do without ſuſpicion, they being nearly allied. The ways were very full of ſoldiers; which were ſent now from the army to their quarters, and many regiments of horſe and foot were aſſigned for the Weſt; of which diviſion Deſborough was commander in chief. Theſe marches were like to laſt for many days, and it would not be fit for the King to ſtay ſo long in that place. Thereupon, he reſorted to his old ſecurity of taking a woman behind him, a kinſwoman of Colonel Windham, whom he carried in that manner to a place not far from Saliſbury; to which Colonel Philips conducted him. In this journey he paſſed through the middle of a regiment of horſe; and, preſently after, met Deſborough walking down a hill with three or four men with him; who had lodged in Saliſbury the night before; all that road being full of ſoldiers.

Who conducts him to a place near Saliſbury.

The next day, upon the plains, Dr. Hinchman, one

of

of the Prebends of Saliſbury, met the King, the Lord Wilmot and Philips then leaving him to go to the ſea-coaſt to find a veſſel, the Doctor conducting the King to a place called Heale, three miles from Saliſbury, belonging then to Serjeant Hyde, who was afterwards Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench, and then in the poſſeſſion of the widow of his elder brother; a houſe that ſtood alone from neighbours, and from any high-way; where coming in late in the evening, he ſupped with ſome gentlemen who accidentally were in the houſe; which could not well be avoided. But, the next morning, he went early from thence, as if he had continued his journey; and the widow, being truſted with the knowledge of her gueſt, ſent her ſervants out of the way; and, at an hour appointed, received him again, and accommodated him in a little room, which had been made ſince the beginning of the troubles for the concealment of Delinquents, the ſeat always belonging to a Malignant family.

Dr. Hinchman meets the King on the plains; and conducts him to Heale, Mrs. Hyde's houſe.

Here he lay concealed, without the knowledge of ſome gentlemen, who lived in the houſe, and of others who daily reſorted thither, for many days, the widow herſelf only attending him with ſuch things as were neceſſary, and bringing him ſuch letters as the Doctor received from the Lord Wilmot and Colonel Philips. A veſſel being at laſt provided upon the coaſt of Suſſex, and notice thereof ſent to Dr. Hinchman, he ſent to the King to meet him at Stonehenge upon the plains three miles from Heale; whither the widow took care to direct him; and being there met, he attended him to the place where Colonel Philips received him. He, the next day, delivered him to the Lord Wilmot; who went with him to a houſe in Suſſex, recommended by Colonel Gunter, a gentleman of that country, who had ſerved

Thence to a houſe in Suſſex near Bright-helmſtone; where a bark was provided by Colonel Gunter.

ſerved the King in the war; who met him there; and had provided a little bark at Brighthelmſtone, a ſmall fiſher-town; where he went early on board, and, by God's bleſſing, arrived ſafely in Normandy.

He arrives in Normandy in a ſmall creek, in November.

The Earl of Southampton, who was then at his houſe at Titchfield in Hampſhire, had been advertiſed of the King's being in the Weſt, and of his miſſing his paſſage at Lyme, and ſent a truſty gentleman to thoſe faithful perſons in the country, who, he thought, were moſt like to be employed for his eſcape if he came into thoſe parts, to let them know, "that he had a ſhip "ready, and if the King came to him, he ſhould be "ſafe;" which advertiſement came to the King the night before he embarked, and when his veſſel was ready. But his Majeſty ever acknowledged the obligation with great kindneſs, he being the only perſon of that condition, who had the courage to ſolicit ſuch danger, though all good men heartily wiſhed his deliverance. It was in November, that the King landed in Normandy, in a ſmall creek; from whence he got to Rouen, and then gave notice to the Queen of his arrival, and freed his loyal ſubjects in all places from their diſmal apprehenſions.

Though this wonderful deliverance and preſervation of the perſon of the King was an argument of general joy and comfort to all his good ſubjects, and a new ſeed of hope for future bleſſings, yet his preſent condition was very deplorable. France was not at all pleaſed with his being come thither, nor did quickly take notice of his being there. The Queen his mother was very glad of his eſcape, but in no degree able to contribute towards his ſupport; they who had intereſt with her finding all ſhe had, or could get, too little for their own unlimited expence. Beſides, the diſtraction

diſtraction that Court had been lately in, and was not yet free from the effects of, made her penſion to be paid with leſs punctuality than it had uſed to be; ſo that ſhe was forced to be in debt both to her ſervants, and for the very proviſions of her houſe; nor had the King one ſhilling towards the ſupport of himſelf and his family.

As ſoon as his Majeſty came to Paris, and knew that the Chancellor of the Exchequer was at Antwerp, he commanded Seymour, who was of his Bedchamber, to ſend to him to repair thither; which whilſt he was providing to do, Mr. Long, the King's Secretary, who was at Amſterdam, and had been removed from his attendance in Scotland by the Marquis of Argyle, writ to the Chancellor, "that he had received a letter from the "King, by which he was required to let all his Majeſty's "ſervants who were in thoſe parts, know, it was his "pleaſure that none of them ſhould repair to him to "Paris, until they ſhould receive farther order, ſince his "Majeſty could not yet reſolve how long he ſhould "ſtay there: of which," Mr. Long ſaid, "he thought "it his duty to give him notice; with this, that the "Lord Colepepper and himſelf, who had reſolved to "have made haſte thither, had in obedience to this "command laid aſide that purpoſe." The Chancellor concluded that this inhibition concerned not him, ſince he had received a command from the King to wait upon him. Beſides, he had ſtill the character of ambaſſador upon him, which he could not lay down till he had kiſſed his Majeſty's hand. So he purſued his former purpoſe, and came to Paris in the Chriſtmas, and found that the command to Mr. Long had been procured with an eye principally upon the Chancellor, there being ſome there who had no mind he ſhould be with the King; though, when

The King ſends to the Chancellor of the Exchequer to repair to him at Paris.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer comes to him in Chriſtmas at Paris.

when there was no remedy, the Queen received him graciouſly. But the King was very well pleaſed with his being come; and, for the firſt four or five days, he ſpent many hours with him in private, and informed him of very many particulars, of the harſh treatment he had received in Scotland, the reaſon of his march into England, the confuſion at Worceſter, and all the circumſtances of his happy eſcape and deliverance; many parts whereof are comprehended in this relation, and are exactly true. For beſides all thoſe particulars which the King himſelf was pleaſed to communicate to him, ſo ſoon after the tranſactions of them, when they had made ſo lively an impreſſion in his memory, and of which the Chancellor at that time kept a very punctual memorial; he had, at the ſame time, the daily converſation of the Lord Wilmot; who informed him of all he could remember: and ſometimes the King and he recollected many particulars in the diſcourſe together, in which the King's memory was much better than the other's. And after the King's bleſſed return into England, he had frequent conferences with many of thoſe who had acted ſeveral parts towards the eſcape; whereof ſome were of the Chancellor's neareſt alliance, and others his moſt intimate friends; towards whom his Majeſty always made many gracious expreſſions of his acknowledgment: ſo that there is nothing in this ſhort relation the verity whereof can juſtly be ſuſpected, though, as is ſaid before, it is great pity, that there could be no diary made, indeed no exact account of every hour's adventure from the coming out of Worceſter, in that diſmal confuſion, to the hour of his embarkation at Brighthelmſtone; in which there was ſuch a concurrence of good nature, charity, and generoſity, in perſons of the meaneſt and loweſt extraction

Where he receives from the King this account of his Majeſty's deliverance.

tion and condition, who did not know the value of the precious jewel that was in their cuſtody, yet all knew him to be eſcaped from ſuch an action as would make the diſcovery and delivery of him to thoſe who governed over and amongſt them, of great benefit, and preſent advantage to them; and in thoſe who did know him, of ſuch courage, loyalty, and activity, that all may reaſonably look upon the whole, as the inſpiration and conduct of God Almighty, as a manifeſtation of his power and glory, and for the conviction of the whole party, which had ſinned ſo grievouſly; and if it hath not wrought that effect in them, it hath rendered them the more inexcuſable.

As the greateſt brunt of the danger was diverted by theſe poor people, in his night-marches on foot, with ſo much pain and torment, that he often thought that he paid too dear a price for his life, before he fell into the hands of perſons of better quality, and places of more conveniency, ſo he owed very much to the diligence and fidelity of ſome eccleſiaſtical perſons of the Romiſh perſuaſion; eſpecially to thoſe of the order of St. Bennet; which was the reaſon that he expreſſed more favours, after his reſtoration, to that order than to any other, and granted them ſome extraordinary privileges about the ſervice of the Queen; not concealing the reaſon why he did ſo; which ought to have ſatisfied all men, that his Majeſty's indulgence towards all of that profeſſion, by reſtraining the ſeverity and rigour of the laws which had been formerly made againſt them, had its riſe from a fountain of princely juſtice and gratitude, and of royal bounty and clemency.

Whilſt the counſels and enterpriſes in Scotland and England had this woeful iſſue, Ireland had no better ſucceſs in its undertakings. Cromwell had made ſo great

The affairs of Ireland at this time

great a progreſs in his conqueſts, before he left that kingdom to viſit Scotland, that he was become, upon the matter, entirely poſſeſſed of the two moſt valuable and beſt inhabited provinces, Lemſter and Munſter; and plainly diſcerned, that what remained to be done, if dexterouſly conducted, would be with moſt eaſe brought to paſs by the folly and perfidiouſneſs of the Iriſh themſelves; who would ſave their enemies a labour, in contributing to and haſtening their own deſtruction. He had made the bridge fair, eaſy, and ſafe for them to paſs over into foreign countries, by levies and tranſportations; which liberty they embraced, as hath been ſaid before, with all imaginable greedineſs: and he had entertained agents, and ſpies, as well friars as others amongſt the Iriſh, who did not only give him timely advertiſements of what was concluded to be done, but had intereſt and power enough to interrupt and diſturb the conſultations, and to obſtruct the execution thereof: and having put all things in this hopeful method of proceeding, in which there was like to be more uſe of the halter than the ſword, he committed the managing of the reſt, and the government of the kingdom, to his ſon in law Ireton; whom he made Deputy under him of Ireland: a man, who knew the bottom of all his counſels and purpoſes, and was of the ſame, or a greater pride and fierceneſs in his nature, and moſt inclined to purſue thoſe rules, in the forming whereof he had had the chief influence. And he, without fighting a battle, though he lived not many months after, reduced moſt of the reſt that Cromwell left unfiniſhed.

Ireton made Lord Deputy by Cromwell.

The Marquis of Ormond knew and underſtood well the deſperate condition and ſtate he was in, when he had no other ſtrength and power to depend upon, than that of the Iriſh, for the ſupport of the King's authority:

The Marquis of Ormond's condition there.

rity: yet there were many of the nobility and principal gentry of the Iriſh, in whoſe loyalty towards the King, and affection and friendſhip towards his own perſon, he had juſtly all confidence; and there were amongſt the Romiſh Clergy ſome moderate men, who did deteſt the ſavage ignorance of the reſt: ſo that he entertained ſtill ſome hope, that the wiſer would by degrees convert the weaker, and that they would all underſtand how inſeparable their own preſervation and intereſt was from the ſupport of the King's dignity and authority, and that the wonderful judgments of God, which were every day executed by Ireton upon the principal and moſt obſtinate contrivers of their odious rebellion, and who perverſely and peeviſhly oppoſed their return to their obedience to the King, as often as they fell into his power, would awaken them out of their ſottiſh lethargy, and unite them in the defence of their nation. For there was ſcarce a man, whoſe bloody and brutiſh behaviour in the beginning of the rebellion, or whoſe barbarous violation of the peace that had been conſented to, had exempted them from the King's mercy, and left them only ſubjects of his juſtice, as ſoon as they could be apprehended, who was not taken by Ireton, and hanged with all the circumſtances of ſeverity that was due to their wickedneſs; of which innumerable examples might be given.

There yet remained free from Cromwell's yoke, the two large provinces of Connaught and of Ulſter, and the two ſtrong cities of Limerick and of Galloway, both garriſoned with Iriſh, and excellently ſupplied with all things neceſſary for their defence, and many other good port towns, and other ſtrong places; all which pretended and profeſſed to be for the King, and to yield obedience to the Marquis of Ormond, his Majeſty's Lieu-

tenant. And there were ſtill many good regiments of horſe and foot together under Preſton, who ſeemed to be ready to perform any ſervice the Marquis ſhould require: ſo that he did reaſonably hope, that by complying with ſome of their humours, by ſacrificing ſomewhat of his honour, and much of his authority, to their jealouſy and peeviſhneſs, he ſhould be able to draw ſuch a ſtrength together, as would give a ſtop to Ireton's career. O'Neile at this time, after he had been ſo baffled and affronted by the Parliament, and after he had ſeen his boſom friend, and ſole counſellor, the Biſhop of Clogher, (who had managed the treaty with Monk, and was taken priſoner upon the defeat of his forces), hanged, drawn, and quartered as a traitor, ſent "to offer his ſervice to the Marquis of Ormond with "the army under his command, upon ſuch conditions "as the Marquis thought fit to ſend to him;" and it was reaſonably believed that he did intend very ſincerely, and would have done very good ſervice; for he was the beſt ſoldier of the nation, and had the moſt command over his men, and was beſt obeyed by them. But, as he was upon his march towards a conjunction with the Lord Lieutenant, he fell ſick; and, in a few days, died: ſo that that treaty produced no effect; for though many of his army proſecuted his reſolution, and joined with the Marquis of Ormond, yet their officers had little power over their ſoldiers; who, being all of the old Iriſh Septs of Ulſter, were entirely governed by the friars, and were ſhortly after prevailed upon, either to tranſport themſelves, or to retire to their bogs, and prey for themſelves upon all they met, without diſtinction of perſons or intereſt.

Owen Row O'Neile died, as he was going to join with the Marquis of Ormond.

The Marquis's orders for drawing the troops together to any rendezvous were totally neglected and diſobeyed; and

and the commiſſioners' orders for the collection of money, and contribution in ſuch proportions as had been ſettled and agreed unto, were as much contemned: ſo that ſuch regiments, as with great difficulty were brought together, were as ſoon diſſolved for want of pay, order, and accommodation; or elſe diſperſed by the power of the friars; as in the city of Limerick, when the Marquis was there, and had appointed ſeveral companies to be drawn into the market-place, to be employed upon a preſent expedition, an officer of good affections, and thought to have much credit with his ſoldiers, brought with him two hundred very likely ſoldiers well armed, and diſciplined, and having received his orders from the Marquis, who was upon the place, begun to march; when a Franciſcan friar in his habit, and with a crucifix in his hand, came to the head of the company, and commanded them all, "upon pain of damnation, that "they ſhould not march:" upon which they all threw down their arms, and did as the friar directed them; who put the whole city into a mutiny: inſomuch as the Lord Lieutenant was compelled to go out of it, and not without ſome difficulty eſcaped; though moſt of the magiſtrates of the city did all that was in their power to ſuppreſs the diſorder, and to reduce the people to obedience; and ſome of them were killed, and many wounded in the attempt. As an inſtance of thoſe judgments from heaven which we lately mentioned in general, Patrick Fanning, who with the friar had the principal part in that ſedition, the very next night after Ireton was poſſeſſed of that ſtrong city, was apprehended, and the next day hanged, drawn, and quartered. Such of the commiſſioners who adhered firmly to the Lord Lieutenant, in uſing all their power to advance the King's ſervice, and to reduce their miſerable country-

A mutiny in Limerick, whence the Marquis of Ormond eſcaped.

men from effecting and contriving their own deſtruction, were without any credit, and all their warrants and ſummons neglected; when the others, who declined the ſervice, and deſired to obſtruct it, had all reſpect and ſubmiſſion paid to them.

They who appeared, after the firſt misfortune before Dublin, to corrupt, and miſlead, and diſhearten the people, were the friars, and ſome of their inferior clergy. But now the titular biſhops, who had been all made at Rome ſince the beginning of the rebellion, appeared more active than the other. They called an aſſembly of the biſhops, (every one of which had ſigned the articles of the peace), and choſe ſome of their clergy as a repreſentative of their Church to meet at James Town; where, under the pretence of providing for the ſecurity of religion, they examined the whole proceedings of the war, and how the monies which had been collected had been iſſued out. They called the giving up the towns in Munſter by the Lord Inchiquin's officers, "the conſpiracy and treachery of all the Engliſh, out of "their malice to Catholic religion;" and thereupon preſſed the Lord Lieutenant to diſmiſs all the Engliſh gentlemen who yet remained with him. They called every unproſperous accident that had fallen out, "a "foul miſcarriage;" and publiſhed a declaration full of libellous invectives againſt the Engliſh, without ſparing the perſon of the Lord Lieutenant; who, they ſaid, "being of a contrary religion, and a known inveterate "enemy to the Catholic, was not fit to be entruſted "with the conduct of a war that was raiſed for the "ſupport and preſervation of it;" and ſhortly after ſent an addreſs to the Lord Lieutenant himſelf, in which they told him, "that the people were ſo far unſatisfied "with his conduct, eſpecially for his averſion from "the

The Popiſh biſhops make an aſſembly, and publiſh a declaration againſt the Engliſh.

" the Catholic religion, and his favouring heretics, that " they were unanimouſly reſolved, as one man, not to " ſubmit any longer to his command, nor to raiſe any " more money, or men, to be applied to the King's " ſervice under his authority." But, on the other ſide, they aſſured him, " that their duty and zeal was ſo en- " tire and real for the King, and their reſolution ſo " abſolute never to withdraw themſelves from his obedi- " ence, that, if he would depart the kingdom, and com- " mit the command thereof into the hands of any per- " ſon of honour of the Catholic religion, he would " thereby unite the whole nation to the King; and " they would immediately raiſe an army that ſhould drive " Ireton quickly again into Dublin;" and, that the Lord Lieutenant might know that they would not depart from this determination, they publiſhed ſoon after an excommunication againſt all perſons who ſhould obey any of the Lieutenant's orders, or raiſe money or men by virtue of his authority.

They declare to the Lord Lieutenant they will no longer ſubmit to him; and require him to commit the government to a Roman Catholic.

During all theſe agitations, many of the Roman Catholic nobility, and other perſons of the beſt quality, remained very faithful to the Lord Lieutenant; and cordially interpoſed with the Popiſh biſhops to prevent their violent proceedings; but had not power either to perſuade or reſtrain them. The Lord Lieutenant had no reaſon to be delighted with his empty title to command a people who would not obey, and knew the daily danger he was in, of being betrayed, and delivered into the hands of Ireton, or being aſſaſſinated in his own quarters. And though he did not believe that the Iriſh would behave themſelves with more fidelity and courage for the King's intereſt, when he ſhould be gone; well knowing that their biſhops and clergy deſigned nothing but to put themſelves under the govern-

ment of ſome Popiſh prince, and had at that time ſent agents into foreign parts for that purpoſe; yet he knew likewiſe that there were in truth men enough, and arms, and all proviſions for the carrying on the war, who, if they were united, and heartily reſolved to preſerve themſelves, would be much ſuperior in number to any power Ireton could bring againſt them. He knew likewiſe, that he could ſafely depoſit the King's authority in the hands of a perſon of unqueſtionable fidelity, whom the King would, without any ſcruple, truſt, and whom the Iriſh could not except againſt, being of their own nation, of the greateſt fortune and intereſt amongſt them, and of the moſt eminent conſtancy to the Roman Catholic religion of any man in the three kingdoms; and that was the Marquis of Clanrickard. And therefore, ſince it was to no purpoſe to ſtay longer there himſelf, and it was in his power ſafely to make the experiment, whether the Iriſh would in truth perform what was in their power to perform, and which they ſo ſolemnly promiſed to do, he thought he ſhould be inexcuſable to the King, if he ſhould not conſent to that expedient. The great difficulty was to perſuade the Marquis of Clanrickard to accept the truſt, who was a man, though of an unqueſtionable courage, yet, of an infirm health; and loved and enjoyed great eaſe throughout his whole life; and of a conſtitution not equal to the fatigue and diſtreſſes, that the conducting ſuch a war muſt ſubject him to. He knew well, and exceedingly deteſted, the levity, inconſtancy, and infidelity of his countrymen: nor did he in any degree like the preſumption of the Popiſh biſhops and clergy, and the exorbitant power which they had aſſumed, and uſurped to themſelves; and therefore he had no mind to engage himſelf in ſuch a command. But by the extraordinary

traordinary importunity of the Marquis of Ormond, with whom he had preſerved a faſt and unſhaken friendſhip, and his preſſing him to preſerve Ireland to the King, without which it would throw itſelf into the arms of a forcigner; and then the ſame importunity from all the Iriſh nobility, biſhops, and clergy, (after the Lord Lieutenant had informed them of his purpoſe), "that he "would preſerve his nation, which, without his accept- "ance of their protection, would infallibly be extir- "pated," and their joint promiſe, "that they would ab- "ſolutely ſubmit to all his commands, and hold no aſ- "ſembly or meeting amongſt themſelves, without his "permiſſion and commiſſion," together with his unqueſtionable deſire to do any thing, how contrary ſoever to his own inclination and benefit, that would be acceptable to the King, and might poſſibly bring ſome advantage to his Majeſty's ſervice, he was in the end prevailed upon to receive a commiſſion from the Lord Lieutenant to be Deputy of Ireland, and undertook that charge.

The Marquis of Ormond makes the Marquis of Clanrickard his Deputy.

How well they complied afterwards with their promiſes and proteſtations, and how much better ſubjects they proved to be under their Catholic governor, than they had been under their Proteſtant, will be related at large hereafter. In the mean time the Marquis of Ormond would not receive a paſs from Ireton, who would willingly have granted it, as he did to all the Engliſh officers that deſired it; but embarked himſelf, with ſome few gentlemen beſides his own ſervants, in a ſmall frigate, and arrived ſafely in Normandy; and ſo went to Caen; where his wife and family had remained from the time of his departure thence. This was ſhortly after the King's defeat at Worceſter, and, as ſoon as his Majeſty arrived

The Marquis of Ormond embarks for France, and waits on the King at Paris after his Majeſty's eſcape from Worceſter.

arrived at Paris, he forthwith attended him, and was moſt welcome to him.

Scotland being ſubdued, and Ireland reduced to that obedience as the Parliament could wiſh, nothing could be expected to be done in England for the King's advantage. From the time that Cromwell was choſen General in the place of Fairfax, he took all occaſions to diſcountenance the Preſbyterians, and to put them out of all truſt and employment, as well in the country as in the army; and, whilſt he was in Scotland, he had intercepted ſome letters from one Love, a Preſbyterian miniſter in London, (a fellow who hath been mentioned before, in the time the treaty was at Uxbridge, for preaching againſt peace), to a leading preacher in Scotland; and ſent ſuch an information againſt him, with ſo many ſucceſſive inſtances that juſtice might be exemplarily done upon him, that, in ſpite of all the oppoſition which the Preſbyterians could make, who appeared publicly with their utmoſt power, the man was condemned and executed upon Tower-hill. And, to ſhew their impartiality, about the ſame time they executed Brown Buſhel, who had formerly ſerved the Parliament in the beginning of the rebellion, and ſhortly after ſerved the King to the end of the war, and had lived ſome years in England after the war expired, untaken notice of, but, upon this occaſion, was enviouſly diſcovered, and put to death.

Love, a Preſbyterian miniſter, executed.

It is a wonderful thing what operation this Preſbyterian ſpirit had upon the minds of thoſe who were poſſeſſed by it. This poor man Love, who had been guilty of as much treaſon againſt the King, from the beginning of the rebellion, as the pulpit could contain, was ſo much without remorſe for any wickedneſs of that kind

kind that he had committed, that he was jealous of nothing ſo much, as of being ſuſpected to repent, or that he was brought to ſuffer for his affection to the King. And therefore, when he was upon the ſcaffold, where he appeared with a marvellous undauntedneſs, he ſeemed ſo much delighted with the memory of all that he had done againſt the late King, and againſt the biſhops, that he could not even then forbear to ſpeak with animoſity and bitterneſs againſt both, and expreſſed great ſatisfaction in mind for what he had done againſt them, and was as much tranſported with the inward joy of mind, that he felt in being brought thither to die as a martyr, and to give teſtimony for the Covenant; "whatſoever he had done being in the purſuit of the ends," he ſaid, "of that ſanctified obligation, to which he was "in and by his conſcience engaged." And in this raving fit, without ſo much as praying for the King, otherwiſe than that he might propagate the Covenant, he laid his head upon the block with as much courage as the braveſt and honeſteſt man could do in the moſt pious occaſion.

Cromwell cauſes ſeveral high courts of juſtice to be erected.

When Cromwell returned to London, he cauſed ſeveral high courts of juſtice to be erected, by which many gentlemen of quality were condemned, and executed in many parts of the kingdom, as well as in London, who had been taken priſoners at Worceſter, or diſcovered to have been there. And, that the terror might be univerſal, ſome ſuffered for looſe diſcourſes in taverns, what they would do towards reſtoring the King, and others for having blank commiſſions found in their hands ſigned by the King, though they had never attempted to do any thing thereupon, nor, for ought appeared, intended to do. And under theſe deſolate apprehenſions all the royal and loyal party lay

lay groveling, and proſtrate, after the defeat of Worceſter.

There was at this time with the King the Marquis of Ormond; who came thither before the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Though his Majeſty was now in unqueſtionable ſafety, the ſtraits and neceſſities he was in were as unqueſtionable; which expoſed him to all the troubles and uneaſineſs that the maſters of very indigent families are ſubjected to; and the more, becauſe all men conſidered only his dignity, and not his fortune: ſo that men had the ſame emulations and ambitions, as if the King had all to give which was taken from him, and thought it a good argument for them to aſk, becauſe he had nothing to give; and aſked very improper reverſions, becauſe he could not grant the poſſeſſion; and were ſolicitous for honours, which he had power to grant, becauſe he had not fortunes to give them.

The King's neceſſities at Paris.

There had been a great acquaintance between the Marquis of Ormond, when he was Lord Thurles, in the life of his grandfather, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, which was renewed, by a mutual correſpondence, when they both came to have ſhares in the public buſineſs, the one in Ireland, and the other in England: ſo that when they now met at Paris, they met as old friends, and quickly underſtood each other ſo well, that there could not be a more entire confidence between men. The Marquis conſulted with him in his neareſt concernments, and the Chancellor eſteemed and cultivated the friendſhip with all poſſible induſtry and application. The King was abundantly ſatisfied in the friendſhip they had for each other, and truſted them both entirely; nor was it in the power of any, though it was often endeavoured by perſons of no ordinary account, to break or interrupt that mutual confidence

The friendſhip between the Marquis of Ormond and the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

confidence between them, during the whole time the King remained beyond the ſeas; whereby the King's perplexed affairs were carried on with the leſs trouble. And the Chancellor did always acknowledge, that the benefit of this friendſhip was ſo great to him, that, without it, he could not have borne the weight of that part of the King's buſineſs which was incumbent on him, nor the envy and reproach that attended the truſt.

Beſides the wants and neceſſities which the King was preſſed with in reſpect of himſelf, who had nothing, but was obliged to find himſelf by credit in clothes, and all other neceſſaries for his perſon, and of his family, which he ſaw reduced to all extremities; he was much diſquieted by the neceſſities in his brother the Duke of York's family, and by the diſorder and faction in it. The Queen complained heavily of Sir George Ratcliff, and the Attorney; and more of the firſt, becauſe that he pretended to ſome right of being of the Duke's family by a grant of the late King; which his preſent Majeſty determined againſt him; and reprehended his activity in the laſt ſummer. Sir John Berkley had moſt of the Queen's favour; and, though he had at that time no intereſt in the Duke's affection, he found a way to ingratiate himſelf with his Royal Highneſs, by inſinuating into him two particulars, in both which he foreſaw advantage to himſelf. Though no man acted the governor's part more imperiouſly than he had done whilſt the Lord Byron was abſent, finding that he himſelf was liable in ſome degree to be governed upon that lord's return, he had uſed all the ways he could, that the Duke might be exempted from any ſubjection to a governor, preſuming, that, when that title ſhould be extinguiſhed, he ſhould be poſſeſſed of ſome ſuch office and relation, as ſhould not be under the control of any

The neceſſities and factions of the Duke of York's family.

but

but the Duke himſelf. But he had not yet been able to bring that to paſs; which was the reaſon that he ſtayed at Paris when his Highneſs viſited Flanders and Holland. Now he took advantage of the activity of the Duke's ſpirit, and infuſed into him, "that it would "be for his honour to put himſelf into action, and not "to be learning his exerciſes in Paris whilſt the army was "in the field:" a propoſition firſt intimated by the Cardinal, "that the Duke was now of years to learn his "*métier*, and had now the opportunity to improve him-"ſelf, by being in the care of a general reputed equal to "any captain in Chriſtendom, with whom he might "learn that experience, and make thoſe obſervations, as "might enable him to ſerve the King his brother, who "muſt hope to recover his right only by the ſword." This the Cardinal had ſaid both to the Queen and to the Lord Jermyn, whilſt the King was in Scotland, when no man had the hardineſs to adviſe it in that conjuncture. But, after the King's return from England, there wanted nothing but the approbation of his Majeſty; and no man more deſired it than the Lord Byron, who had had good command, and preferred that kind of life before that which he was obliged to live in at Paris. There was no need of ſpurs to be employed to incite the Duke; who was moſt impatient to be in the army. And therefore Sir John Berkley could not any other way make himſelf ſo grateful to him, as by appearing to be of that mind, and by telling the Duke, "that whoſoever oppoſed it, and diſſuaded the King "from giving his conſent, was an enemy to his High-"neſs's glory, and deſired that he ſhould live always in "pupillage;" not omitting to put him in mind, "that "his very entrance into the army ſet him at liberty, and "put him into his own diſpoſal; ſince no man went

"into

" into the field under the direction of a governor;" ſtill endeavouring to improve his prejudice againſt thoſe who ſhould either diſſuade him from purſuing that reſolution, or endeavour to perſuade the King not to approve it; " which," he told him, " could proceed from " nothing but want of affection to his perſon." By this means he hoped to raiſe a notable diſlike in him of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who, he believed, did not like the deſign, becauſe he having ſpoken to him of it, the other had not enlarged upon it as an argument that pleaſed him.

The Duke preſſed it with earneſtneſs and paſſion, in which he diſſembled not; and found the Queen, as well as the King, very reſerved in the point; which proceeded from their tenderneſs towards him, and leſt they might be thought to be leſs concerned for his ſafety than they ought to be. His Highneſs then conferred with thoſe, who, he thought, were moſt like to be conſulted with by the King, amongſt whom he knew the Chancellor was one; and finding him to ſpeak with leſs warmth than the reſt, as if he thought it a matter worthy of great deliberation, his Highneſs was confirmed in the jealouſy which Sir John Berkley had kindled in him, that he was the principal perſon who obſtructed the King's condeſcenſion. There was at that time no man with the King who had been a counſellor to his father, or ſworn to himſelf, but the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Marquis of Ormond, though he had adminiſtered the affairs in Ireland, was never ſworn a counſellor in England; yet his Majeſty looked upon him in all reſpects moſt fit to adviſe him; and thought it neceſſary to form ſuch a body, as ſhould be eſteemed by all men as his Privy Council, without whoſe advice he would take no reſolutions. The King knew the

Queen

Queen would not be well pleaſed, if the Lord Jermyn were not one; who in all other reſpects was neceſſary to that truſt, ſince all addreſſes to the Court of France were to be made by him: and the Lord Wilmot, who had cultivated the King's affection during the time of their peregrination, and drawn many promiſes from him, and was full of projects for his ſervice, could not be left out. The King therefore called the Marquis of Ormond, the Lord Jermyn, and the Lord Wilmot, to the Council Board; and declared, "that they three, to-"gether with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, ſhould "be conſulted with in all his affairs." The Queen very earneſtly preſſed the King, "that Sir John Berkley "might likewiſe be made a counſellor;" which his Majeſty would not conſent to; and thought he could not refuſe the ſame honour to the Lord Wentworth, the Lord Byron, or any other perſon who ſhould wait upon him, if he granted it to Sir John Berkley, who had no manner of pretence.

The King appoints a new Council.

Berkley took this refuſal very heavily, and thought his great parts, and the ſervices he had performed, which were known to very few, might well enough diſtinguiſh him from other men. But, becauſe he would not be thought without ſome juſt pretence which others had not, he very confidently inſiſted upon a right he had, by a promiſe of the late King, to be Maſter of the Wards; and that officer had uſually been of the Privy Council. The evidence he had of that promiſe was an intercepted letter from the late King to the Queen, which the Parliament had cauſed to be printed. In that letter the King anſwered a letter he had received from her Majeſty, in which ſhe put him in mind, "that he "had promiſed her to make Jack Berkley" (which was the ſtyle in the letter) "Maſter of the Wards;" which, the

Sir John Berkley pretends to the Maſterſhip of the Wards.

the King ſaid, "he wondered at, ſince he could not re-
"member that ſhe had ever ſpoken to him to that pur-
"poſe;" implying likewiſe "that he was not fit for it."
He preſſed the Chancellor of the Exchequer "to urge
"this matter of right to the King," (and ſaid, "the
"Queen would declare the King had promiſed it to her),
"and to prevail with his Majeſty to make him preſently
"Maſter of the Wards; which would give him ſuch a
"title to the Board, that others could not take his being
"called thither as a prejudice to them."

The Chancellor had at that time much kindneſs for him, and did really deſire to oblige him, but he durſt not urge that for a reaſon to the King, which could be none, and what he knew, as well as a negative could be known, had no foundation of truth. For beſides that he very well knew the late King had not ſo good an opinion of Sir John Berkley, as he himſelf did at that time heartily wiſh, and endeavour to infuſe into him, the King had, after that promiſe was pretended to be made, granted that office at Oxford to the Lord Cottington; who executed it as long as offices were executed under the grant of the Crown, and was poſſeſſed of the title to his death. The Chancellor did therefore very earneſtly endeavour to diſſuade him from making that pretence and demand to the King; and told him, "the King
"could not at this time do a more ungracious thing,
"that would loſe him more the hearts and affections of
"the nobility and gentry of England, than in making a
"Maſter of the Wards, in a time when it would not be
"the leaſt advantage to his Majeſty or the officer, to
"declare that he reſolved to inſiſt upon that part of his
"prerogative which his father had conſented to part
"with; the reſuming whereof in the full rigour, which

" he might lawfully do, would ruin moſt of the eſtates " of England, as well of his friends as enemies, in regard " of the vaſt arrears incurred in ſo many years; and " therefore whatever his Majeſty might think to re- " ſolve hereafter, when it ſhould pleaſe God to reſtore " him, for the preſent there muſt be no thought of ſuch " an officer."

Sir John Berkley was not ſatisfied at all with the reaſon that was alleged; and very unſatisfied with the unkindneſs (as he called it) of the refuſal to interpoſe in it; and ſaid, " ſince his friends would not, he would him- " ſelf require juſtice of the King;" and immediately, hearing that the King was in the next room, went to him; and in the warmth he had contracted by the Chancellor's contradiction, preſſed his Majeſty " to make " good the promiſe his father had made;" and magnified the ſervices he had done; which he did really believe to have been very great, and, by the cuſtom of making frequent relations of his own actions, grew in very good earneſt to think he had done many things which nobody elſe ever heard of. The King, who knew him very well, and believed little of his hiſtory, and leſs of his father's promiſe, was willing rather to reclaim him from his importunity, than to give him a poſitive denial, (which in his nature his Majeſty affected not), leſt it might indiſpoſe his mother or his brother: and ſo, to every part of his requeſt concerning the being of the Council, and concerning the office, gave him ſuch reaſons againſt the gratifying him for the preſent, that he could not but plainly diſcern that his Majeſty was very averſe from it. But that conſideration prevailed not with him; he uſed ſo great importunity, notwithſtanding all the reaſons which had been alleged, that

that at the laſt the King prevailed with himſelf, which he uſed not to do in ſuch caſes, to give him a poſitive denial, and reprehenſion, at once; and ſo left him. The King denies it him.

All this he imputed to the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and though he knew well he had not, nor could have ſpoken with the King from the time they had ſpoken together, before himſelf had that audience from his Majeſty, he declared, "that he knew all that "indiſpoſition had been infuſed by him; becauſe many "of the reaſons, which his Majeſty had given againſt "his doing what he deſired, were the very ſame that the "Chancellor had urged to him;" though they could not but have occurred to any reaſonable man, who had been called to conſult upon that ſubject. This paſſion prevailed ſo far upon him, that, notwithſtanding the advice of ſome of his beſt friends to the contrary, he took an opportunity to walk with the Chancellor ſhortly after; and, in a very calm, though a very confuſed diſcourſe, told him, "that, ſince he was reſolved to break "all friendſhip with him, which had continued now "near twenty years, he thought it but juſt to give him "notice of it, that from henceforward he might not "expect any friendſhip from him, but that they might "live towards each other with that civility only that "ſtrangers uſe to do." The Chancellor told him, "that the ſame juſtice that diſpoſed him to give this "notice, ſhould likewiſe oblige him to declare the reaſon "of this reſolution;" and aſked him, "whether he had "ever broken his word to him? or promiſed to do what "he had not done?" He anſwered, "his exception was, "that he could not be brought to make any promiſe; "and that their judgments were ſo different, that he "would no more depend upon him:" and ſo they

Where-upon Sir John breaks with the Chancellor.

parted, without ever after having converſation with each other whilſt they remained in France.

The ſpring was now advanced, and the Duke of York continued his importunity with the King, "that he "might have his leave to repair to the army." And thereupon his Majeſty called his Council together, the Queen his mother and his brother being likewiſe preſent. There his Majeſty declared "what his brother "had long deſired of him; to which he had hitherto "given no other anſwer, than that he would think of "it; and before he could give any other, he thought it "neceſſary to receive their advice:" nor did his Majeſty in the leaſt diſcover what he himſelf was inclined to. The Duke then repeated what he had deſired of the King; and ſaid, "he thought he aſked nothing "but what became him; if he did not, he hoped the "King would not deny it to him, and that nobody "would adviſe he ſhould." The Queen ſpoke not a word; and the King deſired the lords to deliver their opinion; who all ſate ſilent, expecting who would begin; there being no fixed rule of the Board, but ſometimes, according to the nature of the buſineſs, he who was firſt in place begun, at other times he who was laſt in quality; and when it required ſome debate before any opinion ſhould be delivered, any man was at liberty to offer what he would. But after a long ſilence, the King commanded the Chancellor of the Exchequer to ſpeak firſt. He ſaid, "it could not be expected, that "he would deliver his opinion in a matter that was ſo "much too hard for him, till he heard what others "thought; at leaſt, till the queſtion was otherwiſe ſtated "than it yet ſeemed to him to be." He ſaid, "he "thought the Council would not be willing to take it "upon them to adviſe that the Duke of York, the next "heir

Deliberation in the Council, whether the Duke of York ſhould go into the French army.

" heir to the Crown, ſhould go a volunteer into the " French army, and that the expoſing himſelf to ſo " much danger, ſhould be the effect of their counſel " who ought to have all poſſible tenderneſs for the " ſafety of every branch of the royal family; but if the " Duke of York, out of his own princely courage, and " to attain experience in the art of war, of which there " was like to be ſo great uſe, had taken a reſolution to " viſit the army, and to ſpend that campaign in it, and " that the queſtion only was, whether the King ſhould " reſtrain him from that expedition, he was ready to de- " clare his opinion, that his Majeſty ſhould not; there " being great difference between the King's adviſing " him to go, which implies an approbation, and barely " ſuffering him to do what his own genius inclined him " to." The King and Queen liked the ſtating of the queſtion, as ſuiting beſt with the tenderneſs they ought to have; and the Duke was as well pleaſed with it, ſince it left him at the liberty he deſired; and the lords thought it ſafeſt for them: and ſo all were pleaſed; and much of the prejudice which the Duke had entertained towards the Chancellor was abated: and his Royal Highneſs, with the good liking of the French Court, went to the army; where he was received by the Marſhal of Turenne, with all poſſible demonſtration of reſpect; where, in a ſhort time, he got the reputation of a Prince of very ſignal courage, and to be univerſally beloved of the whole army by his affable behaviour.

The Duke goes to the army.

The inſupportable neceſſities of the King were now grown ſo notorious, that the French Court was compelled to take notice of them; and thereupon, with ſome dry compliments for the ſmallneſs of the aſſignation in reſpect of the ill condition of their affairs, which indeed were not in any good poſture, they ſettled an aſſigna-

The aſſignation of ſix thouſand livres by the month upon the King by the French Court.

tion of ſix thouſand livres by the month upon the King, payable out of ſuch a gabel; which, being to begin ſix months after the King came thither, found too great a debt contracted to be eaſily ſatisfied out of ſuch a monthly receipt, though it had been punctually complied with; which it never was. The Queen, at his Majeſty's firſt arrival, had declared, "that ſhe was not "able to bear the charge of the King's diet, but that he "muſt pay one half of the expence of her table, where "both their Majeſties eat, with the Duke of York, and "the Princeſs Henrietta," (which two were at the Queen's charge till the King came thither, but from that time, the Duke of York was upon the King's account), and the very firſt night's ſupper which the King eat with the Queen, begun the account; and a moiety thereof was charged to the King: ſo that the firſt money that was received for the King upon his grant, was entirely ſtopped by Sir Harry Wood, the Queen's treaſurer, for the diſcharge of his Majeſty's part of the Queen's table, (which expence was firſt ſatisfied, as often as money could be procured), and the reſt for the payment of other debts contracted, at his firſt coming, for clothes and other neceſſaries, there being great care taken that nothing ſhould be left to be diſtributed amongſt his ſervants; the Marquis of Ormond himſelf being compelled to put himſelf in penſion, with other gentlemen, at a piſtole a week for his diet, and to walk the ſtreets on foot, which was no honourable cuſtom in Paris; whilſt the Lord Jermyn kept an excellent table for thoſe who courted him, and had a coach of his own, and all other accommodations incident to the moſt full fortune; and if the King had the moſt urgent occaſion for the uſe but of twenty piſtoles, as ſometimes he had, he could not find credit to borrow it; which he often

had

had experiment of. Yet if there had not been as much care to take that from him which was his own, as to hinder him from receiving the ſupply aſſigned by the King of France, his neceſſities would not have been ſo extraordinary. For when the King went to Jerſey in order to his journey into Ireland, and at the ſame time that he ſent the Chancellor of the Exchequer into Spain, he ſent likewiſe the Lord Colepepper into Moſcow, to borrow money of that duke; and into Poland he ſent Mr. Crofts upon the ſame errand. The former returned whilſt the King was in Scotland; and the latter about the time that his Majeſty made his eſcape from Worceſter. And both of them ſucceeded ſo well in their journey, that he who received leaſt for his Majeſty's ſervice, had above ten thouſand pounds over and above the expence of their journeys.

How the money was diſpoſed that was ſent the King from Moſcow and Poland.

But as if the King had been out of all poſſible danger to want money, the Lord Jermyn had ſent an expreſs into Scotland, as ſoon as he knew what ſucceſs the Lord Colepepper had at Moſcow, and found there were no leſs hopes from Mr. Crofts, and procured from the King (who could with more eaſe grant, than deny) warrants under his hand to both thoſe envoys, to pay the monies they had received to ſeveral perſons; whereof a conſiderable ſum was made a preſent to the Queen, more to the Lord Jermyn, upon pretence of debts due to him, which were not diminiſhed by that receipt, and all diſpoſed of according to the modeſty of the aſkers; whereof Dr. Goffe had eight hundred pounds for ſervices he had performed, and, within few days after the receipt of it, changed his religion, and became one of the fathers of the Oratory: ſo that, when the King returned in all that diſtreſs to Paris, he never received five hundred piſtoles from the proceed of both thoſe em-

baſſies; nor did any of thoſe who were ſupplied by his bounty, ſeem ſenſible of the obligation, or the more diſpoſed to do him any ſervice upon their own expence; of which the King was ſenſible enough, but reſolved to bear that and more, rather than, by entering into any expoſtulation with thoſe who were faulty, to give any trouble to the Queen.

The Lord Jermyn, who, in his own judgment, was very indifferent in all matters relating to religion, was always of ſome faction that regarded it. He had been much addicted to the Preſbyterians from the time that there had been any treaties with the Scots, in which he had too much privity. And now, upon the King's return into France, he had a great deſign to perſuade his Majeſty to go to the congregation at Charenton, to the end that he might keep up his intereſt in the Preſbyterian party; which he had no reaſon to believe would ever be able to do the King ſervice, or willing, if they were able, without ſuch odious conditions as they had hitherto inſiſted upon in all their overtures. The Queen did not, in the leaſt degree, oppoſe this, but rather ſeemed to countenance it, as the beſt expedient that might incline him, by degrees, to prefer the religion of the Church of Rome. For though the Queen had never, to this time, by herſelf, or by others with her advice, uſed the leaſt means to perſuade the King to change his religion, as well out of obſervation of the injunction laid upon her by the deceaſed King, as out of the conformity of her own judgment, which could not but perſuade her that the change of his religion would infallibly make all his hopes of recovering England deſperate; yet it is as true, that, from the King's return from Worceſter, ſhe did really deſpair of his being reſtored by the affections of his own ſubjects; and believed that it could never

never be brought to paſs without a conjunction of Catholic princes on his behalf, and by an united force to reſtore him; and that ſuch a conjunction would never be entered into, except the King himſelf became Roman Catholic. Therefore from this time ſhe was very well content that any attempts ſhould be made upon him to that purpoſe; and, in that regard, wiſhed that he would go to Charenton; which ſhe well knew was not the religion he affected, but would be a little diſcountenance to the Church in which he had been bred; and from which as ſoon as he could be perſuaded in any degree to ſwerve, he would be more expoſed to any other temptation. The King had not poſitively refuſed to gratify the miniſters of that congregation; who, with great profeſſions of duty, had beſought him to do them that honour, before the Chancellor of the Exchequer came to him; in which it was believed, that they were the more like to prevail by the death of Dr. Steward; for whoſe judgment in matters of religion the King had reverence, by the earneſt recommendation of his father: and he died after the King's return within fourteen days, with ſome trouble upon the importunity and artifice he ſaw uſed to prevail with the King to go to Charenton, though he ſaw no diſpoſition in his Majeſty to yield to it.

The miniſters of Charenton preſs the King to come to their Church; and are ſeconded by the Lord Jermyn.

Dr. Steward dies preſently after the King's return into France.

The Lord Jermyn ſtill preſſed it, "as a thing that "ought in policy and diſcretion to be done, to recon- "cile that people, which was a great body in France, "to the King's ſervice, which would draw to him all "the foreign Churches, and thereby he might receive "conſiderable aſſiſtance." He wondered, he ſaid, "why "it ſhould be oppoſed by any man; ſince he did not "wiſh that his Majeſty would diſcontinue his own de- "votions, according to the courſe he had always ob- "ſerved;

" ſerved; nor propoſe that he ſhould often repair " thither, but only ſometimes, at leaſt once, to ſhew " that he did look upon them as of the ſame religion " with him; which the Church of England had always " acknowledged; and that it had been an inſtruction " to the Engliſh ambaſſadors, that they ſhould keep a " good correſpondence with thoſe of the religion, and " frequently reſort to divine ſervice at Charenton; where " they had always a pew kept for them."

The Chancellor of the Exchequer diſſuaded him from it.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer diſſuaded his Majeſty from going thither with equal earneſtneſs; told him, " that, whatever countenance or favour the Crown " or Church of England had heretofore ſhewed to thoſe " congregations, it was in a time when they carried " themſelves with modeſty and duty towards both, and " when they profeſſed great duty to the King, and " much reverence to that Church; lamenting them- " ſelves, that it was not in their power, by the oppoſition " of the State, to make their reformation ſo perfect as it " was in England. And by this kind of behaviour " they had indeed received the protection and counte- " nance from England as if they were of the ſame reli- " gion, though, it may be, the original of that coun- " tenance and protection proceeded from another leſs " warrantable foundation; which he was ſure would " never find credit from his Majeſty. But, whatever it " was, that people now had undeſerved it from the " King; for, as ſoon as the troubles begun, the Hugo- " nots of France had generally expreſſed great malice " to the late King, and very many of their preachers " and miniſters had publicly and induſtriouſly juſtified " the rebellion, and prayed for the good ſucceſs of it; " and their ſynod itſelf had in ſuch a manner inveighed " againſt the Church of England, that they, upon the " matter,

" matter, profeſſed themſelves to be of another religion;
" and inveighed againſt epiſcopacy, as if it were incon-
" ſiſtent with the Proteſtant religion. That one of
" their great profeſſors at their Univerſity of Saumur,
" who was looked upon as a man of the moſt moderate
" ſpirit amongſt their miniſters, had publiſhed an apo-
" logy for the general inclination of that party to the
" proceedings of the Parliament of England, leſt it
" might give ſome jealouſy to their own King of their
" inclination to rebellion, and of their opinion that it
" was lawful for ſubjects to take up arms againſt their
" Prince; which, he ſaid, could not be done in France
" without manifeſt rebellion, and incurring the diſ-
" pleaſure of God for the manifeſt breach of his com-
" mandments; becauſe the King of France is an abſo-
" lute King, independent upon any other authority.
" But that the conſtitution of the kingdom of England
" was of another nature; becauſe the King there is
" ſubordinate to the Parliament, which hath authority
" to raiſe arms for the reformation of religion, or for
" the executing the public juſtice of the kingdom
" againſt all thoſe who violate the laws of the nation, ſo
" that the war might be juſt there, which in no caſe
" could be warrantable in France."

The Chancellor told the King, " that, after ſuch an
" indignity offered to him, and to his Crown, and ſince
" they had now made ſuch a diſtinction between the
" Epiſcopal and the Preſbyterian government, that they
" thought the profeſſors were not of the ſame religion,
" his going to Charenton could not be without this ef-
" fect, that it would be concluded every where, that his
" Majeſty thought the one or the other profeſſion to be
" indifferent; which would be one of the moſt deadly
" wounds to the Church of England that it had yet

" ever

"ever ſuffered." Theſe reaſons prevailed ſo far with the King's own natural averſion from what had been propoſed, that he declared poſitively, "he would never "go to Charenton;" which determination eaſed him from any farther application of that people. The reproach of this reſolution was wholly charged upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer, as the implacable enemy of all Preſbyterians, and as the only man who diverted the King from having a good opinion of them: whereas in truth, the daily information he received from the King himſelf of their barbarous behaviour in Scotland towards him, and of their inſupportable pride and pedantry in their manners, did confirm him in the judgment he had always made of their profeſſion; and he was the more grievous to thoſe of that profeſſion, becauſe they could not, as they uſed to do all thoſe who oppoſed and croſſed them in that manner, accuſe him of being popiſhly affected, and governed by the Papiſts; to whom they knew he was equally odious; and the Queen's knowing him to be moſt diſaffected to her religion, made her willing to appear moſt diſpleaſed for his hindering the King from going to Charenton.

The King declared he would not go.

There was another accident, which fell out at this time, and which the Chancellor of the Exchequer foreſaw would exceedingly increaſe the Queen's prejudice to him; which he did very heartily deſire to avoid, and to recover her Majeſty's favour by all the ways he could purſue with his duty; and, in conſiſtence with that, did never, in the leaſt degree, diſpoſe his Majeſty to deny any thing to her which ſhe owned the deſire of. Lieutenant General Middleton, who had been taken priſoner after Worceſter fight, after he was recovered of his wounds was ſent priſoner to the Tower of London; where were likewiſe many noble perſons of that nation,

as

as the Earl of Crawford, the Earl of Lautherdale, and many others. But as they of the Parliament had a greater regard for Middleton than for any other of that country, knowing him to be a man of great honour and courage, and much the beſt officer the Scots had, ſo they had a hatred of him proportionable; and they thought they had him at their mercy, and might proceed againſt him more warrantably for his life, than againſt their other priſoners; becauſe he had heretofore, in the beginning of the war, ſerved them; and though he had quitted their ſervice at the ſame time when they caſhiered the Earl of Eſſex, and made their new model, and was at liberty to do what he thought beſt for himſelf, yet they reſolved to free themſelves from any farther apprehenſions and fear of him: to that purpoſe they erected a new High Court of Juſtice, for the trial of ſome perſons who had been troubleſome to them, and eſpecially Middleton and Maſſey.

This laſt, after he had eſcaped from Worceſter, and travelled two or three days, found himſelf ſo tormented and weakened by his wounds, that being near the ſeat of the Earl of Stamford, whoſe Lieutenant Colonel he had been in the beginning of the war, and being well known to his lady, he choſe to commit himſelf to her rather than to her huſband; hoping, that in honour ſhe would have found ſome means to preſerve him. But the lady had only charity to cure his wounds, not courage to conceal his perſon; and ſuch advertiſements were given of him, that, as ſoon as he was fit to be removed, he was likewiſe ſent to the Tower, and deſtined to be ſacrificed by the High Court of Juſtice together with Middleton, for the future ſecurity of the Commonwealth.

Middleton and Maſſey, priſoners in the Tower, deſigned to be tried by a High Court of Juſtice.

But now the Preſbyterian intereſt ſhewed itſelf, and doubtleſs,

doubtleſs, in enterpriſes of this nature, was very powerful; having in all places perſons devoted to them, who were ready to obey their orders, though they did not pretend to be of their party. And the time approaching that they were ſure Middleton was to be tried, that is, to be executed, they gave him ſo good and particular advertiſement, that he took his leave of his friends in the Tower, and made his eſcape; and having friends enough to ſhelter him in London, after he had concealed himſelf there a fortnight or three weeks, that the diligence of the firſt examination and enquiry was over, he was ſafely tranſported into France. And within few days after, Maſſey had the ſame good fortune, to the grief and vexation of the very ſoul of Cromwell; who thirſted for the blood of thoſe two perſons.

Middleton makes his eſcape into France.

And Maſſey eſcapes.

When Middleton came to the King to Paris, he brought with him a little Scottiſh vicar, who was known to the King, one Mr. Knox, who brought letters of credit to his Majeſty, and ſome propoſitions from his friends in Scotland, and other diſpatches from the lords in the Tower, with whom he had conferred after Middleton had eſcaped from thence. He brought the relation of the terror that was ſtruck into the hearts of that whole nation by the ſevere proceedings of General Monk, to whoſe care Cromwell had committed the reduction of that kingdom, upon the taking of Dundee, where perſons of all degrees and qualities were put to the ſword after the town was entered, and all left to plunder; upon which all other places rendered. All men complained of the Marquis of Argyle, who proſecuted the King's friends with the utmoſt malice, and protected and preſerved the reſt according to his deſire. He gave the King aſſurance from the moſt conſiderable perſons, who had retired into the Highlands, "that they would never

An account of Scotland brought to the King by a Scottiſh vicar that Middleton brought with him.

"ſwerve

" ſwerve from their duty; and that they would be able,
" during the winter, to infeſt the enemy by incurſions
" into their quarters; and that, if Middleton might be
" ſent to them with ſome ſupply of arms, they would
" have an army ready againſt the ſpring, ſtrong enough
" to meet with Monk." He ſaid, " he was addreſſed
" from Scotland to the lords in the Tower, who did not
" then know that Middleton had arrived in ſafety with
" the King; and therefore they had commanded him, if
" neither Middleton nor the Lord Newburgh were about
" his Majeſty, that then he ſhould repair to the Mar-
" quis of Ormond, and deſire him to preſent him to the
" King; but that, having found both thoſe lords there,
" he had made no farther application than to them, who
" had brought him to his Majeſty." He told the King,
" that both thoſe in Scotland, and thoſe in the Tower, The requeſts to the King of his friends there.
" made it their humble requeſt, or rather a condition to
" his Majeſty; that, except it were granted, they would
" no more think of ſerving his Majeſty: the condition
" was, that whatever ſhould have relation to his ſervice
" in Scotland, and to their perſons who were to venture
" their lives in it, might not be communicated to the
" Queen, the Duke of Buckingham, the Lord Jermyn, or
" the Lord Wilmot. They profeſſed all duty to the
" Queen, but they knew ſhe had too good an opinion
" of the Marquis of Argyle; who would infallibly come
" to know whatever was known to either of the other."

The King did not expect that any notable ſervice could be performed by his friends in Scotland for his advantage, or their own redemption; yet did not think it fit to ſeem to undervalue the profeſſions and overtures of thoſe who had, during his being amongſt them, made all poſſible demonſtration of affection and duty to him; and therefore reſolved to grant any thing they

desired; and so promised not to communicate any thing of what they proposed to the Queen, or the other three lords. But since they proposed present dispatches to be made of commissions and letters, he wished them to consider, whom they would be willing to trust in the performing that service. The next day they attended his Majesty again, and desired, "that all matters relating to Scotland might be consulted by his Majesty "with the Marquis of Ormond, the Lord Newburgh, "and the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and that all "the dispatches might be made by the Chancellor;" which the King consented to; and bid the Lord Newburgh go with them to him, and let them know his Majesty's pleasure. And thereupon the Lord Newburgh brought Middleton to the Chancellor; who had never seen his face before.

The King appoints the Chancellor of the Exchequer to make all dispatches for Scotland.

The Marquis of Ormond and the Chancellor of the Exchequer believed that the King had nothing at this time to do but to be quiet, and carefully avoid doing any thing that might do him hurt, and to expect some blessed conjuncture from the amity of Christian Princes, or some such revolution of affairs in England by their own discontents, and divisions amongst themselves, as might make it seasonable for his Majesty again to shew himself. And therefore they proposed nothing to themselves but patiently to expect one of those conjunctures, and, in the mean time, so to behave themselves to the Queen, that without being received into her trust and confidence, which they did not affect, they might enjoy her grace and good acceptation. But the designation of them to this Scottish intrigue, crossed all this imagination, and shook that foundation of peace and tranquillity, upon which they had raised their present hopes.

The Marquis of Ormond's and the Chancellor's opinion concerning the King's affairs at that time.

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The Chancellor therefore went preſently to the King, and beſought him with earneſtneſs, "that he would not "lay that burden upon him, or engage him in any "part of the counſels of that people." He put his Majeſty in mind of "the continued avowed jealouſy and "diſpleaſure which that whole party in that nation had "ever had againſt him; and that his Majeſty very well "knew, that thoſe noble perſons who ſerved him beſt "when he was in Scotland, and in whoſe affection and "fidelity he had all poſſible ſatisfaction, had ſome pre-"judice againſt him, and would be troubled when they "ſhould hear that all their ſecrets were committed to "him." He told his Majeſty, "this truſt would for ever "deprive him of all hope of the Queen's favour; who "could not but diſcern it within three or four days, "and, by the frequent reſort of the Scottiſh vicar to "him," (who had the vanity to deſire long conferences with him), "that there was ſome ſecret in hand which "was kept from her; and ſhe would as eaſily diſcover, "that the Chancellor was privy to it, by his reading "papers to his Majeſty, and his ſigning them; and "would from thence conclude, that he had perſuaded "him to exclude her Majeſty from that truſt; which "ſhe would never forgive." Upon the whole, he renewed his importunity, "that he might be excuſed from "this confidence." The Chancellor of the Exchequer deſires the King not to employ him in the Scottiſh affairs.

The King heard him with patience and attention enough; and confeſſed, "that he had reaſon not to be "ſolicitous for that employment; but he wiſhed him "to conſider withal, that he muſt either undertake it, "or that his Majeſty muſt in plain terms reject the "correſpondence; which, he ſaid, he thought he would "not adviſe him to do. If his Majeſty entertained it, "it could not be imagined that all thoſe tranſactions The King's reply to him.

"could paſs through his own hand, or, if they could, "his being ſhut up ſo long alone would make the ſame "diſcovery. Whom then ſhould he truſt? The Lord "Newburgh, it was very true, was a very honeſt man, "and worthy of any truſt; but he was not a counſellor, "and nothing could be ſo much wondered at, as his "frequent being ſhut up with him; and more, his "bringing any papers to him to be ſigned. As to the "general prejudice which he conceived was againſt him "by that party," his Majeſty told him, "the nation "was much altered ſince he had to do with them, and "that no men were better loved by them now than "they who had from the beginning been faithful to his "father and himſelf." To which he added, "that Mid-"dleton had the leaſt in him, of any infirmities moſt "incident to that party, that he knew: and that he "would find him a man of great honour and ingenuity, "with whom he would be well pleaſed." His Majeſty ſaid, "he would frankly declare to his mother, that he "had received ſome intelligence out of Scotland, and "that he was obliged, and had given his word to thoſe "whoſe lives would be forfeited if known, that he "would not communicate it with any but thoſe who "were choſen by themſelves; and, after this, ſhe could "not be offended with his reſervation:" and concluded with a gracious conjuration and command to the Chancellor, "that he ſhould cheerfully ſubmit, and undergo "that employment; which, he aſſured him, ſhould "never be attended with prejudice or inconvenience to "him." In this manner he ſubmitted himſelf to the King's diſpoſal, and was truſted throughout that affair; which had ſeveral ſtages in the years following, and did produce the inconveniences he had foreſeen, and rendered him ſo unacceptable to the Queen, that ſhe eaſily

The Chancellor ſubmits; and was accordingly truſted in theſe affairs.

ſily entertained thoſe prejudices againſt him, which thoſe ſhe moſt truſted were always ready to infuſe into her, and under which he was compelled to bear many hardſhips.

The troubles of the French Court about this time.

This uncomfortable condition of the King was rendered yet more deſperate, by the ſtraits and neceſſities into which the French Court was about this time plunged: ſo that they who hitherto had ſhewed no very good will to aſſiſt the King, were now become really unable to do it. The Parliament of Paris had behaved themſelves ſo refractorily to all their King's commands, preſſed ſo importunately for the liberty of the Princes, and ſo impatiently for the remove of the Cardinal, that the Cardinal was at laſt compelled to perſuade the Queen to conſent to both: and ſo himſelf rid to Havre de Grace, and delivered the Queen's warrant to ſet them at liberty, and after a ſhort conference with the Prince of Condé, he continued his own journey towards Germany, and paſſed in diſguiſe, with two or three ſervants, till he came near Cologne, and there he remained at a houſe belonging to that Elector.

When the Princes came to Paris, they had received great welcome from the Parliament and the city; and inſtead of cloſing with the Court, which it was thought they would have done, the wound was widened without any hope of reconciliation: ſo that the King and Queen Regent withdrew from thence; the town was in arms; and fire and ſword denounced againſt the Cardinal; his goods ſold at an outcry; and a price ſet upon his head; and all perſons who profeſſed any duty to their King, found themſelves very unſafe in Paris. During all this time the Queen of England and the King, with their families, remained in the Louvre, not knowing whither to go, nor well able to ſtay there; the

aſſignments, which had been made for their ſubſiſtence, not being paid them: and the looſe people of the town begun to talk of the Duke of York's being in arms againſt them. But the Duke of Orleans, under whoſe name all the diſorders were committed, and the Prince of Condé, viſited our King and Queen with many profeſſions of civility; but thoſe were ſhortly abated likewiſe, when the French King's army came upon one ſide of the town, and the Spaniſh, with the Duke of Lorrain's, upon the other. The French army thought they had the enemy upon an advantage, and deſired to have a battle with them; which the other declined; all which time, the Court had an underhand treaty with the Duke of Lorrain; and, upon a day appointed, the French King ſent to the King of England, to deſire him to confer with the Duke of Lorrain; who lay then with his army within a mile of the town. There was no reaſon viſible for that deſire, nor could it be conceived, that his Majeſty's interpoſition could be of moment: yet his Majeſty knew not how to refuſe it; but immediately went to the place aſſigned; where he found both armies drawn up in battalia within cannon ſhot of each other. Upon his Majeſty's coming to the Duke of Lorrain, the treaty was again revived, and meſſages ſent between the Duke and Marſhal Turenne. In fine, the night approaching, both armies drew off from their ground, and his Majeſty returned to the Louvre; and before the next morning, the treaty was finiſhed between the Court and the Duke of Lorrain; and he marched away with his whole army towards Flanders, and left the Spaniards to ſupport the Parliament againſt the power of the French army; which advanced upon them with that reſolution, that, though they defended themſelves very bravely, and the Prince of Condé did the office

office of a brave general in the Fauxbourg St. Marceaux, and at the port St. Antoine, in which places many gallant perſons of both ſides were ſlain, they had been all cut off, if the city had not been prevailed with to ſuffer them to retire into it; which they had no mind to do. And thereupon the King's army retired to their old poſt, four leagues off, and attended future advantages: the King having a very great party in the Parliament and the city, which abhorred the receiving and entertaining the Spaniards into their bowels.

This retreat of the Duke of Lorrain, broke the neck of the Prince of Condé's deſign. He knew well he ſhould not be long able to retain the Duke of Orleans from treating with the Court, or keep the Pariſians at his devotion; and that the Duke de Beaufort, whom they had made Governor of Paris, would be weary of the contention. For the preſent, they were all incenſed againſt the Duke of Lorrain; and were well enough contented that the people ſhould believe, that this defection in the Duke was wrought by the activity and interpoſition of the King of England; and they who did know that his intereſt could not have produced that effect, could not tell how to interpret his Majeſty's journey to ſpeak with the Duke in ſo unſeaſonable a conjuncture: ſo that, as the people expreſſed, and uſed all the inſolent reproaches againſt the Engliſh Court at the Louvre, and loudly threatened to be revenged, ſo neither the Duke of Orleans, nor the Prince of Condé, made any viſit there, or expreſſed the leaſt civility towards it. In truth, our King and Queen did not think themſelves out of danger, nor ſtirred out of the Louvre for many days, until the French Court thought themſelves obliged to provide for their ſecurity, by adviſing the King and Queen to remove, and aſſigned St. Ger-

The King of England and his mother remove to St. Germain's.

main's to them for their retreat. Then his Majeſty ſent to the Duke of Orleans, and Prince of Condé, "that "their purpoſe was to leave the town:" upon which there was a guard that attended them out of the town in the evening; which could not be got to be in readineſs till then; and they were ſhortly after met by ſome troops of horſe ſent by the French King, which conducted them by torch-light to St. Germain's; where they arrived about midnight; and remained there without any diſturbance, till Paris was reduced to that King's obedience.

It is a very hard thing for people who have nothing to do, to forbear doing ſomething which they ought not to do; and the King might well hope that, ſince he had nothing elſe left to enjoy, he might have enjoyed quiet and repoſe; and that a Court which had nothing to give, might have been free from faction and ambition; whilſt every man had compoſed himſelf to bear the ill fortune he was reduced to for conſcience ſake, which every man pretended to be his caſe, with ſubmiſſion and content, till it ſhould pleaſe God to buoy up the King from the lowneſs he was in; who in truth ſuffered much more than any body elſe. But whilſt there are Courts in the world, emulation and ambition will be inſeparable from them; and Kings who have nothing to give, ſhall be preſſed to promiſe; which oftentimes proves more inconvenient and miſchievous than any preſent gifts could be, becauſe they always draw on more of the ſame title and pretence; and as they who receive the favours, are not the more ſatisfied, ſo they who are not paid in the ſame kind, or who, out of modeſty and diſcretion, forbear to make ſuch ſuits, are grieved and offended to ſee the vanity and preſumption of bold men ſo unſeaſonably gratified and encouraged.

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The King found no benefit of this kind in being ſtripped of all his dominions, and all his power. Men were as importunate, as hath been ſaid before, for honours, and offices, and revenues, as if they could have taken poſſeſſion of them as ſoon as they had been granted, though but by promiſe: and men who would not have had the preſumption to have aſked the ſame thing, if the King had been in England, thought it very juſtifiable to demand it, becauſe he was not there; ſince there were ſo many hazards that they ſhould never live to enjoy what he promiſed. The vexations he underwent of this kind cannot be expreſſed; and whoſoever ſucceeded not in his unreaſonable deſires, imputed it only to the ill nature of the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and concluded, that he alone obſtructed it, becauſe they always received very gracious anſwers from his Majeſty: ſo that though his wants were as viſible and notorious as any man's, and it appeared he got nothing for himſelf, he paid very dear in his peace and quiet for the credit and intereſt he was thought to have with his maſter. Solicitations for places in the King's Court.

The Lord Wilmot had, by the opportunity of his late converſation with the King in his eſcape, drawn many kind expreſſions from his Majeſty; and he thought he could not be too ſolicitous to procure ſuch a teſtimony of his grace and favour, as might diſtinguiſh him from other men, and publiſh the eſteem the King had of him. Therefore he importuned his Majeſty that he would make him an earl, referring the time of his creation to his Majeſty's own choice: and the modeſty of this reference prevailed; the King well knowing, that the ſame honour would be deſired on the behalf of another, by one whom he ſhould be unwilling to deny. But ſince it was not aſked for the preſent, he

promiſed to do it in a time that ſhould appear to be convenient for his ſervice.

There were projects of another kind, which were much more troubleſome; in which the projectors ſtill conſidered themſelves in the firſt place, and what their condition might prove to be by the ſucceſs. The Duke of York was ſo well pleaſed with the fatigue of the war, that he thought his condition very agreeable; but his ſervants did not like that courſe of life ſo well, at leaſt deſired ſo far to improve it, that they might reap ſome advantages to themſelves out of his appointments. Sir John Berkley was now, upon the death of the Lord Byron, by which the Duke was deprived of a very good ſervant, become the ſuperior of his family, and called himſelf, without any authority for it, *Intendant des affaires de ſon Alteſſe Royale*; had the management of all his receipts and diſburſements; and all the reſt depended upon him. He deſired, by all ways, to get a better revenue for his maſter, than the ſmall penſion he received from France; and thought no expedient ſo proper for him, as a wife of a great and noble fortune; which he preſumed he ſhould have the managing of.

The Lord Byron, the Duke's Governor, dies.

There was then a lady in the town, Mademoiſelle de Longueville, the daughter of the Duke de Longueville by his firſt wife, by whom ſhe was to inherit a very fair revenue, and had title to a very conſiderable ſum of money, which her father was obliged to account for: ſo that ſhe was looked upon as one of the greateſt and richeſt marriages in France, in reſpect of her fortune; in reſpect of her perſon not at all attractive, being a lady of a very low ſtature, and that ſtature ſomewhat deformed. This lady Sir John deſigned for the Duke; and treated with thoſe ladies who were neareſt to her, and had been truſted with the education of her, before he

Sir John Berkley deſigns Mademoiſelle de Longueville for the Duke's wife.

he mentioned it to his Royal Highneſs. Then he perſuaded him, "that all hopes in England were deſperate: "that the government was ſo ſettled there, that it could "never be ſhaken; ſo that his Highneſs muſt think of "no other fortune than what he ſhould make by his "ſword: that he was now upon the ſtage where he "muſt act out his life, and that he ſhould do well to "think of providing a civil fortune for himſelf, as well "as a martial; which could only be by marriage:" and then ſpoke of Mademoiſelle de Longueville, and made her fortune at leaſt equal to what it was; "which," he ſaid, "when once his Highneſs was poſſeſſed of, he "might ſell; and thereby raiſe money to pay an army to "invade England, and ſo might become the reſtorer of "the King his brother: this he thought very practi-"cable, if his Highneſs ſeriouſly and heartily would "endeavour it." The Duke himſelf had no averſion from marriage, and the conſideration of the fortune, and the circumſtances which might attend it, made it not the leſs acceptable; yet he made no other anſwer to it, "than that he muſt firſt know the King's and Queen's "judgment of it, before he could take any reſolution "what to do." Upon which Sir John undertook, with his Highneſs's approbation, to propoſe it to their Majeſties himſelf, and accordingly firſt ſpoke with the Queen, enlarging on all the benefit which probably might attend it.

It was believed, that the firſt overture and attempt had not been made without her Majeſty's privity and approbation; for the Lord Jermyn had been no leſs active in the contrivance than Sir John Berkley: yet her Majeſty refuſed to deliver any opinion in it, till ſhe knew the King's: and ſo at laſt, after the young lady herſelf had been ſpoken to, his Majeſty was informed of it,

ſe, and his approbation deſired; with which he was not well pleaſed; and yet was unwilling to uſe his authority to obſtruct what was looked upon as ſo great a benefit and advantage to his brother; though he did not diſſemble his reſentment of their preſumption who undertook to enter upon treaties of that nature, with the ſame liberty as if it concerned only their own kindred and allies: however, he was very reſerved in ſaying what he thought of it. Whilſt his Majeſty was in deliberation, all the ways were taken to diſcover what the Chancellor of the Exchequer's judgment was; and the Lord Jermyn ſpoke to him of it, as a matter that would not admit any doubt on the King's part, otherwiſe than from the difficulty of bringing it to paſs, in regard the lady's friends would not eaſily be induced to give their conſent. But the Chancellor could not be drawn to make any other anſwer, than, "that it was a ſubject ſo much above his "comprehenſion, and the conſequences might be ſuch, "that he had not the ambition to deſire to be con-"ſulted with upon it; and that leſs than the King's or "Queen's command ſhould not induce him to enter "upon the diſcourſe of it."

The Queen conſults the Chancellor of the Exchequer about the marriage.

It was not long before the Queen ſent for him; and ſeeming to complain of the importunity, which was uſed towards her in that affair, and as if it were not grateful to her, aſked him, what his opinion of it was? To which he anſwered, "that he did not underſtand the "convenience of it ſo well, as to judge whether it were "like to be of benefit to the Duke of York: but he "thought, that neither the King, nor her Majeſty, "ſhould be willing that the heir of the Crown ſhould be "married before the King himſelf; or that it ſhould be "in any woman's power to ſay, that, if there were but "one perſon dead, ſhe ſhould be a Queen:" with which

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her Majeſty, who no doubt did love the King with all poſſible tenderneſs, ſeemed to be moved, as if it had been a conſideration ſhe had not thought of before; and ſaid, with ſome warmth, "that ſhe would never "give her conſent that it ſhould be ſo." However, this argument was quickly made known to the Duke of York, and ſeveral gloſſes made upon it, to the reproach of the Chancellor: yet it made ſuch an impreſſion, that there were then as active endeavours to find a convenient wife for the King himſelf, and Mademoiſelle, the daughter of the Duke of Orleans, by his firſt wife, who, in the right of her mother, was already poſſeſſed of the fair inheritance of the Dutchy of Mompenſier, was thought of. To this the Queen was much inclined, and the King himſelf not averſe; both looking too much upon the relief it might give to his preſent neceſſities, and the convenience of having a place to repoſe in, as long as the ſtorm ſhould continue. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had no thought, by the concluſion he had made in the other overture, to have drawn on this propoſition; and the Marquis of Ormond and he were no leſs troubled with this, than with the former; which made them be looked upon as men of contradiction.

Mademoiſelle likewiſe thought on for the King.

They repreſented to the King, "that, as it could ad- "miniſter only ſome competency towards his preſent "ſubſiſtence, ſo it might exceedingly prejudice his fu- "ture hopes, and alienate the affections of his friends "in England: that the lady was elder than he by ſome "years; which was an exception amongſt private per- "ſons; and had been obſerved not to be proſperous to "Kings: that his Majeſty muſt expect to be preſſed to "thoſe things in point of religion which he could "never conſent to; and yet he ſhould undergo the "ſame

The Marquis of Ormond's and the Chancellor of the Exchequer's exceptions againſt this.

"ſame diſadvantage as if he had conſented, by many "men's believing he had done ſo." They beſought him "to ſet his heart entirely upon the recovery of "England, and to indulge to nothing that might rea- "ſonably obſtruct that, either by making him leſs in- "tent upon it, or by creating new difficulties in the pur- "ſuing it." His Majeſty aſſured them, "that his heart "was ſet upon nothing elſe; and, if he had inclination "to this marriage, it was becauſe he believed it might "much facilitate the other: that he looked not upon "her fortune, which was very great, as an annual ſup- "port to him, but as a ſtock that ſhould be at his diſ- "poſal; by ſale whereof he might raiſe money enough "to raiſe a good army to attempt the recovery of his "kingdoms: and that he would be well aſſured, that it "ſhould be in his power to make that uſe of it, before "he would be engaged in the treaty: that he had no "apprehenſion of the preſſures which would be made "in matters of religion; becauſe, if the lady did once "conſent to the marriage, ſhe would affect nothing "but what might advance the recovery of his domi- "nions; which ſhe would quickly underſtand any un- "reaſonable conceſſions in religion could never do." In a word, his Majeſty diſcovered enough to let them ſee that he ſtood well enough inclined to the over- ture itſelf; which gave them trouble, as a thing which, in many reſpects, was like to prove very inconve- nient.

But they were quickly freed from that apprehenſion. The lady carried herſelf in that manner, on the behalf of the Prince of Condé, and ſo offenſively to the French Court, having given fire herſelf to the cannon in the Baſtile upon the King at the port St. Antoine, and done ſo many blameable things againſt the French King

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and Queen, that they no ſooner heard of this diſcourſe, but they quickly put an end to it; the Cardinal, who was now returned again, having long reſolved, that our King ſhould never owe any part of his reſtitution to any countenance or aſſiſtance he ſhould receive from France; and, from the ſame concluſion, the like end was put to all overtures which had concerned the Duke of York and the other lady.

Both theſe deſigns come to nothing.

There was, ſhortly after, an unexpected accident, that ſeemed to make ſome alteration in the affairs of Chriſtendom; which many very reaſonably believed, might have proved advantageous to the King. The Parliament, as ſoon as they had ſettled their Commonwealth, and had no enemy they feared, had ſent ambaſſadors to their ſiſter Republic, the States of the United Provinces, to invite them to enter into a ſtricter alliance with them, and, upon the matter, to be as one Commonwealth, and to have one intereſt. They were received in Holland with all imaginable reſpect, and as great expreſſions made, as could be, of an equal deſire that a firm union might be eſtabliſhed between the two Commonwealths: and, for the forming thereof, perſons were appointed to treat with the ambaſſadors; which was looked upon as a matter that would eaſily ſucceed, ſince the Prince of Orange, who could have given powerful obſtructions in ſuch caſes, was now dead, and all thoſe who adhered to him diſcountenanced, and removed from places of truſt and power in all the Provinces, and his ſon, an infant, born after the death of his father, at the mercy of the States even for his ſupport; the two dowagers, his mother and grandmother, having great jointures out of the eſtate, and the reſt being liable to the payment of vaſt debts. In the treaty, Saint-John, who had the whole truſt of the embaſſy, being

The Parliament ſent ambaſſadors to Holland to invite them to a ſtrict union, Saint-John being the chief.

being very powerful in the Parliament, and the known confident of Cromwell, preſſed ſuch a kind of union as muſt diſunite them from all their other allies: ſo that, for the friendſhip of England, they muſt loſe the friendſhip of other princes, and yet loſe many other advantages in trade, which they enjoyed, and which they ſaw the younger and more powerful Commonwealth would in a ſhort time deprive them of. This the States could not digeſt, and uſed all the ways they could to divert them from inſiſting upon ſo unreaſonable conditions; and made many large overtures and conceſſions, which had never been granted by them to the greateſt Kings, and were willing to quit ſome advantages they had enjoyed by all the treaties with the Crown of England, and to yield other conſiderable benefits which they always before denied to grant.

But this would not ſatisfy, nor would the ambaſſadors recede from any particular they had propoſed: ſo that, after ſome months' ſtay, during which time they received many affronts from ſome Engliſh, and from others, they returned with great preſents from the States, but without any effect by the treaty, or entering into any terms of alliance, and with the extreme indignation of Saint-John; which he manifeſted as ſoon as he returned to the Parliament; who, diſdaining likewiſe to find themſelves undervalued, (that is, not valued above all the world beſides), preſently entered upon counſels how they might diſcountenance and control the trade of Holland, and increaſe their own.

They return without any effect.

Hereupon they made that Act, that "inhibits all "foreign ſhips from bringing in any merchandiſe or "commodities into England, but ſuch as were the pro-"ceed or growth of their own country, upon the pe-"nalty of forfeiture of all ſuch ſhips." This indeed

The Parliament thereupon make the Act of Navigation.

con-

concerned all other countries; but it did, upon the matter, totally ſuppreſs all trade with Holland, which had very little merchandiſe of the growth of their own country, but had uſed to bring in their ſhips the growth of all other kingdoms in the world; wine from France and Spain, ſpices from the Indies, and all commodities from all other countries; which they muſt now do no more. The Dutch ambaſſador expoſtulated this matter very warmly, "as a breach of commerce "and amity, which could not conſiſt with the peace "between the two nations; and that his maſters could "not look upon it otherwiſe than as a declaration of "war." The Parliament anſwered him ſuperciliouſly, "that his maſters might take it in what manner they "pleaſed; but they knew what was beſt for their own "State, and would not repeal laws to gratify their "neighbours;" and cauſed the Act to be executed with the utmoſt rigour and ſeverity.

The United Provinces now diſcerned, that they had helped to raiſe an enemy that was too powerful for them, and that would not be treated as the Crown had been. However, they could not believe it poſſible, that in the infancy of their Republic, and when their government was manifeſtly odious to all the nobility and gentry of the kingdom, and the people generally weary of the taxes and impoſitions upon the nation for the ſupport of their land-armies, the Parliament would venture to increaſe thoſe taxes and impoſitions proportionably to maintain a new war at ſea, at ſo vaſt an expence, as could not be avoided; and therefore believed that they only made ſhew of this courage to amuſe and terrify them. However, at the ſpring, they ſet out a fleet ſtronger than of courſe they uſed to do; which made no impreſſion upon the Engliſh; who never ſuſ-

pected

pected that the Dutch durſt enter into a war with them. Beſides that they were confident no ſuch counſel and reſolution could be taken on a ſudden, and without their having firſt notice of it, they having ſeveral of the States General, and more of the States of Holland, very devoted to them. And therefore they increaſed not their expence, but ſent out their uſual fleet for the guard of the coaſt at their ſeaſon, and with no other inſtructions than they had been accuſtomed to.

Orders from the Admiralty in Holland to their fleet, "not "to ſtrike "to the "Engliſh."

The Council of the Admiralty of Holland, which governed the maritime affairs, without communication with the States General, gave their inſtructions to the Admiral Van Trump, "that when he met any of the "Engliſh ſhips of war, he ſhould not ſtrike to them, "nor ſhew them any other reſpect than what they re- "ceived from them; and if the Engliſh expoſtulated "the matter, they ſhould anſwer frankly, that the re- "ſpect they had formerly ſhewed upon thoſe encoun- "ters, was becauſe the ſhips were the King's, and for "the good intelligence they had with the Crown; but "they had no reaſon to continue the ſame in this al- "teration of government, except there were ſome ſtipu- "lation between them to that purpoſe: and if this an- "ſwer did not ſatisfy, but that force was uſed towards "them, they ſhould defend themſelves with their ut- "moſt vigour." Theſe inſtructions were very ſecret, and never ſuſpected by the Engliſh commanders; who had their old inſtructions to oblige all foreign veſſels to ſtrike ſail to them; which had never been refuſed by any nation.

It was about the beginning of May in the year 1652, that the Dutch fleet, conſiſting of above forty ſail, under the command of Van Trump, rode at anchor in Dover

Dover road, being driven by a ſtrong wind, as they pretended, from the Flanders coaſt, when the Engliſh fleet, under the command of Blake, of a much leſs number, appeared in view; upon which the Dutch weighed anchor, and put out to ſea, without ſtriking their flag; which Blake obſerving, cauſed three guns to be fired without any ball. It was then obſerved, that there was an expreſs ketch came, at the very time, from Holland, on board their Admiral; and it was then conceived, that he had, by that expreſs, received more poſitive orders to fight; for, upon the arrival of that expreſs, he tacked about, and bore directly towards the Engliſh fleet; and the three guns were no ſooner fired, but, in contempt of the advertiſement, he diſcharged one ſingle gun from his poop, and hung out a red flag; and came up to the Engliſh Admiral, and gave him a broadſide; with which he killed many of his men, and damaged his ſhip. Whereupon, though Blake was ſurpriſed, as not expecting ſuch an aſſault, he deferred not to give him the ſame rude ſalutation; and ſo both fleets were forthwith engaged in a very fierce encounter; which continued for the ſpace of four hours, till the night parted them, after the loſs of much blood on both ſides. On the part of the Dutch, they loſt two ſhips, whereof one was ſunk, and the other taken, with both the captains, and near two hundred priſoners. On the Engliſh ſide there were many ſlain, and more wounded, but no ſhip loſt, nor officer of name. When the morning appeared, the Dutch were gone to their coaſt. And thus the war was entered into, before it was ſuſpected in England.

The war begun upon this account with the Dutch.

With what conſideration ſoever the Dutch had embarked themſelves in this ſudden enterpriſe, it quickly appeared they had taken very ill meaſures of the peo-

ple's affections. For the news of this conflict was no ſooner arrived in Holland, but there was the moſt general conſternation, amongſt all ſorts of men, that can be imagined; and the States themſelves were ſo much troubled at it, that, with great expedition, they diſpatched two extraordinary ambaſſadors into England; by whom they proteſted, "that the late unhappy engagement between "the fleets of the two Commonwealths had happened "without their knowledge, and contrary to the inten- "tion of the Lords the States General: that they had "received the fatal tidings of ſo raſh an attempt and "action, with amazement and aſtoniſhment; and that "they had immediately entered into conſultation, how "they might beſt cloſe this freſh bleeding wound, and "to avoid the farther effuſion of Chriſtian blood, ſo "much deſired by the enemies of both States: and "therefore they moſt earneſtly deſired them, by their "mutual concurrence in religion, and by their mutual "love of liberty, that nothing might be done with "paſſion and heat; which would widen the breach; "but that they might ſpeedily receive ſuch an anſwer, "that there might be no farther obſtruction to the "trade of both Commonwealths."

The States ſend two ambaſſadors into England about it.

To which this anſwer was preſently returned to them, "that the civility which they had always ſhewed to- "wards the States of the United Provinces was ſo no- "torious, that nothing was more ſtrange than the ill "return they had made to them: that the extraordi- "nary preparations which they had made, of a hundred "and fifty ſhips, without any apparent neceſſity, and "the inſtructions which had been given to their ſea- "officers, had adminiſtered too much cauſe to believe, "that the Lords the States General of the United Pro- "vinces had a purpoſe to uſurp the known right which "the

The Parliament's anſwer to them.

"the Engliſh have to the ſeas, and to deſtroy their "fleets; which, under the protection of the Almighty, "are their walls and bulwarks; that ſo they might be "expoſed to the invaſion of any powerful enemy: "therefore they thought themſelves obliged to endea- "vour, by God's aſſiſtance, to ſeek reparation for the "injuries and damage they had already received, and "to prevent the like for the future: however, they "ſhould never be without an intention and deſire, that "ſome effectual means might be found to eſtabliſh a "good peace, union, and right underſtanding, between "the two nations."

With this haughty anſwer they vigorouſly proſecuted their revenge, and commanded Blake preſently to ſail to the northward; it being then the ſeaſon of the year for the great fiſheries of the Dutch upon the coaſts of Scotland, and the iſles of Orkney, (by the benefit whereof they drive a great part of their trade over Europe); where he now found their multitude of fiſhing boats, guarded by twelve ſhips of war; moſt of which, with the fiſh they had made ready, he brought away with him as good prize.

Blake takes their fiſhing buſſes, and their guard-ſhips.

When Blake was ſent to the North, Sir George Ayſcue, being juſt returned from the Weſt Indies, was ſent with another part of the fleet to the South; who, at his very going out, met with thirty ſail of their merchants between Dover and Calais; a good part whereof he took or ſunk; and forced the reſt to run on ſhore upon the French coaſt; which is very little better than being taken. From thence he ſtood weſtward; and near Plymouth, with thirty ſail of men of war, he engaged the whole Dutch fleet, conſiſting of ſixty ſhips of war, and thirty merchants. It was near four of the clock in the afternoon when both fleets begun to en-

Sir G. Ayſcue takes or ſinks thirty ſail of their merchants: fights the Dutch fleet near Plymouth.

gage, ſo that the night quickly parted them; yet not before two of the Holland ſhips of war were ſunk, and moſt of the men loſt; the Dutch in that action applying themſelves moſt to ſpoil the tackling and ſails of the Engliſh; in which they had ſo good ſucceſs, that the next morning they were not able to give them farther chaſe, till their ſails and rigging could be repaired. But no day paſſed without the taking and bringing in many and valuable Dutch ſhips into the ports of England, which, having begun their voyages before any notice given to them of the war, were making haſte home without any fear of their ſecurity: ſo that, there being now no hope of a peace by the mediation of their ambaſſadors, who could not prevail in any thing they propoſed, they returned; and the war was proclaimed on either ſide, as well as proſecuted.

The King thought he might very reaſonably hope to reap ſome benefit and advantage from this war, ſo briſkly entered upon on both ſides; and when he had ſate ſtill till the return of the Dutch ambaſſadors from London, and that all treaties were given over, he believed it might contribute to his ends, if he made a journey into Holland, and made ſuch propoſitions upon the place as he might be adviſed to: but when his Majeſty imparted this deſign to his friends there, who did really deſire to ſerve him, he was very warmly diſſuaded from coming thither; and aſſured, "that it was ſo far "from being yet ſeaſonable, that it would more ad- "vance a peace than any thing elſe that could be pro- "poſed; and would, for the preſent, bring the greateſt "prejudice to his ſiſter, and to the affairs of his nephew "the Prince of Orange, that could be imagined."

The King hereupon took a reſolution to make an attempt which could do him no harm, if it did not produce

duce the good he desired. The Dutch ambassador then resident at Paris, Monsieur Borrel, who had been Pensioner of Amsterdam, was very much devoted to the King's service, having been formerly ambassador in England, and had always dependence upon the Princes of Orange successively. He communicated in all things with great freedom with the Chancellor of the Exchequer; who visited him constantly once a week, and received advertisements and advices from him, and the ambassador frequently came to his lodging. The King, upon conference only with the Marquis of Ormond and the Chancellor, and enjoining them secresy, caused a paper to be drawn up; in which he declared, "that he had very good reason to believe, "that there were many officers and seamen engaged in "the service of the English fleet, who undertook that "service in hope to find a good opportunity to serve "his Majesty; and that, if the Dutch were willing to "receive him, he would immediately put himself on "board their fleet, without requiring any command, "except of such ships only, as, upon their notice of his "being there, should repair to him out of the rebels' "fleet: by this means," he presumed, "he should be "able much to weaken their naval power, and to raise "divisions in the kingdom, by which the Dutch would "receive benefit and advantage." Having signed this paper, he sent the Chancellor with it open, to shew to the Dutch ambassador, and to desire him to send it inclosed in his letter to the States. The ambassador was very much surprised with it, and made some scruple of sending it, lest he might be suspected to have advised it. For they were extremely jealous of him for his affection to the King, and for his dependence upon the

The King at Paris proposes to Monsieur Borrel, the Dutch ambassador, that he would join his interest with theirs.

houſe of Orange. In the end, he deſired "the King "would incloſe it in a letter to him, and oblige him to "ſend it to the States General:" which was done accordingly; and he ſent it by the poſt to the States.

The war had already made the councils of the States leſs united than they had been, and the party that was known to be inclined to the Prince of Orange recovered courage, and joined with thoſe who were no friends to the war; and, when this meſſage from the King was read, magnified the King's ſpirit in making this overture, and wiſhed that an anſwer of very humble thanks and acknowledgment might be returned to his Majeſty. They ſaid, "no means ought to be neglected that "might abate the pride and power of the enemy:" and as ſoon as the people heard of it, they thought it reaſonable to accept the King's offer. De Wit, who was Penſioner of Holland, and had the greateſt influence upon their counſels, had no mind to have any conjunction with the King; which, he foreſaw, muſt neceſſarily introduce the pretences of the Prince of Orange, to whom he was an avowed and declared enemy. He told them, "indeed it was a very generous "offer of the King; but if they ſhould accept it, they "could never recede from his intereſt; which, inſtead "of putting an end to the war, of which they were "already weary, would make it without end, and would "be the ruin of their State: that, whilſt they were "free from being engaged in any intereſt but their own, "they might reaſonably hope that both ſides would be "equally weary of the war, and then a peace would "eaſily enſue; which they ſhould otherwiſe put out of "their own power;" ſo that thanks were returned to the King for his good will; and they purſued their own method

Thanks returned to the King by the States, but his propoſal laid aſide.

method in their counſels, and were much ſuperior to thoſe who were of another opinion, deſiring nothing ſo much, as to make a peace upon any conditions.

Nor can it appear very wonderful, that the Dutch made ſhew of ſo much phlegm in this affair, when the very choler and pride of the French was, about the ſame time, ſo humbled by the ſpirit of the Engliſh, that, though they took their ſhips every day, and made them prize, and had now ſeized upon their whole fleet that was going to the relief of Dunkirk, (that was then cloſely beſieged by the Spaniard, and, by the taking that fleet, was delivered into their hands), yet the French would not be provoked to be angry with them, or to expreſs any inclination to the King; but ſent an ambaſſador, which they had not before done, to expoſtulate very civilly with the Parliament for having been ſo unneighbourly, but in truth to deſire their friendſhip upon what terms they pleaſed; the Cardinal fearing nothing ſo much, as that the Spaniard would make ſuch a conjunction with the new Commonwealth, as ſhould diſappoint and break all his deſigns.

The Engliſh ſeize on a French fleet going to the relief of Dunkirk.

The French ſend an ambaſſador into England.

The inſupportable loſſes which the Dutch every day ſuſtained by the taking their merchants' ſhips, and their ſhips of war, and the total obſtruction of their trade, broke their hearts, and increaſed their factions and diviſions at home. All the ſeas were covered with the Engliſh fleets; which made no diſtinctions of ſeaſons, but were as active in the winter as the ſummer; and engaged the Dutch upon any inequality of number. The Dutch having been beaten in the month of October, and Blake having received a bruſh from them in the month of December, in the month of February, the moſt dangerous ſeaſon of the year, they, having appointed a rendezvous of about one hundred and fifty

merchantmen, ſent a fleet of above one hundred ſail of men of war to convoy them; and Blake, with a fleet much inferior in number, engaged them in a very ſharp battle from noon till the night parted them: which diſpoſed them to endeavour to preſerve themſelves by flight; but, in the morning, they found that the Engliſh had attended them ſo cloſe, that they were engaged again to fight, and ſo unproſperouſly, that, after the loſs of above two thouſand men, who were thrown overboard, beſides a multitude hurt, they were glad to leave fifty of their merchantmen to the Engliſh, that they might make their flight the more ſecurely.

In February Blake engages the Dutch fleet; who are beaten.

This laſt loſs made them ſend again to the Parliament to deſire a peace; who rejected the overture, as they pretended, "for want of formality," (for they always pretended a deſire of an honourable peace), the addreſs being made only by the States of Holland and Weſt-Friezland, the States General being at that time not aſſembled. It was generally believed, that this addreſs from Holland was not only with the approbation, but by the direction, of Cromwell; who had rather conſented to thoſe particulars, which were naturally like to produce that war, to gratify Saint-John, (who was inſeparable from him in all his other counſels, and was incenſed by the Dutch), than approved the reſolution. And now he found, by the expence of the engagements had already paſſed on both ſides, what an inſupportable charge that war muſt be attended with. Beſides, he well diſcerned that all parties, friends and foes, Preſbyterians, Independents, Levellers, were all united as to the carrying on the war; which, he thought, could proceed from nothing, but that the exceſs of the expence might make it neceſſary to diſband a great part of the land army (of which there appeared no uſe) to ſup-

The Dutch ſend again to the Parliament for peace.

Cromwell never zealous for this war with the Dutch, but governed in it by Saint-John.

ſupport the navy; which they could not now be without. Nor had he authority to place his own creatures there, all the officers thereof being nominated and appointed ſolely by the Parliament: ſo that when this addreſs was made by the Dutch, he ſet up his whole reſt and intereſt, that it might be well accepted, and a treaty thereupon entered into; which when he could not bring to paſs, he laid to heart; and deferred not long, as will appear, to take vengeance upon the Parliament with a witneſs, and by a way they leaſt thought of.

Though Cromwell was exerciſed with theſe contradictions and vexations at home, by the authority of the Parliament, he found not the leaſt oppoſition from abroad. He was more abſolute in the other two kingdoms, more feared, and more obeyed, than any King had ever been; and all the dominions belonging to the Crown owned no other ſubjection than to the Commonwealth of England. The iſles of Guernſey, and Jerſey, and Scilly, were reduced; the former preſently after the battle of Worceſter; and the other, after the King's return to Paris; Sir George Carteret having well defended Jerſey as long as he could, and being ſo overpowered that he could no longer defend the iſland, he retired into Caſtle Elizabeth; which he had fortified, and provided with all things neceſſary for a ſiege; preſuming that, by the care and diligence of the Lord Jermyn, who was governor thereof, he ſhould receive ſupplies of men and proviſions, as he ſhould ſtand in need of them; as he might eaſily have done in ſpite of any power of the Parliament by ſea or land. But it had been the principal reaſon that Cromwell had hitherto kept the better quarter with the Cardinal, leſt the bait of thoſe two iſlands, which the King could have put into his hands when he would, ſhould tempt him to

Guernſey and Jerſey had been now reduced.

Sir George Carteret defended this as long as he could, and Elizabeth Caſtle.

give

give his Majeſty any aſſiſtance. But the King was ſo ſtrict and punctual in his care of the intereſt of England, when he ſeemed to be abandoned by it, that he choſe rather to ſuffer thoſe places of great importance to fall into Cromwell's power, than to depoſit them, upon any conditions, into French hands; which, he knew, would never reſtore them to the juſt owner, what obligations ſoever they entered into.

When that caſtle had been beſieged three months, and the enemy could not approach nearer to plant their ordnance than, at leaſt, half an Engliſh mile, the ſea encompaſſing it round more than ſo far from any land, and it not being poſſible for any of their ſhips to come within ſuch a diſtance, they brought notwithſtanding mortar pieces of ſuch an incredible greatneſs, and ſuch as had never been before ſeen in this part of the world, that from the higheſt point of the hill, near St. Hilary's, they ſhot granadoes of a vaſt bigneſs into the caſtle, and beat down many houſes; and, at laſt, blowed up a great magazine, where moſt of the proviſion of victuals lay; and killed many men. Upon which Sir George Carteret ſent an expreſs to give the King an account of the condition he was in, and to deſire a ſupply of men and proviſions; which it being impoſſible for his Majeſty to procure, he ſent him orders to make the beſt conditions he could; which he ſhortly after did; and came himſelf to Paris, to give the King a larger information of all that had paſſed in that affair; and afterwards remained in France under many mortifications, by the power and proſecution of Cromwell, till the King's happy reſtoration.

The King ſends him orders to make conditions.

All the foreign plantations had ſubmitted to the yoke; and indeed without any other damage or inconvenience, than the having citizens and inferior perſons put

The foreign plantations alſo were ſubdued.

put to govern them, instead of gentlemen, who had been entrusted by the King in those places. New England had been too much allied to all the conspiracies and combinations against the Crown, not to be very well pleased that men of their own principles prevailed; and settled a government themselves were delighted with. The Barbadoes, which was much the richest plantation, was principally inhabited by men who had retired thither only to be quiet, and to be free from the noise and oppressions in England, and without any ill thoughts towards the King; many of them having served him with fidelity and courage during the war; and, that being ended, made that island their refuge from farther prosecutions. But having now gotten good estates there, (as it is incredible to what fortunes men raised themselves in few years, in that plantation), they were more willing to live in subjection to that government at that distance, than to return into England, and be liable to the penalties of their former transgressions; which, upon the articles of surrender, they were indemnified for: nor was there any other alteration there, than the removing the Lord Willoughby of Parham, (who was, upon many accounts, odious to the Parliament, as well as by being governor there by the King's commission), and putting an inferior mean man in his place.

The Barbadoes delivered up.

More was expected from Virginia; which was the most ancient plantation; and so was thought to be better provided to defend itself, and to be better affected. Upon both which suppositions, and out of confidence in Sir William Berkley, the governor thereof, who had industriously invited many gentlemen, and others, thither as to a place of security, which he could defend against any attempt, and where they might live plentifully, many persons of condition, and good officers in the

the war, had tranſported themſelves, with all the eſtate they had been able to preſerve; with which the honeſt governor, for no man meant better, was ſo confirmed in his confidence, that he writ to the King almoſt inviting him thither, as to a place that wanted nothing. And the truth is, that, whilſt the Parliament had nothing elſe to do, that plantation in a ſhort time was more improved in people and ſtock, than it had been from the beginning to that time, and had reduced the Indians to very good neighbourhood. But, alas! they were ſo far from being in a condition to defend themſelves, all their induſtry having been employed in the making the beſt advantage of their particular plantations, without aſſigning time or men to provide for the public ſecurity in building forts, or any places of retreat, that there no ſooner appeared two or three ſhips from the Parliament, than all thoughts of reſiſtance were laid aſide. Sir William Berkley, the governor, was ſuffered to remain there as a private man, upon his own plantation; which was a better ſubſiſtence than he could have found any where elſe. And in that quiet poſture he continued, by the reputation he had with the people, till, upon the noiſe and fame of the King's reſtoration, he did as quietly reſume the exerciſe of his former commiſſion, and found as ready an obedience. About this time alſo, Scilly, which had been vigorouſly defended by Sir John Greenvil, till it wanted all things, was delivered up to Sir George Ayſcue.

And Virginia.

We ſhall not in this place enlarge upon the affairs of Scotland, (which will be part of the argument of the next book), where Monk for the preſent governed with a rod of iron, and at laſt found no contradiction or oppoſition to his good will and pleaſure. In Ireland, if that people had not been prepared and ripe for deſtruction,

tion, there had happened an alteration which might have given ſome reſpite to it, and diſpoſed the nation to have united themſelves under their new Deputy, whom they had themſelves deſired, under all the ſolemn obligations of obedience. Shortly after the departure of the Marquis of Ormond, Cromwell's Deputy, Ireton, who had married his daughter, died in Limerick of the plague; which was gotten into his army, that was ſo much weakened by it, and there were ſo great factions and diviſions among the officers, after his ſudden death, that great advantages might have been gotten by it. His authority was ſo abſolute, that he was entirely ſubmitted to in all the civil, as well as martial affairs. But his death was thought ſo little poſſible, that no proviſion had been made for that contingency. So that no man had authority to take the command upon him, till Cromwell's pleaſure was farther known; who put the charge of the army under Ludlow, a man of a very different temper from the other; but appointed the civil government to run in another channel, ſo that there remained jealouſy and diſcontent enough ſtill between the council and the officers to have ſhaken a government that was yet no better eſtabliſhed.

Ireton died in Limerick of the plague.

Ludlow ſucceeds him in the charge of the army.

Ireton, of whom we have had too much occaſion to ſpeak formerly, was of a melancholic, reſerved, dark nature, who communicated his thoughts to very few; ſo that, for the moſt part, he reſolved alone, but was never diverted from any reſolution he had taken; and he was thought often by his obſtinacy to prevail over Cromwell himſelf, and to extort his concurrence contrary to his own inclinations. But that proceeded only from his diſſembling leſs; for he was never reſerved in the owning and communicating his worſt and moſt barbarous purpoſes; which the other always concealed and diſ-

The character of Ireton.

avowed.

avowed. Hitherto their concurrence had been very natural, ſince they had the ſame ends and deſigns. It was generally conceived by thoſe who had the opportunity to know them both very well, that Ireton was a man ſo radically averſe from monarchy, and ſo fixed to a republic government, that, if he had lived, he would either, by his counſel and credit, have prevented thoſe exceſſes in Cromwell, or publicly oppoſed and declared againſt them, and carried the greateſt part of the army with him; and that Cromwell, who beſt knew his nature and his temper, had therefore carried him into Ireland, and left him there, that he might be without his counſels or importunities, when he ſhould find it neceſſary to put off his maſk, and to act that part which he foreſaw it would be requiſite to do. Others thought, his parts lay more towards civil affairs; and were fitter for the modelling that government, which his heart was ſet upon, (being a ſcholar, converſant in the law, and in all thoſe authors who had expreſſed the greateſt animoſity and malice againſt the regal government), than for the conduct of an army to ſupport it; his perſonal courage being never reckoned among his other abilities.

What influence ſoever his life might have had upon the future tranſactions, certain it is, his death had none upon the ſtate of Ireland to the King's advantage. The Marquis of Clanrickard left no way unattempted that might apply the viſible ſtrength and power of the Iriſh nation, to the preſervation of themſelves, and to the ſupport of the King's government. He ſent out his orders and warrants for the levying of new men, and to draw the old troops together, and to raiſe money: but few men could be got together, and when they were aſſembled, they could not ſtay together for want of money to pay them: ſo that he could never get a body together

The ill condition of the Marquis of Clanrickard's affairs in Ireland.

to

to march towards the enemy; and if he did prevail with them to march a whole day with him, he found, the next morning, that half of them were run away. And it quickly appeared, that they had made thoſe ample vows and proteſtations, that they might be rid of the Marquis of Ormond, without any purpoſe of obeying the other. The greateſt part of the Popiſh clergy, and all the Iriſh of Ulſter, had no mind to have any relation to the Engliſh nation, and as little to return to their obedience to the Crown. They blamed each other for having deſerted the Nuncio, and thought of nothing but how they might get ſome foreign prince to take them into his protection. They firſt choſe a committee, Plunket and Brown, two lawyers, who had been eminent conductors of the rebellion from the beginning, and men of good parts, and joined others with them, who were in France and Flanders. Then they moved the Lord Deputy, to ſend theſe gentlemen into Flanders "to invite "the Duke of Lorrain to aſſiſt them with arms, money, "and ammunition, undertaking to have good intelli- "gence from thence, that the Duke (who was known "to wiſh well to the King) was well prepared to receive "their deſire, and reſolved, out of his affection to the "King, to engage himſelf cordially in the defence of "that Catholic kingdom, his zeal to that religion being "known to be very great."

The rebels reſolve to invite the Duke of Lorrain thither.

The Marquis of Clanrickard had no opinion of the expedient, or that the Duke would engage himſelf on the behalf of a people who had ſo little reputation in the world, and therefore refuſed to give any commiſſion to thoſe gentlemen, or to any other to that purpoſe, without firſt receiving the King's order, or at leaſt the advice of the Marquis of Ormond, who was known to be ſafely arrived in France. But that was looked upon as

delay,

delay, which their condition could not bear, and the doubting the truth of the intelligence and information of the Duke of Lorrain's being willing to undertake their relief, was imputed to want of good will to receive it. And then all the libels, and ſcandals, and declarations, which had been publiſhed againſt the Marquis of Ormond, were now renewed, with equal malice and virulency, againſt the Marquis of Clanrickard; and they declared, "that God would never bleſs his withered "hand, which had always concurred with Ormond in "the proſecution and perſecution of the Catholics "confederates from the beginning of their engagement "for the defence of their religion; and that he had ſtill "had more converſation with Heretics than with Catho-"lics: that he had refuſed always to ſubmit to the "Pope's authority; and had treated his Nuncio with "leſs reſpect than was due from any good Catholic; "and that all the Catholics who were cheriſhed or "countenanced by him, were of the ſame faction." In the end, he could not longer reſiſt the importunity of the aſſembly of the confederate Catholics, (which was again brought together), and of the biſhops and clergy that governed the other; but gave his conſent to ſend the ſame perſons they recommended to him; and gave them his credentials to the Duke of Lorrain; but required them "punctually to obſerve his own inſtruc-"tions, and not to preſume to depart from them in the "leaſt degree." Their inſtructions were, "to give the "Marquis of Ormond notice of their arrival; and to "ſhew him their inſtructions; and to conclude nothing "without his poſitive advice;" who, he well knew, would communicate all with the Queen; and that likewiſe, "when they came into Flanders, they ſhould ad-"viſe with ſuch of the King's Council as ſhould be there,

" there, and proceed in all things as they ſhould di-
" rect."

What inſtructions ſoever the Lord Deputy preſcribed to them, the commiſſioners received others from the Council and Aſſembly of their Clergy, which they thought more to the purpoſe, and reſolved to follow; by which they were authorized to yield to any conditions which might prevail with the Duke of Lorrain to take them into his protection, and to engage him in their defence, even by delivering all they had of the kingdom into his hands. Though they landed in France, they gave no notice of their buſineſs or their arrival to the Queen, or to the Marquis of Ormond; but proſecuted their journey to Bruſſels, and made their addreſs, with all ſecrecy, to the Duke of Lorrain. There were, at the ſame time, at Antwerp, the Marquis of Newcaſtle, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, (who was newly returned from his embaſſy in Spain), and Secretary Nicholas; all three had been of the King's Council; to neither of whom they ſo much as gave a viſit. And though the Duke of York, during this time, paſſed through Bruſſels, in his journey to Paris; they imparted not their negociations to his Highneſs.

Commiſſioners ſent to him to Bruſſels.

The Duke of Lorrain had a very good mind to get footing in Ireland; where, he was ſure, there wanted no men to make armies enough, which he thought were not like to want courage to defend their country and religion. And the commiſſioners very frankly offered " to deliver " up Galloway, and all the places which were in their " poſſeſſion, into his hands, with the remainder of the " kingdom, as ſoon as it could be reduced; and to obey " him abſolutely as their Prince." But he, as a reſerve to decline the whole, if it appeared to be a deſign fuller of difficulty than he then apprehended, diſcovered much of

his affection to the King, and his reſolution "not to ac-"cept any thing that was propoſed, without his Ma-"jeſty's privity and full approbation." But in the mean time, and till that might be procured, he was content to ſend the Abbot of St. Catharine's, a Lorrainer, and a perſon principally truſted by him, as his ambaſſador into Ireland, to be informed of the true ſtate of that kingdom, and what real ſtrength the confederate Catholics were poſſeſſed of, and at what unity among themſelves. With him he ſent about three or four thouſand piſtoles, to ſupply their preſent neceſſities, and ſome arms and ammunition. The Duke writ to the Lord Deputy the Marquis of Clanrickard, as the King's governor, and the perſon by whoſe authority all thoſe propoſitions had been made to him by the commiſſioners.

The Duke ſends an Abbot into Ireland to be informed of the ſtate of it.

The Abbot upon his arrival (though he was civilly received) quickly found, that the Marquis knew nothing of what the commiſſioners had propoſed or offered; and would by no means ſo much as enter upon any treaty with him; but diſavowed all that they had ſaid or done with much vehemence, and with a proteſtation, "that "he would cauſe their heads to be cut off, if they re-"turned, or came into his hands." And the Marquis did, at the ſame time, write very large letters both to the King, and the Marquis of Ormond, of their preſumption and wickedneſs; and very earneſtly deſired, "that "they might be impriſoned, and kept till they might "undergo a juſt trial."

The Marquis renounces any conſent to the treaty.

As the Marquis expreſſed all poſſible indignation, ſo many of the Catholic nobility, and even ſome of their clergy, who never intended to withdraw their loyalty from the Crown of England, how weakly ſoever they had manifeſted it, indeed all the Iriſh nation, but thoſe

of

of Ulſter, who were of the old Septs, were wonderfully ſcandalized to find that all their ſtrength was to be delivered preſently up into the poſſeſſion of a foreign prince; upon whoſe good nature only, it muſt be preſumed that he would hereafter reſtore it to the King. It was now time for the Popiſh biſhops, and their confederates, to make good what had been offered by the commiſſioners with their authority; which though they thought not fit to own, they uſed all their endeavours now in procuring to have it conſented to, and ratified. They very importunately adviſed, and preſſed the Lord Deputy, "to confirm what had been offered, as the only "viſible means to preſerve the nation, and a root out of "which the King's right might again ſpring and grow "up:" and when they found, that he was ſo far from yielding to what they deſired, that, if he had power, he would proceed againſt them with the utmoſt ſeverity for what they had done, that he would no more give audience to the ambaſſador, and removed from the place where they were, to his own houſe and caſtle at Portumny, to be ſecure from their importunity or violence, they barefaced owned all that the commiſſioners had propounded, "as done by their order, who could make "it good;" and deſired the ambaſſador "to enter into "a treaty with them;" and declared, "that they would "ſign ſuch articles, with which the Duke of Lorrain "ſhould be well ſatisfied." They undervalued the power of the Marquis of Clanrickard, as not able to oppoſe any agreement they ſhould make, nor able to make good any thing he ſhould promiſe himſelf, without their aſſiſtance.

The ambaſſador was a wiſe man, and of phlegm enough; and though he heard all they would ſay, and received any propoſitions they would give him in writ-

ing, yet he quickly diſcerned, that they were ſo unſkilful as to the managery of any great deſign, and ſo diſjointed among themſelves, that they could not be depended upon to any purpoſe; and excuſed himſelf from entering upon any new treaty with them, as having no commiſſion to treat but with the Lord Deputy. But he told them, "he would deliver all that they had, or "would propoſe to him, to the Duke his maſter; who, "he preſumed, would ſpeedily return his anſwer, and "proceed with their commiſſioners in ſuch a manner as "would be grateful to them." So he returned in the ſame ſhip that brought him, and gave the Duke ſuch an account of his voyage, and that people, that put an end to that negociation; which had been entered into, and proſecuted, with leſs warineſs, circumſpection, and good huſbandry, than that Prince was accuſtomed to uſe.

The Abbot returns to the Duke; whereupon the Duke gives over the negociation.

When the ambaſſador was gone, they proſecuted the Deputy, with all reproaches of betraying and ruining his country; and had ſeveral deſigns upon his perſon, and communicated whatever attempt was reſolved to the enemy: yet there were many of the nobility and gentry that continued firm, and adhered to him very faithfully; which defended his perſon from any violence they intended againſt him, but could not ſecure him againſt their acts of treachery, nor keep his counſels from being betrayed. After the defeat of Worceſter was known and publiſhed, they leſs conſidered all they did; and every one thought he was to provide for his own ſecurity that way that ſeemed moſt probable to him; and whoſoever was moſt intent upon that, put on a new face, and application to the Deputy, and loudly urged "the neceſſity of uniting themſelves for the pub-"lic ſafety, which was deſperate any other way:" whilſt

in

in truth every man was negociating for his own indemnity with Ludlow, (who commanded the Engliſh), or for leave to tranſport regiments; which kept the ſoldiers together, as if they had been the Deputy's army.

The Lord Clanrickard diſcovers a correſpondence managed by a friar between the Popiſh Iriſh clergy and Ludlow.

The Deputy had a ſuſpicion of a fellow, who was obſerved every day to go out, and returned not till the next; and appointed an officer of truſt, with ſome horſe, to watch him, and ſearch him; which they did; and found about him a letter, which contained many reproaches againſt the Marquis, and the intelligence of many particulars; which the meſſenger was carrying to Ludlow. It was quickly diſcovered that the letter was written by one Father Cohogan, a Franciſcan friar in Galloway; where the Deputy then was; but much of the intelligence was ſuch as could not be known by him, but muſt come from ſome who were in the moſt private conſultations. The Deputy cauſed the friar to be impriſoned, and reſolved to proceed exemplarily againſt him, after he had firſt diſcovered his complices. The friar confeſſed the letter to be of his writing, but refuſed to anſwer to any other queſtion; and demanded his privilege of a churchman, and not to be tried by the Deputy's order. The concluſion was, the Popiſh biſhops cauſed him to be taken out of the priſon; and ſent to the Deputy, "that if he would ſend to "them his evidence againſt the friar, who was an eccle-"ſiaſtical perſon, they would take care that juſtice "ſhould be done."

This proceeding convinced the Deputy, that he ſhould not be able to do the King any ſervice in that company; nor durſt he ſtay longer in that town, leſt they ſhould make their own peace by delivering up him and the town together; which they would have made no ſcruple to have done. From that time he removed

from place to place, not daring to lodge twice in the ſame place together, leſt he ſhould be betrayed; and ſometimes without any accommodations: ſo that, not having been accuſtomed to thoſe hardſhips, he contracted thoſe diſeaſes which he could never recover. In this manner he continued till he received commands from the King. For as ſoon as he had advertiſement of the King's arrival at Paris, and it was very evident, by the behaviour of the Iriſh, that they would be no more applied to the King's ſervice under his command than under the Marquis of Ormond, he ſent the Earl of Caſtlehaven (who had been formerly a general of the confederate Catholics, and remained with great conſtancy with the Marquis of Clanrickard, as long as there was any hope) to the King, with ſo particular an account, under his own hand, of all that had paſſed, from the time that he had received his commiſſion from the Marquis of Ormond, that it even contained almoſt a diary, in which he made ſo lively a deſcription of the proceedings of the Iriſh, of their overtures to the Duke of Lorrain, and of their ſeveral tergiverſations and treacheries towards him, that any man might diſcern, eſpecially they who knew the generoſity of the Marquis, his nature, and his cuſtom of living, that he had ſubmitted to a life very uncomfortable and melancholic; and deſired his Majeſty's leave that he might retire, and procure a paſs to go into England; where he had ſome eſtate of his own, and many friends, who would not ſuffer him to ſtarve; which his Majeſty made haſte to ſend to him, with as great a teſtimony of his gracious acceptation of his ſervice and affection, as his ſingular merit deſerved.

He ſends the Earl of Caſtlehaven to give an account of all to the King.

The King ſends him leave to retire.

Thereupon the Marquis ſent to Ludlow for a paſs to go into England, and render himſelf to the Parliament; which

which he presently sent him; and so the Marquis transported himself to London; where he was civilly treated by all men, as a man who had many friends, and could have no enemies but those who could not be friends to any. But by the infirmities he had contracted in Ireland, by those severe fatigues and distresses he had been exposed to, he lived not to the end of a year; and had resolved, upon the recovery of any degree of health, to have transported himself to the King, and attended his fortune. He left behind him so full a relation of all material passages, as well from the beginning of that rebellion, as during the time of his own administration, that I have been the less particular in the accounts of what passed in the transactions of that kingdom, presuming that more exact work of his will, in due time, be communicated to the world.

The Marquis gets a pass from Ludlow, and goes into England, and dies within a year.

The affairs of the three nations being in this posture at the end of the year 1652, and there being new accidents, and alterations of a very extraordinary nature, in the year following, which were attended with much variety of success, though not with that benefit to the King as might have been expected naturally from those emotions, we shall here conclude this book, and reserve the other for the next.

THE END OF THE THIRTEENTH BOOK.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

REBELLION, &c.

BOOK XIV.

JOB xx. 19, 22.

Becauſe he hath oppreſſed and hath forſaken the poor; becauſe he hath violently taken away an houſe which he built not: In the fulneſs of his ſufficiency he ſhall be in ſtraits; every hand of the wicked ſhall come upon him.

JOB xxvii. 15.

Thoſe that remain of him ſhall be buried in death, and his widows ſhall not weep.

HAD not God reſerved the deliverance and reſtoration of the King to himſelf, and reſolved to accompliſh it when there appeared leaſt hope of it, and leaſt worldly means to bring it to paſs; there happened at this time another very great alteration in England, that, together with the continuance of the war with Holland, and affronts every day offered to France, might very reaſonably have adminiſtered great hopes to the King of a ſpeedy change of government there. From the time of the defeat at Worceſter, and the reduction of Scotland

land and Ireland to perfect obedience, Cromwell did not find the Parliament ſo ſupple to obſerve his orders, as he expected they would have been. The Preſbyterian party, which he had diſcountenanced all he could, and made his army of the Independent party, were bold in contradicting him in the Houſe, and croſſing all his deſigns in the city, and exceedingly inveighed againſt the licence that was practiſed in religion, by the ſeveral factions of Independents, Anabaptiſts, and the ſeveral ſpecies of theſe; who contemned all magiſtrates, and the laws eſtabliſhed. All theſe, how contradictory ſoever to one another, Cromwell cheriſhed and protected, that he might not be overrun by the Preſbyterians; of whom the time was not yet come that he could make uſe: yet he ſeemed to ſhew much reſpect to ſome principal preachers of that party; and conſulted much with them, how the diſtempers in religion might be compoſed.

Though he had been forward enough to enter upon the war of Holland, that ſo there might be no propoſition made for the diſbanding any part of his army, which otherwiſe could not be prevented, yet he found the expence of it was ſo great, that the nation could never bear that addition of burden to the other of land forces; which how apparent ſoever, he ſaw the Parliament ſo fierce for the carrying on that war, that they would not hearken to any reaſonable conditions of peace; which the Dutch appeared moſt ſolicitous to make upon any terms. But that which troubled him moſt, was the jealouſy that his own party of Independents, and other ſectaries, had contracted againſt him: that party, that had advanced him to the height he was at, and made him ſuperior to all oppoſition, even his beloved Vane thought his power and authority to be too great

great for a commonwealth, and that he and his army had not dependence enough upon, or ſubmiſſion to, the Parliament. So that he found thoſe who had exalted him, now moſt ſolicitous to bring him lower; and he knew well enough what any diminution of his power and authority muſt quickly be attended with. He obſerved, that thoſe his old friends very frankly united themſelves with his and their old enemies, the Preſbyterians, for the proſecution of the war with Holland, and obſtructing all the overtures towards peace; which muſt, in a ſhort time, exhauſt the ſtock, and conſequently diſturb any ſettlement in the kingdom.

Cromwell erects another Council of Officers; who expoſtulate with the Parliament about their arrears, and their own diſſolution.

In this perplexity he reſorts to his old remedy, his army; and again erects another Council of Officers, who, under the ſtyle, firſt, of petitions, and then of remonſtrances, interpoſed in whatſoever had any relation to the army; uſed great importunity for "the arrears "of their pay; that they might not be compelled to "take free quarter upon their fellow ſubjects, who al- "ready paid ſo great contributions and taxes; which "they were well aſſured, if well managed, would abun- "dantly defray all the charges of the war, and of the "government." The ſharp anſwers the Parliament gave to their addreſſes, and the reprehenſions for their preſumption in meddling with matters above them, gave the army new matter to reply to; and put them in mind of ſome former profeſſions they had made, "that "they would be glad to be eaſed of the burden of their "employment; and that there might be ſucceſſive "Parliaments to undergo the ſame trouble they had "done." They therefore deſired them, "that they "would remember how many years they had ſate; and "though they had done great things, yet it was a great "injury to the reſt of the nation, to be utterly excluded

"from

" from bearing any part in the ſervice of their country
" by their engroſſing the whole power into their hands;
" and thereupon beſought them, that they would ſettle a
" Council for the adminiſtration of the government dur-
" ing the interval, and then diſſolve themſelves, and
" ſummon a new Parliament; which," they told them,
" would be the moſt popular action they could per-
" form."

Theſe addreſſes in the name of the army, being confidently delivered by ſome officers of it, and as confidently ſeconded by others who were members of the Houſe, it was thought neceſſary, that they ſhould receive a ſolemn debate, to the end that when the Parliament had declared its reſolution and determination, all perſons might be obliged to acquieſce therein, and ſo there would be an end put to all addreſſes of that kind.

The Parliament debate about the period of their ſitting.

There were many members of the Houſe, who, either from the juſtice and reaſon of the requeſt, or ſeaſonably to comply with the ſenſe of the army, to which they foreſaw they ſhould be at laſt compelled to ſubmit, ſeemed to think it neceſſary, for abating the great envy, which was confeſſedly againſt the Parliament throughout the kingdom, that they ſhould be diſſolved, to the end the people might make a new election of ſuch perſons as they thought fit to truſt with their liberty and property, and whatſoever was deareſt to them. But Mr. Martyn told them, " that he thought they might " find the beſt advice from the Scripture, what they " were to do in this particular: that when Moſes was " found upon the river, and brought to Pharaoh's " daughter, ſhe took care that the mother might be " found out, to whoſe care he might be committed " to be nurſed; which ſucceeded very happily." He ſaid,

Harry Martyn's application of the ſtory of Moſes to this purpoſe.

ſaid, "their commonwealth was yet an infant, of a "weak growth, and a very tender conſtitution; and "therefore his opinion was, that nobody could be ſo "fit to nurſe it, as the mother who brought it forth; "and that they ſhould not think of putting it under "any other hands, until it had obtained more years "and vigour." To which he added, "that they had "another infant too under their hands, the war with "Holland, which had thrived wonderfully under their "conduct; but he much doubted that it would be "quickly ſtrangled, if it were taken out of their care "who had hitherto governed it."

Theſe reaſons prevailed ſo far, that, whatſoever was ſaid to the contrary, it was determined, that the Parliament would not yet think of diſſolving, nor would take it well, that any perſons ſhould take the preſumption any more to make overtures to them of that nature, which was not fit for private and particular perſons to meddle with: and, to put a ſeaſonable ſtop to any farther preſumption of that kind, they appointed a committee "ſpeedily to prepare an Act of Parliament for "the filling up of their Houſe; and by which it ſhould "be declared to be high treaſon, for any man to pro-"poſe or contrive the changing of the preſent govern-"ment ſettled and eſtabliſhed."

The Parliament determined, that they would not yet think of diſſolving

This bill being prepared by the committee, they reſolved to paſs it with all poſſible expedition. So Cromwell clearly diſcerned, that by this means they would never be perſuaded to part with that authority and power, which was ſo profitable, and ſo pleaſant to them: yet the army declared they were not ſatisfied with the determination, and continued their applications to the ſame purpoſe, or to others as unagreeable to the ſenſe of the Houſe; and did all they could to infuſe the

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ſame ſpirit into all the parts of the kingdom, to make the Parliament odious, as it was already very abundantly; and Cromwell was well pleaſed that the Parliament ſhould expreſs as much prejudice againſt the army.

All things being thus prepared, Cromwell thought this a good ſeaſon to expoſe theſe enemies of peace to the indignation of the nation; which, he knew, was generally weary of the war, and hoped, if that were at an end, that they ſhould be eaſed of the greateſt part of their contributions, and other impoſitions: thereupon, having adjuſted all things with the chief officers of the army, who were at his devotion, in the month of April, that was in the year 1653, he came into the Houſe of Parliament in a morning when it was ſitting, attended with the officers, who were likewiſe members of the Houſe, and told them, "that he came thither to put "an end to their power and authority; which they had "managed ſo ill, that the nation could be no otherwiſe "preſerved than by their diſſolution; which he ad-"viſed them, without farther debate, quietly to ſubmit "unto."

Cromwell and his officers diſſolve the Parliament.

Thereupon another officer, with ſome files of muſqueteers, entered into the Houſe, and ſtayed there till all the members walked out; Cromwell reproaching many of the members by name, as they went out of the Houſe, with their vices and corruptions, and amongſt the reſt, Sir Harry Vane with his breach of faith and corruption; and having given the mace to an officer to be ſafely kept, he cauſed the doors to be locked up; and ſo diſſolved that aſſembly, which had ſat almoſt thirteen years, and under whoſe name he had wrought ſo much miſchief, and reduced three kingdoms to his own entire obedience and ſubjection, without any example or precedent in the Chriſtian world that could

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raiſe his ambition to ſuch a preſumptuous undertaking, and without any rational dependence upon the friendſhip of one man, who had any other intereſt to advance his deſigns, but what he had given him by preferring him in the war.

When he had thus proſperouſly paſſed this Rubicon, he loſt no time in publiſhing a declaration of the grounds and reaſons of his proceeding, for the ſatisfaction of the people: in which he put them in mind, "how miraculouſly God had appeared for them in reducing Ireland and Scotland to ſo great a degree of peace, and England to a perfect quiet; whereby the Parliament had opportunity to give the people the harveſt of all their labour, blood, and treaſure, and to ſettle a due liberty in reference to civil and ſpiritual things, whereunto they were obliged by their duty, and thoſe great and wonderful things God had wrought for them. But that they had made ſo little progreſs towards this good end, that it was matter of much grief to the good people of the land, who had thereupon applied themſelves to the army, expecting redreſs by their means; who, being very unwilling to meddle with the civil authority, thought fit that ſome officers, who were members of the Parliament, ſhould move and deſire the Parliament to proceed vigorouſly in reforming what was amiſs in the Commonwealth, and in ſettling it upon a foundation of juſtice and righteouſneſs: that they found this, and ſome other endeavours they had uſed, produced no good effect, but rather an averſeneſs to the things themſelves, with much bitterneſs and averſion to the people of God, and his Spirit acting in them: inſomuch as the godly party in the army was now become of no other uſe, than to countenance the ends of a corrupt party, that

"de-

" deſired to perpetuate themſelves in the ſupreme go-
" vernment of the nation: that, for the obviating thoſe
" evils, the officers of the army had obtained ſeveral
" meetings with ſome members of the Parliament, to
" conſider what remedies might properly be applied;
" but that it appeared very evident unto them, that the
" Parliament, by want of attendance of many of their
" members, and want of integrity in others who did at-
" tend, would never anſwer thoſe ends, which God, his
" people, and the whole nation, expected from them:
" but that this cauſe, which God had ſo greatly bleſſed,
" muſt needs languiſh under their hands, and by de-
" grees be loſt, and the lives, liberties, and comforts of
" his people, be delivered into their enemies' hands.
" All which being ſeriouſly and ſadly conſidered by the
" honeſt people of the nation, as well as by the army,
" it ſeemed a duty incumbent upon them, who had
" ſeen ſo much of the power and preſence of God, to
" conſider of ſome effectual means, whereby to eſtabliſh
" righteouſneſs and peace in theſe nations: that, after
" much debate, it had been judged neceſſary, that the
" ſupreme government ſhould be, by the Parliament,
" devolved for a time upon known perſons, fearing
" God, and of approved integrity, as the moſt hopeful
" way to countenance all God's people, preſerve the
" law, and adminiſter juſtice impartially; hoping there-
" by, that people might forget monarchy, and under-
" ſtand their true intereſt in the election of ſucceſſive
" Parliaments, and ſo the government might be ſettled
" upon a right baſis, without hazard to this glorious
" cauſe, or neceſſity to keep up armies for the defence
" thereof: that being reſolved, if poſſible, to decline
" all extraordinary courſes, they had prevailed with
" about twenty members of the Parliament to give

" them

"them a conference; with whom they debated the "juſtice and neceſſity of that propoſition; but found "them of ſo contrary an opinion, that they inſiſted "upon the continuance of the preſent Parliament, as it "was then conſtituted, as the only way to bring thoſe "good things to paſs which they ſeemed to deſire: "that they inſiſted upon this with ſo much vehemence, "and were ſo much tranſported with paſſion, that they "cauſed a bill to be prepared for the perpetuating this "Parliament, and inveſting the ſupreme power in them-"ſelves. And for the preventing the conſummation of "this act, and all the ſad and evil conſequences, "which, upon the grounds thereof, muſt have enſued, "and whereby, at one blow, the intereſt of all honeſt "men, and of this glorious cauſe, had been in danger "to be laid in the duſt, they had been neceſſitated "(though with much repugnance) to put an end to the "Parliament."

There needs not be any other deſcription of the temper of the nation at that time, than the remembering that the diſſolution of that body of men, who had reigned ſo long over the three nations, was generally very grateful and acceptable to the people, how unuſual ſoever the circumſtances thereof had been; and that this declaration, which was not only ſubſcribed by Cromwell and his Council of Officers, but was owned by the admirals at ſea, and all the captains of ſhips, and by the commanders of all the land forces in England, Scotland, and Ireland, was looked upon as very reaſonable; and the declaration, that iſſued thereupon, by which the people were required to live peaceably, and quietly to ſubmit themſelves to the government of the Council of State, which ſhould be nominated by the General, until ſuch a time as a Parliament, conſiſting

of perſons of approved fidelity and honeſty, could meet, and take upon them the government of thoſe nations, found an equal ſubmiſſion and obedience.

The method he purſued afterwards, for the compoſing a government, by firſt putting it into a moſt ridiculous confuſion, and by diveſting himſelf of all pretences to authority, and putting what he had no title to keep into the hands of men ſo well choſen, that they ſhould ſhortly after delegate the power in form of law to him for the preſervation of the nation, was not leſs admirable; and puts me in mind of what Seneca ſaid of Pompey, "that he had brought the people of Rome to "that paſs, by magnifying their power and authority, "*ut ſalvus eſſe non poſſit niſi beneficio ſervitutis.*" And if Cromwell had not now made himſelf a tyrant, all bonds being broken, and the univerſal guilt diverting all inclinations to return to the King's obedience, they muſt have periſhed together in ſuch a confuſion, as would rather have expoſed them as a prey to foreigners, than diſpoſed them to the only reaſonable way for their preſervation; there being no man that durſt mention the King, or the old form of government.

It was upon the twentieth of April that the Parliament had been diſſolved; and though Cromwell found that the people were ſatisfied in it, and the declaration publiſhed thereupon, yet he knew it would be neceſſary to provide ſome other viſible power to ſettle the government, than the Council of Officers; all whom he was not ſure he ſhould be able long entirely to govern, many of them having clear other notions of a republic than he was willing England ſhould be brought to. A Parliament was ſtill a name of more veneration than any other aſſembly of men was like to be, and the contempt the laſt was fallen into was like to teach the

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next to behave itſelf with more diſcretion. However the ice was broken for diſſolving them, when they ſhould do otherwiſe; yet he was not ſo well ſatisfied in the general temper, as to truſt the election of them to the humour and inclination of the people.

Cromwell and his officers chooſe a Parliament.

He reſolved therefore to chooſe them himſelf, that he might with the more juſtice unmake them when he ſhould think fit; and with the advice of his Council of Officers, for he made yet no other council of ſtate, he made choice of a number of men, conſiſting of above one hundred perſons, who ſhould meet as a Parliament to ſettle the government of the nation. It can hardly be believed that ſo wild a notion ſhould fall into any man's imagination, that ſuch a people ſhould be fit to contribute towards any ſettlement, or that from their actions any thing could reſult, that might advance his particular deſign. Yet, upon the view and conſideration of the perſons made choice of, many did conclude, "that he had made his own ſcheme entirely to "himſelf; and though he communicated it with no "man that was known, concluded it the moſt natural "way to ripen and produce the effects it did after-"wards, to the end he propoſed to himſelf."

Conditions and qualities of the perſons nominated.

There were amongſt them divers of the quality and degree of gentlemen, and who had eſtates, and ſuch a proportion of credit and reputation, as could conſiſt with the guilt they had contracted. But much the major part of them conſiſted of inferior perſons, of no quality or name, artificers of the meaneſt trades, known only by their gifts in praying and preaching; which was now practiſed by all degrees of men, but ſcholars, throughout the kingdom. In which number, that there may be a better judgment made of the reſt, it will not be amiſs to name one, from whom that Parliament

From one of the members, this was nick-named Praiſe-God Barebone's Parliament.

itſelf was afterwards denominated, who was Praiſe-God (that was his Chriſtian name) Barebone, a leather-ſeller in Fleet Street, from whom (he being an eminent ſpeaker in it) it was afterwards called Praiſe-God Barebone's Parliament. In a word, they were generally a pack of weak ſenſeleſs fellows, fit only to bring the name and reputation of Parliaments lower than it was yet.

Cromwell calls them together by his own warrant to meet July 4.

It was fit theſe new men ſhould be brought together by ſome new way: and a very new way it was; for Cromwell by his warrants, directed to every one of them, telling them "of the neceſſity of diſſolving the late "Parliament, and of an equal neceſſity, that the peace, "ſafety, and good government of the Commonwealth "ſhould be provided for, and therefore that he had, by "the advice of his Council of Officers, nominated divers "perſons fearing God, and of approved fidelity and ho-"neſty, to whom the great charge and truſt of ſo "weighty affairs was to be committed, and that having "good aſſurance of their love to, and courage for God, "and the intereſt of his cauſe, and the good people of "this Commonwealth;" he concluded in theſe words, "I, Oliver Cromwell, Captain General and Commander "in Chief of all the forces raiſed, or to be raiſed, within "this Commonwealth, do hereby ſummon and require "you perſonally to be and appear at the Council-"Chamber at Whitehall, upon the fourth day of July "next, then and there to take upon you the ſaid truſt. "And you are hereby called and appointed to ſerve as "a member of the county of," &c. Upon this wild ſummons, the perſons ſo nominated appeared at the Council-Chamber upon the fourth of July, which was near three months after the diſſolution of the former Parliament.

Crom-

Cromwell, with his Council of Officers, was ready to receive them, and made them a long diſcourſe of "the "fear of God, and the honour due to his name," full of texts of Scripture; and remembered "the wonderful "mercies of God to this nation, and the continued ſe- "ries of providence, by which he had appeared in car- "rying on his cauſe, and bringing affairs into that pre- "ſent glorious condition, wherein they now were." He put them in mind of "the noble actions of the "army in the famous victory of Worceſter, of the ap- "plications they had made to the Parliament, for a "good ſettlement of all the affairs of the Common- "wealth, the neglect whereof made it abſolutely ne- "ceſſary to diſſolve it." He aſſured them by many arguments, ſome of which were urged out of Scripture, "that they had a very lawful call to take upon them "the ſupreme authority of the nation;" and concluded with a very earneſt deſire, "that great tenderneſs might "be uſed towards all conſcientious perſons, of what "judgment ſoever they appeared to be." Cromwell ſpeaks to them, and delivers them an inſtrument for their authority.

When he had finiſhed his diſcourſe, he delivered to them an inſtrument, engroſſed in parchment under his hand and ſeal, whereby, with the advice of his Council of Officers, he did devolve and entruſt the ſupreme authority of this Commonwealth into the hands of thoſe perſons therein mentioned; and declared, "that they, "or any forty of them, were to be held and acknow- "ledged the ſupreme authority of the nation, to which "all perſons within the ſame, and the territories there- "unto belonging, were to yield obedience and ſubjec- "tion to the third day of the month of November, "which ſhould be in the year 1654," which was about a year and three months from the time that he ſpoke to them; and three months before the time preſcribed

ſhould expire, they were to make choice of other perſons to ſucceed them, whoſe power and authority ſhould not exceed one year, and then they were likewiſe to provide and take care for a like ſucceſſion in the government. Being thus inveſted with this authority, they repaired to the Parliament Houſe, and made choice of one Rouſe to be their Speaker, an old gentleman of Devonſhire, who had been a member of the former Parliament, and in that time been preferred and made Provoſt of the College of Eton, which office he then enjoyed, with an opinion of having ſome knowledge in the Latin and Greek tongues, but of a very mean underſtanding, but throughly engaged in the guilt of the times.

They repair to the Parliament Houſe, and chooſe Rouſe their Speaker.

At their firſt coming together, ſome of them had the modeſty to doubt, that they were not in many reſpects ſo well qualified as to take upon them the ſtyle and title of a Parliament. But that modeſty was quickly ſubdued, and they were eaſily perſuaded to aſſume that title, and to conſider themſelves as the ſupreme authority in the nation. Theſe men thus brought together continued in this capacity near ſix months, to the amazement and even mirth of the people. In which time they never entered upon any grave and ſerious debate, that might tend to any ſettlement, but generally expreſſed great ſharpneſs and animoſity againſt the clergy, and againſt all learning, out of which they thought the clergy had grown, and ſtill would grow.

They aſſume the name of a Parliament.

Their actings and conſultations.

There were now no biſhops for them to be angry with; they had already reduced all that order to the loweſt diſtreſs. But their quarrel was againſt all who had called themſelves miniſters, and who, by being called ſo, received tithes, and reſpect from their neighbours. They looked upon the function itſelf to be Anti-Chriſtian,

Chriſtian, and the perſons to be burdenſome to the people, and the requiring and payment of tithes to be abſolute Judaiſm, and they thought fit that they ſhould be aboliſhed altogether; and that there might not for the time to come be any race of people who might revive thoſe pretences, they propoſed, "that all lands belonging to the Univerſities, and Colleges in thoſe Univerſities, might be ſold, and the monies that ſhould ariſe thereby, be diſpoſed for the public ſervice, and to eaſe the people from the payment of taxes and contributions."

When they had tired and perplexed themſelves ſo long in ſuch debates, as ſoon as they were met in the morning upon the twelfth of December, and before many of them were come who were like to diſſent from the motion, one of them ſtood up and declared, "that he did believe, they were not equal to the burden that was laid upon them, and therefore that they might diſſolve themſelves, and deliver back their authority into their hands from whom they had received it;" which being preſently conſented to, their Speaker, with thoſe who were of that mind, went to Whitehall, and redelivered to Cromwell the inſtrument they had received from him, acknowledged their own impotency, and beſought him to take care of the Commonwealth. On the 12th of December they delivered up their power to Cromwell.

By this frank donation he and his Council of Officers were once more poſſeſſed of the ſupreme ſovereign power of the nation. And in few days after, his Council were too modeſt to ſhare with him in this royal authority, but declared, "that the government of the Commonwealth ſhould reſide in a ſingle perſon; that that perſon ſhould be Oliver Cromwell, Captain General of all the forces in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and that his title ſhould be Lord Protector of Cromwell and his Council of Officers make him Lord Protector.

"the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, "and of the dominions and territories thereunto belong-"ing; and that he ſhould have a council of one "and twenty perſons to be aſſiſtant to him in the go-"vernment."

Moſt men did now conclude, that the folly and ſottiſhneſs of this laſt aſſembly was ſo much foreſeen, that, from their very firſt coming together, it was determined what ſhould follow their diſſolution. For the method that ſucceeded could hardly have been compoſed in ſo ſhort a time after, by perſons who had not conſulted upon the contingency ſome time before. It was upon the twelfth of December, that the ſmall Parliament was diſſolved, when many of the members, who came to the Houſe as to their uſual conſultations, found that they who came before, were gone to Whitehall to be diſſolved; which the other never thought of: and upon the ſixteenth day, the Commiſſioners of the Great Seal, with the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, were ſent for to attend Cromwell and his Council to Weſtminſter-Hall; it being then vacation-time; and being come thither, the Commiſſioners ſitting upon their uſual ſeat, and not knowing why they were ſent for, the declaration of the Council of Officers was read, whereby Cromwell was made Protector; who ſtood in the Court uncovered, whilſt what was contained in a piece of parchment was read, which was called the *Inſtrument of Government*; whereby it was ordained, "that the Protector ſhould "call a Parliament once in every three years; that the "firſt Parliament ſhould be convened upon the third "day of September following, which would be in the "year 1654; and that he ſhould not diſſolve any Par-"liament once met, till they had ſate five months; that "ſuch bills as ſhould be preſented to him by the Par-"liament,

December 16, he is inſtalled in Weſtminſter-Hall according to an inſtrument of government.

The ſubſtance of it

" liament, if they ſhould not be confirmed by him " within twenty days, ſhould paſs without him, and be " looked upon as laws: that he ſhould have a ſelect " Council to aſſiſt him, which ſhould not exceed the " number of one and twenty, nor be leſs than thirteen: " that immediately after his death the Council ſhould " chooſe another Protector before they roſe: that no " Protector after him ſhould be General of the army: " that the Protector ſhould have power to make peace " and war; that, with the conſent of his Council, he " ſhould make laws, which ſhould be binding to the " ſubjects during the intervals of Parliament."

Whilſt this was reading, Cromwell had his hand upon the Bible; and it being read, he took his oath, " that " he would not violate any thing that was contained in " that inſtrument of government; but would obſerve, " and cauſe the ſame to be obſerved; and in all things, " according to the beſt of his underſtanding, govern " the nation according to the laws, ſtatutes, and cuſ- " toms, ſeeking peace, and cauſing juſtice and law to be " equally adminiſtered." Cromwell takes an oath to obſerve it.

This new invented ceremony being in this manner performed, he himſelf was covered, and all the reſt bare; and Lambert, who was then the ſecond perſon in the army, carried the ſword before his Highneſs (which was the ſtyle he took from thenceforth) to his coach, all they whom he called into it ſitting bare; and ſo he returned to Whitehall; and immediately proclamation was made by a herald, in the Palace-yard at Weſtminſter, " that the late Parliament having diſſolved them- " ſelves, and reſigned their whole power and authority, " the government of the Commonwealth of England, " Scotland, and Ireland, by a Lord Protector, and ſuc- " ceſſive triennial Parliaments, was now eſtabliſhed: and He is proclaimed Protector.

" whereas

" whereas Oliver Cromwell, Captain General of all the " forces of the Commonwealth, is declared Lord Pro- " tector of the ſaid nations, and had accepted thereof, " publication was now made of the ſame; and all per- " ſons, of what quality or condition ſoever, in any of " the ſaid three nations, were ſtrictly charged and com- " manded to take notice thereof, and to conform and " ſubmit themſelves to the government ſo eſtabliſhed; " and all ſheriffs, mayors, &c. were required to publiſh " this proclamation, to the end that none might have " cauſe to pretend ignorance therein." Which proclamation was at the ſame time publiſhed in Cheapſide by the Lord Mayor of London; and, with all poſſible expedition, by the ſheriffs, and other officers, throughout England, Scotland, and Ireland. And in ſome time after, the city of London invited their new Protector to a very ſplendid entertainment at Grocers' Hall, upon an Aſh-Wedneſday; the ſtreets being railed, and the ſolemnity of his reception ſuch as had been at any time performed to the King: and he, as like a King, graciouſly conferred the honour of knighthood upon the Lord Mayor at his departure.

The city invites him to Grocers' Hall.

In this manner, and with ſo little pains, this extraordinary man, without any other reaſon than becauſe he had a mind to it, and without the aſſiſtance, and againſt the deſire of all noble perſons or men of quality, or of any number of men, who, in the beginning of the troubles, were poſſeſſed of three hundred pounds lands by the year, mounted himſelf into the throne of three kingdoms, without the name of King, but with a greater power and authority than had ever been exerciſed or claimed by any King; and received greater evidence and manifeſtation of reſpect and eſteem from all the Kings and Princes in Chriſtendom, than have ever been

been ſhewed to any Monarch of thoſe nations: which was ſo much the more notorious, in that they all abhorred him, when they trembled at his power, and courted his friendſhip.

Though, during this laſt year's unſettlement in England, Cromwell had, *ex plenitudine poteſtatis*, taken care that there was a good winter guard of ſhips in the Downs, yet the Dutch had enjoyed a very fruitful harveſt of trade during that confuſion, and ſuſpenſion of power; and had ſent out their fleets of merchantmen under a convoy, by the north of Scotland; and, by the return of that convoy, received their fleet from the Baltic with ſecurity: ſo that, upon the hope thoſe domeſtic contentions in England would not be ſo ſoon compoſed, they begun to recover their ſpirits again. But Cromwell had no ſooner broke the long Parliament, but, with great diligence, he cauſed a ſtrong fleet to be made ready againſt the ſpring; and committed the command thereof to three admirals jointly; Blake, a man well known, but not thought entirely enough devoted to Cromwell; Monk, whom he called out of Scotland as his own creature; and Dean, a mere ſeaman, grown, from a common mariner, to the reputation of a bold and excellent officer.

A fleet this year, 1653, ſet forth under three admirals.

This fleet, in the beginning of June in the year 1653, met with the Dutch about the middle ſeas over between Dover and Zealand; and made what haſte they could to engage them. But the wind not being favourable, it was noon before the fight begun; which continued very ſharp till the night parted them, without any viſible advantage to either ſide, ſave that Dean, one of the Engliſh Admirals, was killed by a cannon ſhot from the Rear-Admiral of the Dutch. The next morning, the Dutch having the advantage of the ſmall wind that was, the

the Engliſh charged ſo furiouſly upon the thickeſt part of them, without diſcharging any of their guns till they were at a very ſmall diſtance, that they broke their ſquadrons; and in the end forced them to fly, and make all the ſail they could for their own coaſts, leaving behind them eleven of their ſhips; which were all taken; beſides ſix which were ſunk. The execution on the Dutch was very great, as was likewiſe the number of the priſoners, as well officers as ſoldiers. The loſs of the Engliſh was greateſt in their General Dean: there was, beſides him, but one captain, and about two hundred common ſeamen, killed: the number of the wounded was greater; nor did they loſe one ſhip, nor were ſo diſabled but that they followed with the whole fleet to the coaſt of Holland, whither the other fled; and being got into the Flie, and the Texel, the Engliſh for ſome time blocked them up in their own harbours, taking all ſuch ſhips as came bound for thoſe parts.

The Dutch beaten at ſea in June.

This great defeat ſo humbled the States, that they made all poſſible haſte to ſend four commiſſioners into England to mediate for a treaty, and a ceſſation of arms; who were received very loftily by Cromwell, and with ſome reprehenſion for their want of warineſs in entering into ſo unequal a contention: yet he declared a gracious inclination to a treaty, till the concluſion whereof he could admit no ceſſation; which being known in Holland, they would not ſtay ſo long under the reproach and diſadvantage of being beſieged, and ſhut up in their ports; but made all poſſible haſte to prepare another fleet, ſtrong enough to remove the Engliſh from their coaſts; which they believed was the beſt expedient to advance their treaty: and there cannot be a greater inſtance of the opulency of that people, than that they ſhould be able, after ſo many loſſes,

The Dutch ſend four commiſſioners to treat of peace.

loſſes, and ſo late a great defeat, in ſo ſhort a time to ſet out a fleet ſtrong enough to viſit thoſe who had ſo lately overcome them, and who ſhut them within their ports.

Their Admiral Trump had, with ſome of the fleet, retired into the Wierings, at too great a diſtance from the other ports for the Engliſh fleet to divide itſelf. He had, with a marvellous induſtry, cauſed his hurt ſhips to be repaired; and more ſevere puniſhment to be inflicted on thoſe who had behaved themſelves cowardly, than had ever been uſed in that State. And the States publiſhed ſo great and ample rewards to all officers and ſeamen who would, in that conjuncture, repair to their ſervice, that by the end of July, within leſs than two months after their defeat, he came out of the Wierings with a fleet of ninety and five men of war; which as ſoon as the Engliſh had notice of, they made towards him. But the wind riſing, they were forced to ſtand more to ſea, for fear of the ſands and ſhelves upon that coaſt. Whereupon Van Trump, all that night, ſtood into the Texel; where he joined five and twenty more of their beſt ſhips; and with this addition, which made an hundred and twenty ſail, he faced the Engliſh; who, being at this time under the command of Monk alone, kept ſtill to the ſea; and having got a little more room, and the weather being a little clearer, tacked about, and were received by the Dutch with great courage and gallantry.

Trump comes to ſea with another fleet before the end of July.

The battle continued very hot, and bloody on both ſides, from ſix of the clock in the morning till one in the afternoon; when the Admiral of Holland, the famous Van Trump, whilſt he very ſignally performed the office of a brave and bold commander, was ſhot with a muſquet bullet into the heart, of which he fell dead without

Another fea fight: Trump ſlain: the Engliſh g. the victory

ſpeaking

ſpeaking word. This blow broke the courage of the reſt; who ſeeing many of their companions burnt and ſunk, after having endured very hot ſervice, before the evening, fled, and made all the ſail they could towards the Texel: the Engliſh were not in a condition to purſue them; but found themſelves obliged to retire to their own coaſt, both to preſerve and mend their maimed and torn ſhips, and refreſh their wounded men.

This battle was the moſt bloody that had been yet fought, both ſides rather endeavouring the deſtruction of their enemy's fleet than the taking their ſhips. On the Hollanders' part, between twenty and thirty of their ſhips of war were fired, or ſunk, and above one thouſand priſoners taken. The victory coſt the Engliſh dear too; for four hundred common men and eight captains were ſlain outright, and above ſeven hundred common men and five captains wounded. But they loſt only one ſhip, which was burned; and two or three more, though carried home, were diſabled for farther ſervice. The moſt ſenſible part of the loſs to the Dutch was the death of their admiral Van Trump, who, in reſpect of his maritime experience, and the frequent actions he had been engaged in, might very well be reckoned amongſt the moſt eminent commanders at ſea of that age, and to whoſe memory his country is farther indebted than they have yet acknowledged.

This was the laſt engagement at ſea between the two Commonwealths: for as the Dutch were, by this laſt defeat, and loſs of their brave admiral, totally diſpirited, and gave their commiſſioners at London order to proſecute the peace upon any conditions, ſo Cromwell, being by this time become Protector, was weary enough of ſo chargeable a war, and knew he had much to do to ſettle

Cromwell makes peace with the Dutch Apr. 1654.

ſettle the government at home, and that he might chooſe more convenient enemies abroad, who would neither be able to defend themſelves as well, or to do him ſo much harm, as the Hollanders had done, and could do. And therefore when he had drawn the Dutch to accept of ſuch conditions as he thought fit to give them; among which one was, "that they ſhould "not ſuffer any of the King's party, or any enemy to "the Commonwealth of England, to reſide within their "dominions:" and another, which was contained in a ſecret article, to which the Great Seal of the States was affixed, by which they obliged themſelves "never to "admit the Prince of Orange to be their State-holder, "General, or Admiral; and likewiſe to deliver up the "iſland of Polerone in the Eaſt Indies" (which they had taken from the Engliſh in the time of King James, and uſurped it ever ſince) "into the hands of the Eaſt "India Engliſh Company again;" and to pay a good ſum of money for the old barbarous violence exerciſed ſo many years ſince at Amboyna; for which the two laſt Kings could never obtain ſatisfaction and reparation: about the middle of April 1654, he made a peace with the States General, with all the advantages he could deſire, having indeed all the perſons of power and intereſt there, faſt bound to him upon their joint intereſt.

He makes Portugal ſend an ambaſſador for peace.

And having now rendered himſelf terrible abroad, he forced Portugal to ſend an ambaſſador to beg peace, and to ſubmit to expiate the offence they had committed in receiving Prince Rupert, by the payment of a great ſum of money; and brought the two Crowns of France and Spain to ſue for his alliance. He ſuſpended for a time to chooſe a new enemy, that he might make himſelf as much obeyed at home, as he was feared abroad: and, in order to that,

he

He perſecutes the King's party.

he proſecuted all thoſe who had been of the King's party with the utmoſt rigour; laid new impoſitions upon them, and, upon every light rumour of a conſpiracy, clapped up all thoſe whom he thought fit to ſuſpect into cloſe priſons; enjoined others not to ſtir from their own houſes, and baniſhed all who had ever been in arms for the King, from the cities of London and Weſtminſter; and laid other penalties upon them, contrary to the articles granted to them when they gave up their arms, and to the indemnity upon making their compoſitions.

The general diſcontents in the nation.

The diſcontents were general over the whole kingdom, and among all ſorts of people, of what party ſoever. The Preſbyterians preached boldly againſt the liberty of conſcience, and the monſtrous licence that ſprung from thence; and they who enjoyed that licence were as unſatisfied with the government as any of the reſt, talked more loudly, and threatened the perſon of Cromwell more than any. But into theſe diſtempers Cromwell was not inquiſitive; nor would give thoſe men an opportunity to talk, by calling them in queſtion, who, he knew, would ſay more than he was willing any body ſhould hear; but intended to mortify thoſe unruly ſpirits at the charge of the King's party, and with the ſpectacle of their ſuffering upon any the moſt trivial occaſion. And if, in this general licence of diſcourſe, any man, who was ſuſpected to wiſh well to the King, let fall any light word againſt the government, he was ſure to be caſt in priſon, and to be purſued with all poſſible ſeverity and cruelty: and he could not want frequent opportunities of revenge this way. It was the greateſt conſolation to miſerable men, who had, in themſelves or their friends, been undone by their loyalty, to meet together, and lament their conditions: and this brought

brought on invectives againſt the perſon of Cromwell; wine, and good fellowſhip, and the continuance of the diſcourſe, diſpoſing them to take notice of the univerſal hatred that the whole nation had of him, and to fancy how eaſy it would be to deſtroy him. And commonly there was, in all thoſe meetings, ſome corrupted perſon of the party, who fomented moſt the diſcourſe, and, for a vile recompenſe, betrayed his companions, and informed of all, and more than had been ſaid. Whereupon a new plot was diſcovered againſt the Commonwealth and the perſon of the Protector, and a High Court of Juſtice was preſently erected to try the criminals; which rarely abſolved any man who was brought before them. But to this kind of trial they never expoſed any man but thoſe of the King's party; the other, of whom they were more afraid, had too many friends to ſuffer them to be brought before ſuch a tribunal; which had been firſt erected to murder the King himſelf, and continued to root out all who adhered to him. No man who had ever been againſt the King (except he became afterwards for him) was ever brought before that extravagant power; but ſuch were remitted to the trial of the law by juries, which ſeldom condemned any.

A High Court of Juſtice erected a month after the peace with Holland.

The very next month after the peace was made, for the better eſtabliſhment of Cromwell's empire, a High Court of Juſtice was erected for the trial of perſons accuſed of "holding correſpondence with Charles Stuart," (which was the ſtyle they allowed the King,) "and for "having a deſign againſt the life of the Protector, to "ſeize upon the Tower, and to proclaim the King." The chief perſons they accuſed of this were, Mr. Gerard, a young gentleman of a good family, who had been an enſign in the King's army, but was not at preſent above

Mr Gerard and Mr. Vowel tried before them.

twenty-two years of age: the other, one Mr. Vowel; who kept a ſchool, and taught many boys about Iſlington. Mr. Gerard was charged with "having been at "Paris, and having there ſpoken with the King;" which he confeſſed; and declared, "that he went to Paris upon "a buſineſs that concerned himſelf," (which he named,) "and when he had diſpatched it, and was to return for "England, he deſired the Lord Gerard, his kinſman, to "preſent him to the King, that he might kiſs his hand; "which he did in a large room, where were many pre-"ſent; and that, when he aſked his Majeſty, whether "he would command him any ſervice into England? "his Majeſty bid him to commend him to his friends "there, and to charge them that they ſhould be quiet, "and not engage themſelves in any plots; which muſt "prove ruinous to them, and could do the King no "good:" which was very true: for his Majeſty had obſerved ſo much of the temper of the people at his being at Worceſter, and his concealment after, the fear they were under, and how fruitleſs any inſurrection muſt be, that he endeavoured nothing more than to divert and ſuppreſs all inclinations that way. However, this High Court of Juſtice received proof, that Mr. Gerard and Mr. Vowel had been preſent with ſome other gentlemen in a tavern, where diſcourſe had been held, "how eaſy a thing it was to kill the Protector, "and at the ſame time to ſeize upon the Tower of "London, and that, if at the ſame time the King "were proclaimed, the city of London would pre-"ſently declare for his Majeſty, and nobody would op-"poſe him."

They are condemned. Upon this evidence, theſe two gentlemen were condemned to be hanged; and upon the tenth of July, about two months after they had been in priſon, a gallows

gallows was erected at Charing-Croſs; whither Mr. Vowel was brought; who was a perſon utterly unknown to the King, and to any perſon entruſted by him, but very worthy to have his name and memory preſerved in the liſt of thoſe who ſhewed moſt magnanimity and courage in ſacrificing their lives for the Crown. He expreſſed a marvellous contempt of death; "which," he ſaid, "he ſuffered without having committed any fault." He profeſſed his duty to the King, and his reverence for the Church; and earneſtly and pathetically adviſed the people to return to their fidelity to both; "which," he told them, "they would at laſt be compelled to do "after all their ſufferings." He addreſſed himſelf moſt to the ſoldiers; told them, "how unworthily they proſ- "tituted themſelves to ſerve the ambition of an un- "worthy tyrant;" and conjured them "to forſake him, "and to ſerve the King; which, he was ſure, they "would at laſt do." And ſo having devoutly recommended the King, and the kingdom, and himſelf, to God in very pious prayers, he ended his life with as much Chriſtian reſolution, as can be expected from the moſt compoſed conſcience.

Mr. Vowel executed at Charing-Croſs: his magnanimous behaviour.

The Protector was prevailed with to ſhew more reſpect to Mr. Gerard in cauſing him to be beheaded, who was brought the afternoon of the ſame day to a ſcaffold upon the Tower-hill. But they were ſo ill pleaſed with the behaviour of him who ſuffered in the morning, that they would not permit the other to ſpeak to the people, but preſſed him to diſcover all the ſecrets of the plot and conſpiracy. He told them, "that if "he had a hundred lives, he would loſe them all to do "the King any ſervice; and was now willing to die "upon that ſuſpicion; but that he was very innocent "of what was charged againſt him; that he had not en-

Mr. Gerard beheaded on Tower-hill in the afternoon of the ſame day.

" tered into or conſented to any plot or conſpiracy, nor " given any countenance to any diſcourſe to that pur- " poſe;" and offered again to ſpeak to the people, and to magnify the King: upon which they would not ſuffer him to proceed; and thereupon, with great and undaunted courage, he laid down his head upon the block.

The ſame day and place the Portugal ambaſſador's brother beheaded.

The ſame day was concluded with a very exemplary piece of juſtice, and of a very different nature from the other two. The ambaſſador of Portugal had a very ſplendid equipage, and in his company his brother Don Pantaleon Sa, a Knight of Malta, and a man eminent in many great actions; who out of curioſity accompanied his brother in this embaſſy, that he might ſee England. This gentleman was of a haughty and imperious nature; and one day being in the new Exchange, upon a ſudden accident and miſtake, had a quarrel with that Mr. Gerard, whom we now left without his head; who had then returned ſome negligence and contempt to the rhodomontadoes of the Portugueſe, and had left him ſenſible of receiving ſome affront. Whereupon the Don repaired thither again the next day, with many ſervants, better armed, and provided for any encounter, imagining he ſhould there find his former adverſary, who did not expect that viſit. But the Portugueſe not diſtinguiſhing perſons, and finding many gentlemen walking there, and, amongſt the reſt, one he believed very like the other, he thought he was not to loſe the occaſion, and entered into a new quarrel; in which a gentleman utterly unacquainted with what had formerly paſſed, and walking there accidentally, was killed, and others hurt; upon which, the people riſing from all the neighbour places, Don Pantaleon thought fit to make his retreat to his brother's houſe; which he did, and cauſed the gates to be locked, and put all the ſervants

vants in arms to defend the houſe againſt the people; which had purſued him, and flocked now together from all parts to apprehend thoſe who had cauſed the diſorder, and had killed a gentleman.

The ambaſſador knew nothing of the affair, but looked upon himſelf as affronted, and aſſaulted by a rude multitude; and took care to defend his houſe till the juſtice ſhould allay the tumult. Cromwell was quickly advertiſed of the inſolence, and ſent an officer with ſoldiers to demand and ſeize upon all the perſons who had been engaged in the action: and ſo the ambaſſador came to be informed of the truth of the ſtory, with which he was exceedingly afflicted and aſtoniſhed. The officer demanded the perſon of his brother, who was well known, and the reſt of thoſe who were preſent, to be delivered to him, without which he would break open the houſe, and find them wherever they were concealed. The ambaſſador demanded the privilege that was due to his houſe by the law of nations, and which he would defend againſt any violence with his own life, and the lives of all his family; but finding the officer reſolute, and that he ſhould be too weak in the encounter, he deſired reſpite till he might ſend to the Protector; which was granted to him. He complained of the injury that was done him, and deſired an audience. Cromwell ſent him word, "that a gentleman had been "murdered, and many others hurt; and that juſtice "muſt be ſatisfied; and therefore required that all the "perſons engaged might be delivered into the hands of "his officer; without which, if he ſhould withdraw the "ſoldiers, and deſiſt the requiring it, the people would "pull down the houſe, and execute juſtice themſelves; "of which he would not anſwer for the effect. When "this was done, he ſhould have an audience, and all

"the ſatisfaction it was in his power to give." The ambaſſador deſired, "that his brother, and the reſt, "might remain in his houſe, and he would be reſponſi-"ble, and produce them before the juſtice as the time "ſhould be aſſigned." But nothing would ſerve but the delivery of the perſons, and the people increaſed their cry, "that they would pull down the houſe." Whereupon the ambaſſador was compelled to deliver up his brother, and the reſt of the perſons; who were all ſent priſoners to Newgate. The ambaſſador uſed all the inſtances he could for his brother, being willing to leave the reſt to the mercy of the law; but could receive no other anſwer but "that juſtice muſt be done;" and juſtice was done to the full; for they were all brought to their trial at the ſeſſions at Newgate, and there ſo many of them condemned to be hanged as were found guilty. The reſt of thoſe who were condemned were executed at Tyburn; and Don Pantaleon himſelf was brought to the ſcaffold on Tower-hill, as ſoon as Mr. Gerard was executed; where he loſt his head with leſs grace than his antagoniſt had done.

The condition of the Protector in reſpect of his neighbours.

Though the Protector had nothing now to do but at home, Holland having accepted peace upon his own terms, Portugal bought it at a full price, and upon an humble ſubmiſſion, Denmark being contented with ſuch an alliance as he was pleaſed to make with them, and France and Spain contending, by their ambaſſadors, which ſhould render themſelves moſt acceptable to him;

The ſtate of Scotland under him.

Scotland lying under a heavy yoke by the ſtrict government of Monk, who after the peace with the Dutch was ſent back to govern that province, which was reduced under the government of the Engliſh laws, and their Kirk, and Kirkmen, entirely ſubdued to the obe-

dience

dience of the State with reference to aſſemblies, or ſynods; Ireland being confeſſedly ſubdued, and no oppoſition made to the Protector's commands; ſo that commiſſions were ſent to divide all the lands which had belonged to the Iriſh, or to thoſe Engliſh who had adhered to the King, amongſt thoſe adventurers who had ſupplied money for the war, and the ſoldiers and officers; who were in great arrears for their pay, and who received liberal aſſignations in lands; one whole province being reſerved for the Iriſh to be confined to; and all theſe diviſions made under the government of his younger ſon, Harry Cromwell, whom he ſent thither as his Lieutenant of that kingdom; who lived in the full grandeur of the office: notwithſtanding all this, England proved not yet ſo towardly as he expected. Vane, and the moſt conſiderable men of the Independent party, from the time he had turned them out of the Parliament, and ſo diſſolved it, retired quietly to their houſes in the country; poiſoned the affections of their neighbours towards the government; and loſt nothing of their credit with the people; yet carried themſelves ſo warily, that they did nothing to diſturb the peace of the nation, or to give Cromwell any advantage againſt them upon which to call them in queſtion.

Of Ireland.

Diſputes among his own party;

There were another leſs wary, becauſe a more deſperate party, which were the Levellers; many whereof had been the moſt active Agitators in the army, who had executed his orders and deſigns in incenſing the army againſt the Parliament, and had been at that time his ſole confidents and bedfellows; who, from the time that he aſſumed the title of Protector, which to them was as odious as that of King, profeſſed a mortal hatred to his perſon; and he well knew both theſe people had too much credit in his army, and with ſome principal

Eſpecially the Levellers.

officers of it. Of theſe men he ſtood in more fear than of all the King's party; of which he had in truth very little apprehenſion, though he coloured many of the preparations he made againſt the other, as if provided againſt the dangers threatened from them.

He calls a Parliament after a new method.

But the time drew near now, when he was obliged by the Inſtrument of Government, and upon his oath, to call a Parliament; which ſeemed to him the only means left to compoſe the minds of the people to an entire ſubmiſſion to his government. In order to this meeting, though he did not obſerve the old courſe in ſending writs out to all the little boroughs throughout England, which uſe to ſend burgeſſes, (by which method ſome ſingle counties ſend more members to the Parliament, than ſix other counties do), he thought he took a more equal way by appointing more knights for every ſhire to be choſen, and fewer burgeſſes; whereby the number of the whole was much leſſened; and yet, the people being left to their own election, it was not by him thought an ill temperament, and was then generally looked upon as an alteration fit to be more warrantably made, and in a better time. And ſo, upon the receipt of his writs, elections were made accordingly in all places; and ſuch perſons, for the moſt part, choſen and returned, as were believed to be the beſt affected to the preſent government, and to thoſe who had any authority in it; there being ſtrict order given, "that no perſon "who had ever been againſt the Parliament during the "time of the civil war, or the ſons of any ſuch perſons, "ſhould be capable of being choſen to ſit in that Par-"liament;" nor were any ſuch perſons made choice of.

His Parliament meets Sept. 3, 1654.

The day of their meeting was the third of September in the year 1654, within leſs than a year after he had been

been declared Protector; when, after they had been at a ſermon in the Abbey at Weſtminſter, they all came into the Painted Chamber; where his Highneſs made them a large diſcourſe; and told them, "that that Par- "liament was ſuch a congregation of wiſe, prudent, "and diſcreet perſons, that England had ſcarce ſeen the "like: that he ſhould forbear relating to them the "ſeries of God's providence all along to that time, be- "cauſe it was well known to them; and only declare "to them, that the erection of his preſent power was a "ſuitable providence to the reſt, by ſhewing what a "condition theſe nations were in at its erection: that "then every man's heart was againſt another's, every "man's intereſt divided againſt another's, and almoſt "every thing grown arbitrary: that there was grown "up a general contempt of God and Chriſt, the grace "of God turned into wantonneſs, and his ſpirit made "a cloak for all wickedneſs and profaneneſs; nay, that "the axe was even laid to the root of the miniſtry, and "ſwarms of Jeſuits were continually wafted over hither "to conſume and deſtroy the welfare of England: that "the nation was then likewiſe engaged in a deep war "with Portugal, Holland, and France; ſo that the "whole nation was one heap of confuſion: but that "this preſent government was calculated for the people's "intereſt, let malignant ſpirits ſay what they would; and "that, with humbleneſs towards God, and modeſty to- "wards them, he would recount ſomewhat in the behalf "of the government. Firſt, it had endeavoured to re- "form the law; it had put into the ſeat of juſtice men "of known integrity and ability; it had ſettled a way "for probation of miniſters to preach the Goſpel: and "beſides all this, it had called a free Parliament; that, "bleſſed be God, they that day ſaw a free Parliament: "then

The ſubſtance of his ſpeech to them.

" then as to wars, that a peace was made with Den-
" mark, Sweden, the Dutch, and Portugal, and was
" likewiſe near concluding with France: that theſe
" things were but entrances, and doors of hopes; but
" now he made no queſtion to enable them to lay the
" top ſtone of the work, recommending to them that
" maxim, that peace, though it were made, was not to
" be truſted farther than it conſiſted with intereſt:
" that the great work which now lay upon this Parlia-
" ment, was, that the government of England might be
" ſettled upon terms of honour: that they would avoid
" conſuſions, leſt foreign ſtates ſhould take advantage
" of them: that, as for himſelf, he did not ſpeak like
" one that would be a lord over them, but as one that
" would be a fellow-ſervant in that great affair;" and concluded, " that they ſhould go to their Houſe, and
" there make choice of a Speaker:" which they preſently did, and ſeemed very unanimous in their firſt act, which was the making choice of William Lenthall to be their Speaker; which agreement was upon very diſagreeing principles. Cromwell having deſigned him, for luck's ſake, and being well acquainted with his temper, concluded, that he would be made a property in this, as well as he had been in the long Parliament, when he always complied with that party that was moſt powerful. And the other perſons who meant nothing that Cromwell did, were well pleaſed, out of hope that the ſame man's being in the chair might facilitate the renewing and reviving the former Houſe; which they looked upon as the true legitimate Parliament, ſtrangled by the tyranny of Cromwell, and yet that it had life enough left in it.

William Lenthall choſen their Speaker.

Their actings.

Lenthall was no ſooner in his chair than it was propoſed, " that they might in the firſt place conſider by
" what

"what authority they came thither, and whether that "which had convened them had a lawful power to that "purpoſe." From which ſubject the Protector's creatures, and thoſe of the army, endeavoured to divert them by all the arguments they could. Notwithſtanding which, the current of the Houſe inſiſted upon the firſt clearing that point, as the foundation, upon which all their counſels muſt be built: and as many of the members poſitively enough declared againſt that power, ſo one of them, more confident than the reſt, ſaid plainly, "that they might eaſily diſcern the ſnares which "were laid to entrap the privileges of the people; and "for his own part, as God had made him inſtrumental "in cutting down tyranny in one perſon, ſo now he "could not endure to ſee the nation's liberties ſhackled "by another, whoſe right to the government could not "be meaſured otherwiſe than by the length of his ſword, "which alone had emboldened him to command his "commanders." This ſpirit prevailed ſo far, that, for eight days together, thoſe of the Council of Officers, and others, (who were called the Court party), could not divert the queſtion from being put, "whether the go-"vernment ſhould be by a Protector and a Parliament," any other way than by lengthening the debate, and then adjourning the Houſe when the queſtion was ready to be put, becauſe they plainly ſaw that it would be carried in the negative.

The continuance of this warm debate in the Houſe, in which the Protector's own perſon was not treated with much reverence, exceedingly perplexed him; and obliged him once more to try, what reſpect his ſovereign preſence would produce towards a better compoſure. So he came again to the Painted Chamber, and ſent for his Parliament to come to him; and then told them, "that "the

Cromwell ſpeaks to them in the Painted Chamber.

" the great God of heaven and earth knew what grief " and ſorrow of heart it was to him, to find them falling " into heats and diviſions; that he would have them " take notice of this, that the ſame government made " him a Protector, that made them a Parliament: that " as they were entruſted in ſome things, ſo was he in " others: that in the government were certain funda- " mentals, which could not be altered, to wit, that the " government ſhould be in a ſingle perſon and a Parlia- " ment; that Parliaments ſhould not be perpetual, and " always ſitting; that the militia ſhould not be truſted " into one hand, or power, but ſo as the Parliament " might have a check on the Protector, and the Pro- " tector on the Parliament; that in matters of religion " there ought to be a liberty of conſcience, and that " perſecution in the Church was not to be tolerated. " Theſe, he ſaid, were unalterable fundamentals. As for " other things in the government, they were examina- " ble and alterable as the ſtate of affairs did require: " that, for his own part, he was even overwhelmed with " grief, to ſee that any of them ſhould go about to over- " throw what was ſettled, contrary to the truſt they " had received from the people; which could not but " bring very great inconveniences upon themſelves and " the nation." When he had made this frank declaration unto them what they were to truſt to, the better to confirm them in their duty, he had appointed a guard to attend at the door of the Parliament Houſe, and there to reſtrain all men from entering into the Houſe who refuſed to ſubſcribe this following engagement: " I do " hereby promiſe and engage to be true and faithful to " the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of Eng- " land, Scotland, and Ireland; and ſhall not (according " to the tenor of this indenture, whereby I am returned

He admits none into the Houſe but ſuch as ſubſcribed an engagement to him.

" to

" to ſerve in Parliament) propoſe or give any conſent to " alter the government as it is ſettled in one perſon and " a Parliament."

This engagement a conſiderable part of the members utterly refuſed to ſign; and called it a violation of the privilege of Parliament, and an abſolute depriving them of that freedom which was eſſential to it. So they were excluded, and reſtrained from entering into the Houſe: and they who did ſubſcribe it, and had thereupon liberty to ſit there, were yet ſo refractory to any propoſition that might ſettle him in the government in the manner he deſired it, that, after the five months near ſpent in wrangling, and uſeleſs diſcourſes, (during which he was not to attempt the diſſolution of them, by his Inſtrument of Government), he took the firſt opportunity to diſſolve them; and upon the two and twentieth of January, with ſome reproaches, he let them know he could do the buſineſs without them; and ſo diſmiſſed them with much evidence of his diſpleaſure: and they again retired to their habitations, reſolved to wait another opportunity of revenge, and in the mean time to give no evidence of their ſubmitting to his uſurpation, by undertaking any employment or office under his authority, he as carefully endeavouring and watching to find ſuch an advantage againſt them, as might make them liable to the penalty of the laws. Yet even his weakneſs and impotency upon ſuch a notorious advantage appeared in two very notable inſtances, which happened about that time, in the caſe of two perſons, whoſe names were then much taken notice of upon the ſtage of affairs, John Wildman and John Lilburn.

He diſſolves them Jan. 22.

An account of John Wildman and John Lilburn, Levellers.

The former had been bred a ſcholar in the Univerſity of Cambridge, and being young, and of a pregnant wit, in the beginning of the rebellion meant to make his for-

John Wildman.

tune

tune in the war; and choſe to depend upon Cromwell's countenance and advice, when he was not above the degree of a captain of a troop of horſe himſelf, and was much eſteemed and valued by him, and made an officer; and was ſo active in contriving and fomenting jealouſies and diſcontents, and ſo dexterous in compoſing or improving any diſguſts, and ſo inſpired with the ſpirit of praying and preaching, when thoſe gifts came into requeſt, and became thriving arts, that about the time when the King was taken from Holmby, and it was neceſſary that the army ſhould enter into conteſts with the Parliament, John Wildman grew to be one of the principal Agitators, and was moſt relied upon by Cromwell to infuſe thoſe things into the minds of the ſoldiers, and to conduct them in the managery of their diſcontents, as might moſt advance thoſe deſigns he then had; and quickly got the reputation of a man of parts; and, having a ſmooth pen, drew many of the papers which firſt kindled the fire between the Parliament and the army, that was not afterwards extinguiſhed but in the ruin of both. His reputation in thoſe faculties made him quit the army; where he was become a major; and where he kept ſtill a great intereſt, and betook himſelf to civil affairs, in the ſolicitation of ſuits depending in the Parliament, or before committees; where he had much credit with thoſe who had moſt power to do right or wrong, and ſo made himſelf neceſſary to thoſe who had need of ſuch protection from the tyranny of the time. By theſe arts he thrived, and got much more than he could have done in the army, and kept and increaſed his credit there, by the intereſt he had in other places. When Cromwell declined the ways of eſtabliſhing the Commonwealth, Wildman, amongſt the reſt, forſook him; and entered, warily, into any counſels which

which were like to deſtroy him: and upon the diſſolution of this laſt Parliament, having leſs of phlegm, and ſo leſs patience than other men, to expect another opportunity, and in the mean time to leave him to eſtabliſh his greatneſs, he did believe he ſhould be able to make ſuch a ſchiſm in the army, as would give an opportunity to other enraged perſons to take vengeance upon him.

Cromwell knew the man, and his undermining faculties; knew he had ſome deſign in hand, but could not make any ſuch diſcovery as might warrant a public proſecution; but appointed ſome truſty ſpies (of which he had plenty) to watch him very narrowly, and, by being often with him, to find his papers; the ſpreading whereof, he knew, would be the preamble to any conſpiracy of his. Shortly after the diſſolution of that Parliament, theſe inſtruments of Cromwell's ſurpriſed him in a room, where he thought he had been ſafe enough, as he was writing a declaration; and ſeized upon the papers; the title whereof was, "a declaration, containing the reaſons and motives which oblige us to take "up arms againſt Oliver Cromwell;" and though it was not finiſhed, yet in that that was done, there was all venom imaginable expreſſed againſt him, and a large and bitter narration of all his foul breach of truſt, and perjuries, enough to have expoſed any man to the ſevereſt judgment of that time; and as much as he could wiſh to diſcover againſt him, or any man whom he moſt deſired to deſtroy. The iſſue was, the man was ſtraitly impriſoned, and preparations made for his trial, and towards his execution, which all men expected. But, whether Cromwell found that there were more engaged with him than could be brought to juſtice, or were fit to be diſcovered, (as many men believed), or

that

that Wildman obliged himſelf for the time to come not only to be quiet, but to be a ſpy for him upon others, (as others at that time ſuſpected, and had reaſon for it afterwards), after a ſhort time of impriſonment, the man was reſtored to his liberty; and reſorted, with the ſame ſucceſs and reputation, to his former courſe of life; in which he thrived very notably.

John Lilburn.

The caſe of John Lilburn was much more wonderful, and adminiſtered more occaſion of diſcourſe and obſervation. This man, before the troubles, was a poor bookbinder; and, for procuring ſome ſeditious pamphlets againſt the Church and State to be printed and diſperſed, had been ſeverely cenſured in the Star Chamber, and received a ſharp caſtigation, which made him more obſtinate and malicious againſt them; and, as he afterwards confeſſed, in the melancholy of his impriſonment, and by reading the Book of Martyrs, he raiſed in himſelf a marvellous inclination and appetite to ſuffer in the defence or for the vindication of any oppreſſed truth; and found himſelf very much confirmed in that ſpirit; and in that time diligently collected and read all thoſe libels and books, which had anciently, as well as lately, been written againſt the Church: from whence, with the venom, he had likewiſe contracted the impudence and bitterneſs of their ſtyle; and, by practice, brought himſelf to the faculty of writing like them: and ſo, when that licence broke in of printing all that malice and wit could ſuggeſt, he publiſhed ſome pamphlets in his own name, full of that confidence and virulency, which might aſperſe the government moſt to the ſenſe of the people, and to their humour. When the war begun, he put himſelf into the army; and was taken priſoner by the King's forces in that engagement at Brentford, ſhortly after the battle of Edgehill; and being

ing then a man much known, and talked of for his qualities above mentioned, he was not ſo well treated in priſon as was like to reconcile him; and being brought before the Chief Juſtice, to be tried for treaſon by a commiſſion of Oyer and Terminer, (in which method the King intended then to have proceeded againſt the rebels which ſhould be taken), he behaved himſelf with ſo great impudence, in extolling the power of the Parliament, that it was manifeſt he had an ambition to have been made a martyr for that cauſe. But as he was liberally ſupplied from his friends at London, (and the Parliament in expreſs terms declared, "that they would "inflict puniſhment upon the priſoners they had of the "King's party, in the ſame manner as Lilburn and the "reſt ſhould ſuffer at Oxford,") ſo he did find means to corrupt the marſhal who had the cuſtody of him; and made his eſcape into the Parliament quarters; where he was received with public joy, as a champion that had defied the King in his own Court.

From this time he was entertained by Cromwell with great familiarity, and, in his conteſts with the Parliament, was of much uſe to him, and privacy with him. But he begun then to find him of ſo reſtleſs and unruly a ſpirit, and to make thoſe advances in religion againſt the Preſbyterians before he thought it ſeaſonable, that he diſpenſed with his preſence in the army, where he was an officer of name, and made him reſide in London, where he wiſhed that temper ſhould be improved. And when the Parliament was ſo much offended with his ſeditious humour, and the pamphlets he publiſhed every day in religion, with reflections upon their proceedings, that they reſolved to proſecute him with great rigour, (towards which the Aſſembly of Divines, which he had likewiſe provoked, contributed their deſire and demand),

Cromwell writ a very paſſionate letter to the Parliament, "that they would not ſo much diſcourage their army, "that was fighting for them, as to cenſure an officer of "it for his opinion in point of conſcience; for the liberty "whereof, and to free themſelves from the ſhackles in "which the Biſhops would enſlave them, that army had "been principally raiſed." Upon which, all farther proſecution againſt Lilburn was declined at that time, though he declined not the farther provocation; and continued to make the proceedings of the Parliament as odious as he could. But from the time that Cromwell had diſperſed that Parliament, and was, in effect, in poſſeſſion of the ſovereign power, Lilburn withdrew his favour for him; and thought him now an enemy worthy of his diſpleaſure; and, both in diſcourſes and writings, in pamphlets and invectives, loaded him with all the aſperſions of hypocriſy, lying, and tyranny, and all other imputations and reproaches which either he deſerved, or the malice or bitterneſs of the other's nature could ſuggeſt to him, to make him the moſt univerſally odious that a faithleſs perjured perſon could be.

Cromwell could bear ill language and reproaches with leſs diſturbance and concernment, than any perſon in authority had ever done: yet the proſecution this man exerciſed him with, made him plainly diſcern that it would be impoſſible to preſerve his dignity, or to have any ſecurity in the government, whilſt his licence continued; and therefore, after he had ſet ſpies upon him to obſerve his actions, and collect his words, and upon advice with the council at law of the ſtate, was confidently informed, "that, as well by the old eſtabliſhed "laws, as by new ordinances, Lilburn was guilty of high "treaſon, and had forfeited his life, if he were proſe-"cuted in any court of juſtice," he cauſed him to be

ſent

ſent to Newgate, and at the next ſeſſions to be indicted of high treaſon; all the judges being preſent, and the council at law to enforce the evidence, and all care being taken for the return of ſuch a jury as might be fit for the importance of the caſe. Lilburn appeared undaunted, and with the confidence of a man that was to play a prize before the people for their own liberty; he pleaded not guilty, and heard all the charge and evidence againſt him with patience enough, ſave that, by interrupting the lawyers, ſometimes, who proſecuted him, and by ſharp anſwers to ſome queſtions of the judges, he ſhewed that he had no reverence for their perſons, nor any ſubmiſſion to their authority. The whole day was ſpent in his trial; and when he came to make his defence, he mingled ſo much law in his diſcourſe to invalidate their authority, and to make it appear ſo tyrannical, that neither their lives, liberties, nor eſtates, were in any degree ſecure, whilſt that uſurpation was exerciſed; and anſwered all the matters objected againſt him with ſuch an aſſurance, making them "to contain nothing of high "treaſon, and that to be a government againſt which "high treaſon could not be committed;" and telling them "that all true born Engliſhmen were obliged to "oppoſe this tyranny, as he had done purely for their "ſakes, and that he had done it only for their ſakes, "and to preſerve them from being ſlaves, contrary to "his own profit and worldly intereſt:" he told them "how much he had been in Cromwell's friendſhip: that "he might have received any benefit or preferment "from him, if he would have ſate ſtill, and ſeen his "country enſlaved; which becauſe he would not do, "he was brought hither to have his life taken from him "by their judgment; which he apprehended not:" he defended himſelf with that vigour, and charmed the

jury ſo powerfully, that, againſt all the direction and charge the judges could give them, (who aſſured them, "that the words and actions fully proved againſt "the priſoner, were high treaſon by the law; and that "they were bound, by all the obligation of conſcience, "to find him guilty,") after no long conſultation between themſelves, they returned with their verdict, "that "he was not guilty:" nor could they be perſuaded by the judges to change or recede from their verdict: which infinitely enraged and perplexed Cromwell; who looked upon it as a greater defeat than the loſs of a battle would have been. And though Lilburn was thus acquitted in the year 1653, yet Cromwell would never ſuffer him to be ſet at liberty, as by the law he ought to have been, but ſent him from priſon to priſon, and kept him incloſed there till he himſelf died. Theſe two inſtances of perſons not otherwiſe conſiderable are thought pertinent to be inſerted, as an evidence of the temper of the nation; and how far the ſpirits of that time were from paying a ſubmiſſion to that power, when nobody had the courage to lift up their hands againſt it.

The King's condition abroad.

Whatever uneaſineſs and perplexity Cromwell found in his condition at home, the King found no benefit from it abroad, or from the friendſhip or the indignation of other princes; they had all the ſame terrible apprehenſion of Cromwell's power as if he had been landed with an army in any of their dominions, and looked upon the King's condition as deſperate, and not to be ſupported. The treaty between France and England proceeded very faſt; and every day produced freſh evidence of the good intelligence between Cromwell and the Cardinal. The ſhips and priſoners which had been taken when they went to relieve Dunkirk, and by the

Cromwell's treaty with France.

taking

taking whereof Dunkirk had been loſt, were now reſtored, and ſet at liberty; and ſuch mutual offices performed between them, as, with frequent evidences of averſion from the King and his intereſt, made it very manifeſt to his Majeſty, that his reſidence would not be ſuffered to continue longer in France, after the alliance ſhould be publiſhed with Cromwell; which was not yet perfected, by the Cardinal's bluſhing to conſent to ſome propoſitions, without which the other's faſt friendſhip was not to be obtained; and he was not willing that modeſty ſhould be conquered at once, though every body knew it would quickly be proſtituted.

The King thinks of retreating out of France; but whither? was the queſtion.

There could be no doubt but that the King was heartily weary of being in a place where he was ſo ill treated; where he lived ſo uncomfortably, and from whence he foreſaw that he ſhould ſoon be driven. But as he had no money to enable him to remove, or to pay the debts he owed there, ſo he knew not to what place to repair, where he might find a civil reception. Holland was bound not to admit him into their dominions, and by their example had ſhewed other princes and ſtates, what conditions they muſt ſubmit to who would be allies to Cromwell. The King of Spain was at the ſame time contending with France for Cromwell's friendſhip, and thought he had ſome advantage with him by the reſidence his Majeſty had in France: ſo there could be no thought of repairing into Flanders, and that he could be admitted to ſtay there. The Proteſtants, in moſt places, expreſſed much more inclination to his rebels than to him. The Roman Catholics looked upon him as in ſo deſperate a condition, that he would in a ſhort time be neceſſitated to throw himſelf into their arms by changing his religion, without which they generally declared, "they would never give him the leaſt

" aſſiſtance." In this diſtreſs, his Majeſty reſumed the conſiderations he had formerly entered upon, of ſending to the Diet; which was ſummoned by the Emperor to meet ſhortly at Ratiſbon, to make choice of a King of the Romans. And Germany being then in peace, the Emperor made little doubt of finding a concurrence in the choice of the King of Hungary his eldeſt ſon to be made King of the Romans, and thereby to be ſure to ſucceed him in the empire. Our King had long deſigned to ſend the Lord Wilmot on that errand, to try what the Emperor, and Princes of Germany, would do, in ſuch a conjuncture, towards the uniting all other Princes with themſelves, in undertaking a quarrel they were all concerned in, to reſtore a Prince ſo injured and oppreſſed by ſo odious a rebellion; and in the mean time, of which there appeared to be more hope, what contribution they would make towards his ſupport; and likewiſe, upon this occaſion, what fit place might be found, in the neareſt parts of Germany, for the King to repair to; where he might attend his better deſtiny.

It was moſt ſuitable to the occaſion, and the neceſſity of the King's condition, that this affair ſhould be diſpatched in as private a way as was poſſible, and with as little expence, it being impoſſible to ſend an ambaſſador in ſuch an equipage, as, at ſuch an illuſtrious convention of all the Princes of the empire, was neceſſary. Wilmot preſſed very much for that character, that he might the more eaſily accompliſh his being made an earl; for which he had obtained the King's promiſe in a fit ſeaſon. And he took great pains to perſuade the King, " that this was a proper ſeaſon, and very much for the " advancement of his ſervice: but, that if he had the title " of an earl, which would be looked upon as a high " qualification, he would not aſſume the character of " ambaſſador,

" ambaſſador, though he would carry ſuch a commiſſion " with him, but make all his negociations as a private " envoy;" of which he promiſed the King wonderful effects, and pretended to have great aſſurance of money, and of making levies of men for any expedition. The King, rather to comply with the general expectation, and to do all that was in his power to do, than out of any hope of notable advantage from this agitation, was contented to make him Earl of Rocheſter; and gave him all ſuch commiſſions and credentials, as were neceſſary for the employment; and ſent him from Paris in the Chriſtmas time, that he might be at Ratiſbon at the meeting of the Diet, which was to be in the beginning of April following; means having been found to procure ſo much money as was neceſſary for that journey, out of the aſſignment that had been made to the King for his ſupport: of which there was a great arrear due, and which the Cardinal cauſed at this time to be ſupplied, becauſe he looked upon this ſending to Ratiſbon as a preparatory for the King's own remove.

The King makes Wilmot Earl of Rocheſter; and ſends him to the Diet at Ratiſbon.

Though Scotland was vanquiſhed, and ſubdued, to that degree, that there was no place nor perſon who made the leaſt ſhew of oppoſing Cromwell; who, by the adminiſtration of Monk, made the yoke very grievous to the whole nation; yet the preachers kept their pulpit licence; and, more for the affront that was offered to preſbytery, than the conſcience of what was due to majeſty, many of them preſumed to pray for the King; and generally, though ſecretly, exaſperated the minds of the people againſt the preſent government. The Highlanders, by the advantage of their ſituation, and the hardineſs of that people, made frequent incurſions in the night into the Engliſh quarters; and killed many of their ſoldiers, but ſtole more of their horſes: and where

The affairs of Scotland at this time.

there was moſt appearance of peace and ſubjection, if the ſoldiers ſtraggled in the night, or went ſingle in the day, they were uſually knocked on the head; and no enquiry could diſcover the malefactors.

Many expreſſes were ſent to the King, as well from thoſe who were priſoners in England, as from ſome lords who were at liberty in Scotland, "that Middleton might "be ſent into the Highlands with his Majeſty's com-"miſſion;" and in the mean time the Earl of Glencarne, a gallant gentleman, offered, if he were authorized by the King, to draw a body of horſe and foot together in the Highlands, and infeſt the enemy, and be ready to ſubmit to Middleton, as ſoon as he ſhould arrive there with a ſupply of arms and ammunition. Accordingly the King had ſent a commiſſion to the Earl of Glencarne; who behaved himſelf very worthily, and gave Monk ſome trouble. But he preſſing very earneſtly, that Middleton might be ſent over to compoſe ſome animoſities and emulations, which were growing up to the breaking off that union, without which nothing could ſucceed, his Majeſty, about the time that the Earl of Rocheſter was diſpatched for Ratiſbon, ſent likewiſe Middleton into Scotland, with ſome few officers of that nation, and ſuch a poor ſupply of arms and ammunition, as, by the activity and induſtry of Middleton, could be got upon the credit and contribution of ſome merchants and officers in Holland of that nation, who were willing to redeem their country from the ſlavery it was in. With this very ſlender aſſiſtance he tranſported himſelf in the winter into the Highlands; where, to welcome him, he found the few, whom he looked to find in arms, more broken with faction amongſt themſelves than by the enemy; nor was he able to reconcile them. But after Glencarne had delivered his thin unarmed

The King ſent a commiſſion to the Earl of Glencarne.

And Middleton is ſent into Scotland.

armed troops to Middleton, and condeſcended to fight a duel with an inferior officer, who provoked him to it after he was out of his command, whether he was troubled to have another command over him, who, upon the matter, had no other men to command but what were raiſed by him, though he had exceedingly preſſed Middleton's being ſent over to that purpoſe, or whether convinced with the impoſſibility of the attempt, he retired firſt to his own houſe, and then made his peace with Monk, that he might live quietly, and retained ſtill his affection and fidelity to the King; which he made manifeſt afterwards in a more favourable conjuncture: and at the ſame time he excuſed himſelf to the King, for giving over an enterpriſe which he was not able to proſecute, though Middleton ſuſtained it a full year afterwards.

Glencarne retires to his own houſe; and made his peace with Monk.

The truth is, the two perſons who were moſt concerned in that expedition had no degree of hope that it would be attended with any ſucceſs; the King, and Middleton; who had both ſeen an army of that people, well provided with all things neceſſary, not able to do any thing where they fought upon terms more advantageous. And how could thoſe now, drawn together by chance, half armed and undiſciplined, be able to contend with victorious troops, which wanted nothing, and would hardly part with what they had got? But his Majeſty could not refuſe to give them leave to attempt what they believed they could go through with; and Middleton, who had promiſed them to come to them, when he was aſſured he ſhould be enabled to carry over with him two thouſand men, and good ſtore of arms, thought himſelf obliged to venture his life with them who expected him, though he could carry no more with him than is mentioned; and by his behaviour there, notwithſtanding all

diſcourage-

diſcouragements, he manifeſted how much he would have done, if others had performed half their promiſes.

It will not be amiſs in this place to mention an adventure that was made during his being in the Highlands, which deſerves to be recorded for the honour of the undertakers. There was attending upon the King a young gentleman, one Mr. Wogan, a very handſome perſon, of the age of three or four and twenty. This gentleman had, when he was a youth of fifteen or ſixteen years, been, by the corruption of ſome of his neareſt friends, engaged in the Parliament ſervice againſt the King; where the eminency of his courage made him ſo much taken notice of, that he was of general eſtimation, and beloved by all; but ſo much in the friendſhip of Ireton, under whom he had the command of a troop of horſe, that no man was ſo much in credit with him. By the time of the murder of the King he was ſo much improved in age and underſtanding, that, by that horrible and impious murder, and by the information and advice of ſober men in his converſation, he grew into ſo great a deteſtation of all that people, that he thought of nothing but to repair his own reputation, by taking vengeance of thoſe who had cozened and miſled him: and in order thereunto, as ſoon as the Marquis of Ormond reſumed the government of Ireland again for the King, (which was the only place then where any arms were borne for his Majeſty), Captain Wogan repaired thither to him through Scotland; and behaved himſelf with ſuch ſignal valour, that the Marquis of Ormond gave him the command of his own guards, and every man the teſtimony of deſerving it. He came over with the Marquis into France; and, being reſtleſs to be in action, no ſooner heard of Middleton's being arrived in Scotland,

land, than he reſolved to find himſelf with him; and immediately aſked the King's leave not only for himſelf, but for as many of the young men about the Court as he could perſuade to go with him; declaring to his Majeſty, "that he reſolved to paſs through England." The King, who had much grace for him, diſſuaded him from the undertaking, for the difficulty and danger of it, and denied to give him leave. But neither his Majeſty, nor the Marquis of Ormond, could divert him; and his importunity continuing, he was left to follow his inclinations: and there was no news ſo much talked of in the Court, as that Captain Wogan would go into England, and from thence march into Scotland to General Middleton; and many young gentlemen, and others, who were in Paris, liſted themſelves with him for the expedition. He went then to the Chancellor of the Exchequer; who, during the time of the King's ſtay in France, executed the office of Secretary of State, to deſire the diſpatch of ſuch paſſes, letters, and commiſſions, as were neceſſary for the affair he had in hand. The Chancellor had much kindneſs for him, and having heard of his deſign by the common talk of the Court, and from the free diſcourſes of ſome of thoſe who reſolved to go with him, repreſented "the danger "of the enterpriſe to himſelf, and the diſhonour that "would reflect upon the King, for ſuffering men under "his paſs, and with his commiſſion, to expoſe themſelves to inevitable ruin: that it was now the diſcourſe "of the town, and would without doubt be known in "England and to Cromwell, before he and his friends "could get thither, ſo that it was likely they would be "apprehended the firſt minute they ſet their foot on "ſhore; and how much his own particular perſon was "more liable to danger than other men's he knew well;"

and,

and, upon the whole matter, very earneſtly diſſuaded him from proceeding farther.

He anſwered moſt of the particular conſiderations with contempt of the danger, and confidence of going through with it, but with no kind of reaſon (a talent that did not then abound in him) to make it appear probable. Whereupon the Chancellor expreſsly refuſed to make his diſpatches, till he could ſpeak with the King; "with whom," he ſaid, "he would do the "beſt he could to perſuade his Majeſty to hinder his "journey;" with which the Captain was provoked to ſo great paſſion, that he broke into tears, and beſought him not to diſſuade the King; and ſeemed ſo much tranſported with the reſolution of the adventure, as if he would not outlive the diſappointment. This paſſion ſo far prevailed with the King, that he cauſed all his diſpatches to be made, and delivered to him. And the very next day he and his companions, being ſeven or eight in number, went out of Paris together, and took poſt for Calais.

They landed at Dover, continued their journey to London, and walked the town; ſtayed there above three weeks, till they had bought horſes, which they quartered at common inns, and liſted men enough of their friends and acquaintance to proſecute their purpoſe. And then they appointed their rendezvous at Barnet, marched out of London as Cromwell's ſoldiers, and from Barnet were full fourſcore horſe well armed and appointed, and quartered that night at St. Alban's; and from thence, by eaſy journeys, but out of the common roads, marched ſafely into Scotland; beat up ſome quarters which lay in their way, and without any miſadventure joined Middleton in the Highlands; where poor Wogan, after many brave actions performed there, received upon a party

party an ordinary fleſh wound; which, for want of a good ſurgeon, proved mortal to him, to the very great grief of Middleton, and all who knew him. Many of the troopers, when they could ſtay no longer there, found their way again through England, and returned to the King.

In the diſtreſs which the King ſuffered during his abode in France, the Chancellor of the Exchequer's part was the moſt uneaſy and grievous. For though all who were angry with him were as angry with the Marquis of Ormond, who lived in great friendſhip with him, and was in the ſame truſt with the King in all his counſels which were reſerved from others; yet the Marquis's quality, and the great ſervices he had performed, and the great ſufferings he underwent for the Crown, made him above all their exceptions: and they believed his averſion from all their devices to make marriages, and to traffic in religion, proceeded moſt from the credit the other had with him. And the Queen's diſpleaſure grew ſo notorious againſt the Chancellor, that after he found by degrees that ſhe would not ſpeak to him, nor take any notice of him when ſhe ſaw him, he forbore at laſt coming in her preſence; and for many months did not ſee her face, though he had the honour to lodge in the ſame houſe, the palace royal, where both their Majeſties kept their Courts; which encouraged all who deſired to ingratiate themſelves with her Majeſty, to expreſs a great prejudice to the Chancellor, at leaſt to withdraw from his converſation: and the Queen was not reſerved in declaring, that ſhe did exceedingly deſire to remove him from the King; which nothing kept him from deſiring alſo, in ſo uncomfortable a condition, but the conſcience of his duty, and the confidence his Majeſty had in his fidelity.

The Queen's diſpleaſure againſt the Chancellor of the Exchequer in France.

This

This diſinclination towards him produced, at one and the ſame time, a contrivance of an odd nature, and a union between two ſeemingly irreconcileable factions, the Papiſts and the Preſbyterians: which was diſcovered to the King by a falſe brother, before the Chancellor had any intimation of it. The Lord Balcarris, with Dr. Frazier, and ſome other Scots about the Court, thought themſelves enough qualified to undertake in the name of all the Preſbyterians; and cauſed a petition to be prepared, in which they ſet out, "that the "Preſbyterian party had great affections to ſerve his Ma"jeſty, and much power to do it; and that they had many "propoſitions and advices to offer to his Majeſty for the "advancement thereof: but that they were diſcouraged, "and hindered from offering the ſame, by reaſon that his "Majeſty entruſted his whole affairs to the Chancellor "of the Exchequer; who was an old known and declared "enemy to all their party; in whom they could repoſe "no truſt: and therefore they beſought his Majeſty, "that he might be removed from his Council, at leaſt "not be ſuffered to be privy to any thing that ſhould "be propoſed by them; and they ſhould then make it "appear how ready and how able they were in a very "ſhort time to advance his Majeſty's affairs."

A petition intended of the Scottiſh Preſbyterians by Balcarris and Frazier, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer might be removed.

Another petition was prepared in the name of his Roman Catholic ſubjects; which ſaid, "that all his Ma"jeſty's party which had adhered to him were now to"tally ſuppreſſed; and had, for the moſt part, com"pounded with his enemies, and ſubmitted to their government: that the church-lands were all ſold, and "the biſhops dead, except very few, who durſt not "exerciſe their function: ſo that he could expect "no more aid from any who were concerned to ſupport "the government of the Church as it had been formerly eſtabliſhed:

And of the Roman Catholics alſo, againſt him.

" eſtabliſhed: that by the defeat of Duke Hamilton's " party firſt, and then by his Majeſty's ill ſucceſs at " Worceſter, and the total reduction of the kingdom " of Scotland afterwards by Cromwell, his Majeſty " might conclude what greater aid he was to expect " from the Preſbyterian party. Nothing therefore re- " mained to him of hope for his reſtoration, but from " the affection of his Roman Catholic ſubjects; who, " as they would never be wanting as to their perſons, " and their eſtates which were left, ſo they had hope to " draw from the Catholic Princes, and the Pope himſelf, " ſuch conſiderable aſſiſtance both in men and money, " that his Majeſty ſhould owe his reſtitution, under the " bleſſing of God, to the ſole power and aſſiſtance of " the Catholics. But they had great reaſon to fear, that " all theſe hopes would be obſtructed and rendered of " no uſe, not only by there being no perſon about his " Majeſty in whom the Catholics could have any con- " fidence, but by reaſon that the perſon moſt truſted " by him, and through whoſe hands all letters and diſ- " patches muſt paſs, is a known enemy to all Catho- " lics; and therefore they beſought his Majeſty, that " that perſon, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, might " be removed from him; whereupon he ſhould find " great benefit to accrue to his ſervice." It was con- cluded amongſt them, that when theſe two petitions ſhould be weighed and conſidered, the Queen would eaſily convince his Majeſty, that a perſon who was ſo odious to all the Roman Catholics, from whoſe affec- tions his Majeſty had moſt reaſon to promiſe himſelf relief, and to all the Proteſtants who could contribute to his aſſiſtance or ſubſiſtence, could not be fit to be con- tinued in any truſt about him.

When matters were thus adjuſted, which were the longer

longer in preparation, becauſe the perſons concerned could not, without ſuſpicion and ſcandal, meet together, but were to be treated with by perſons mutually employed, one Mr. Walſingham, a perſon very well known to all men who at that time knew the palace royal, who had been employed in the affair, came to the King, and, whether out of ingenuity, and diſlike of ſo foul a combination, or as he thought the diſcovery would be grateful to his Majeſty, informed him of the whole intrigue, and gave a copy of the petitions to the King; who ſhewed them to the Marquis of Ormond, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and informed them of the whole deſign. And from this time his Majeſty made himſelf very merry with it, and ſpoke of it ſometimes at dinner, when the Queen was preſent; and aſked pleaſantly, "when the two petitions would be brought againſt the "Chancellor of the Exchequer?" which being quickly known to ſome of the perſons engaged in the proſecution, they gave it over, and thought not fit to proceed any farther in it; though both parties continued their implacable malice towards him, nor did he find any eaſe or quiet by their giving over that deſign, their animoſities againſt him ſtill breaking out one after another, as long as the King remained in France; the Queen taking all occaſions to complain to the Queen Regent of the King's unkindneſs, that ſhe might impute all that ſhe diſliked to the Chancellor; and the Queen Mother of France was like to be very tender in a point that ſo much concerned herſelf, that any man ſhould dare to interpoſe between the mother and the ſon.

The deſign diſcovered by one Mr. Walſingham to the King; which quaſhed them both.

There was an accident fell out, that adminiſtered ſome argument to make thoſe complaints appear more reaſonable. The Cardinal de Retz had always expreſſed great civilities towards the King, and a deſire to ſerve him;

him; and upon ſome occaſional conference between them, the Cardinal aſked the King, "whether he had "made any attempt to draw any aſſiſtance from the "Pope, and whether he thought that nothing might be "done that way to his advantage?" The King told him, "nothing had been attempted that way; and "that he was better able to judge, whether the Pope "was like to do any thing for a man of his faith." The Cardinal ſmiling, ſaid, "he had no thought of "ſpeaking of his faith;" yet in ſhort, he ſpoke to him like a wiſe and honeſt man; "that if any overtures "were made him of the change of his religion, he muſt "tell his Majeſty, it becomes him as a Cardinal to wiſh "his Majeſty a Catholic for the ſaving his ſoul; but "he muſt declare too, that if he did change his religion, "he would never be reſtored to his kingdoms." But he ſaid, "he did believe," (though the Pope was old, and much decayed in his generoſity; for Innocent the tenth was then living,) "that if ſome proper applica-"tion was made to the Princes of Italy, and to the Pope "himſelf, though there would not be gotten wherewithal "to raiſe and maintain armies, there might be ſomewhat "conſiderable obtained for his more pleaſant ſupport, "wherever he ſhould chooſe to reſide." He ſaid, "he "had himſelf ſome alliance with the Great Duke, and "intereſt in other Courts, and in Rome itſelf; and if his "Majeſty would give him leave, and truſt his diſ-"cretion, he would write in ſuch a manner in his own "name to ſome of his friends, as ſhould not be of any "prejudice to his Majeſty, if it brought him no conve-"nience." The King had reaſon to acknowledge the obligation, and to leave it to his own wiſdom, what he would do. In the concluſion of the diſcourſe, the Cardinal aſked his Majeſty a queſtion or two of matter of

A diſcourſe of the King's with Cardinal de Retz.

fact, which he could not anſwer; but told him, "he "would give a punctual information of it the next day in "a letter:" which the Cardinal deſired might be as ſoon as his Majeſty thought fit, becauſe he would, upon the receipt of it, make his diſpatches into Italy. The particular things being out of the King's memory, as ſoon as he returned, he aſked the Chancellor of the Exchequer concerning them; and having received a punctual account from him, his Majeſty writ a letter the next day to the Cardinal, and gave him information as to thoſe particulars. Within very few days after this, the Cardinal coming one day to the Louvre to ſee the Queen Mother, he was arreſted by the captain of the guard, and ſent priſoner to the Baſtille; and in one of his pockets, which they ſearched, that letter the King had ſent to him was found, and delivered to the Queen Regent; who preſently imparted it to the Queen of England; and after they had made themſelves merry with ſome improprieties in the French, the King having, for the ſecrecy, not conſulted with any body, they diſcovered ſome purpoſe of applying to the Pope, and to other Catholic Princes; and that his Majeſty ſhould enter upon any ſuch counſel, without firſt conſulting with the Queen his mother, could proceed only from the inſtigation of the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The Cardinal de Retz ſent to the Baſtille.

Her Majeſty, with a very great proportion of ſharpneſs, reproached the King for his neglect, and gave him his letter. The King was exceedingly ſenſible of the little reſpect the Queen Mother had ſhewed towards him, in communicating his letter in that manner to his mother; and expoſtulated with her for it; and took that occaſion to enlarge more upon the injuſtice of his mother's complaints, than he had ever done. And from that time the Queen Mother, who was in truth a very

very worthy lady, ſhewed much more kindneſs to the King. And a little time after, there being a maſque at the Court that the King liked very well, he perſuaded the Chancellor to ſee it; and vouchſafed, the next night, to carry him thither himſelf, and to place the Marquis of Ormond and him next the ſeat where all their Majeſties were to ſit. And when they entered, the Queen Regent aſked, "who that fat man was who ſate by the "Marquis of Ormond?" The King told her aloud, "that was the naughty man who did all the miſchief, "and ſet him againſt his mother:" at which the Queen herſelf was little leſs diſordered than the Chancellor was. But they within hearing laughed ſo much, that the Queen was not diſpleaſed; and ſomewhat was ſpoken to his advantage, whom few thought to deſerve the reproach.

Prince Rupert with his fleet arrives at Nantes.

At this time the King was informed by the French Court, "that Prince Rupert, who had been ſo long ab-"ſent, having gone with the fleet from Holland before "the murder of the late King, and had not been heard "of in ſome years, was now upon the coaſt of France, "and ſoon after at Nantes, in the province of Bretagne, "with the Swallow, a ſhip of the King's, and with "three or four other ſhips: and that the Conſtant Re-"formation, another ſhip of the King's, in which Prince "Maurice had been, was caſt away in the Indies near "two years before; and that Prince Rupert himſelf was "returned with very ill health." The King ſent preſently to welcome him, and to invite him to Paris to attend his health; and his Majeſty preſumed that, by the arrival of this fleet, which he thought muſt be very rich, he ſhould receive ſome money, that would enable him to remove out of France; of which he was as weary as it was of him.

Great expectation was raiſed in the Engliſh Court, that there would be ſome notable change upon the arrival of this Prince; and though he had profeſſed much kindneſs to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, when he parted from Holland, yet there was hope that he would not appear now his friend, the rather for that he had left Ireland with ſome declared unkindneſs towards the Marquis of Ormond. And all men knew that the Attorney General, who was unſatisfied with every body, would have moſt influence upon that Prince; and that his Highneſs could not be without credit enough with the King to introduce him into buſineſs; which they thought would at leaſt leſſen the Chancellor. In order to which, it was no ſooner known that Prince Rupert was landed in France, but the Lord Jermyn viſited and made great court to Sir Edward Herbert; between whom and him there had been greater ſhew of animoſity than between any two of the nation who were beyond the ſeas, they having for ſome years ſeldom ſpoken to, never well of, each other. And Herbert, who was of a rough and proud nature, had declared publicly, "that "he would have no friendſhip with any man who be-"lieved the other to be an honeſt man." Between theſe two a great friendſhip is ſuddenly made; and the Attorney is every day with the Queen, who had ſhewed a greater averſion from him than from any man, not only upon the buſineſs of the Duke of York, but upon many other occaſions. But now ſhe commended him to the King, "as a wiſe man, of great experience, and of "great intereſt in England."

From the death of Sir Richard Lane, who had been Keeper of the Great Seal under his late Majeſty, there had not only been no officer in that place, but, from the defeat at Worceſter, the King had been without any

Great

Great Seal, it having been there loſt. But he had lately employed a graver to prepare a Great Seal; which he kept himſelf, not intending to confer that office, whilſt he remained abroad. But now the Queen preſſed the King very earneſtly, to make the Attorney General Lord Keeper of the Great Seal: which was a promotion very natural, men ordinarily riſing from the one office to the other. The King knew the man very well, and had neither eſteem nor kindneſs for him; yet he well foreſaw, that when Prince Rupert came to him, he ſhould be preſſed both by his mother and him ſo importunately, that he ſhould not with any eaſe be able to refuſe it. Then he believed that, if the man himſelf were in good humour, he would be of great uſe in compoſing any ill humour that ſhould ariſe in the Prince; to which it was apprehended he might be apt to be inclined. And therefore his Majeſty thought it beſt (ſince nobody diſſuaded him from the thing) to oblige him frankly himſelf before the Prince came; and ſo called him to his Council, and made him Lord Keeper of the Great Seal; with which he ſeemed wonderfully delighted; and for ſome time lived well towards every body; though, as to any thing of buſineſs, he appeared only in his old excellent faculty of raiſing doubts, and objecting againſt any thing that was propoſed, and propoſing nothing himſelf; which was a temper of underſtanding he could not rectify, and, in the preſent ſtate of affairs, did leſs miſchief than it would have done in a time when any thing was to have been done.

The Queen Mother moves the King to make Herbert Lord Keeper; and he is made.

Before the Prince came to Paris he gave the King ſuch an account, as made it evident that his Majeſty was to expect no money: "that what treaſure had "been gotten together, which, he confeſſed, had "amounted to great value, had been all loſt in the ſhip

Prince Rupert gives an ill account of his fleet.

" in which himſelf was," (that ſprung a plank in the Indies, when his Highneſs was miraculouſly preſerved), " and, in the boat, carried to another ſhip, when that " the Antelope, with all the men, and all that had been " gotten, ſunk in the ſea; and that much of the other " purchaſe had been likewiſe caſt away in the ſhip in " which his brother periſhed; which was after his own " misfortune:" ſo that all that was brought into Nantes would ſcarce pay off the ſeamen, and diſcharge ſome debts at Toulon, which the Prince had contracted at his former being there, during the time that the King had been in Holland: and, " that the ſhips were all ſo " eaten with worms, even the Swallow itſelf, that there " was no poſſibility of ſetting them out again to ſea." This was all the account the King could receive of that whole affair, when the Prince himſelf came to Paris; with which though the King was not ſatisfied, yet he knew not how to remedy it, the Prince taking it very ill that any account ſhould be required of him; and the Keeper quickly perſuaded his Highneſs, that it was only the Chancellor of the Exchequer's influence, that diſpoſed the King with ſo much ſtrictneſs to examine his account.

An affair concerning Mr. Long; who petitions the King to be reſtored to the Secretary's place.

There was another deſign now ſet on foot, by which they concluded they ſhould ſufficiently mortify the Chancellor; who, they thought, had ſtill too much credit with his maſter. When the King went into Scotland, Mr. Robert Long, who hath been mentioned before, was Secretary of State; who, having been always a creature of the Queen's, and dependent upon the Lord Jermyn, had ſo behaved himſelf towards them, during his ſhort ſtay in Scotland, (for he was one of thoſe who was removed from the King there, and ſent out of that kingdom), that when his Majeſty returned from Worceſter

ceſter to Paris, they would by no means ſuffer that he ſhould wait upon his Majeſty; and accuſed him of much breach of truſt, and diſhoneſty, and, amongſt the reſt, that he ſhould ſay, which could be proved, "that "it was impoſſible for any man to ſerve the King ho- "neſtly, and to preſerve the good opinion of the Queen, "and keep the Lord Jermyn's favour." The truth is, that gentleman had not the good fortune to be generally well thought of, and the King did not believe him faultleſs; and therefore was contented to ſatisfy his mother, and would not permit him to execute his office, or to attend in his councils. Whereupon he left the Court, and lived privately at Rouen; which was the reaſon that the Chancellor had been commanded to execute that place, which entitled him to ſo much trouble. Upon this conjunction between the Lord Jermyn and the Keeper, the laſt of whom had in all times inveighed againſt Mr. Long's want of fidelity, they agreed, that there could not be a better expedient found out to leſſen the Chancellor's credit, than by reſtoring Long to the execution of the Secretary's function. Whereupon they ſent for him, and adviſed him to prepare a petition to the King, "that he might be again "reſtored to his office and attendance, or that he might "be charged with his crimes, and be farther puniſhed, "if he did not clear himſelf, and appear innocent." This petition was preſented to the King, when he was in council, by the Queen; who came thither only for that purpoſe, and deſired that it might be read; which being done, the King was ſurpriſed, having not in the leaſt received any notice of it; and ſaid, "that her Majeſty was "the principal cauſe that induced his Majeſty to remove "him from his place, and that ſhe then believed that "he was not fit for the truſt." She ſaid, "ſhe had

" now a better opinion of him, and that ſhe had been " miſinformed." The King thought it unfit to receive a perſon into ſo near a truſt, againſt whoſe fidelity there had been ſuch public exceptions; and his Majeſty knew that few of his friends in England would correſpond with him; and therefore would not be perſuaded to reſtore him. This was again put all upon the Chancellor's account, and the influence he had upon the King.

Is refuſed by the King.

Thereupon Mr. Long accuſed the Chancellor of having betrayed the King; and undertook to prove that he had been over in England, and had private conference with Cromwell: which was an aſperſion ſo impoſſible, that every body laughed at it: yet becauſe he undertook to prove it, the Chancellor preſſed, " that a day " might be appointed for him to produce his proof:" and at that day the Queen came again to the Council, that ſhe might be preſent at the charge. There Mr. Long produced Maſſonet, a man who had ſerved him, and afterwards been an under-clerk for writing letters and commiſſions, during the time of the King's being in Scotland, and had been taken priſoner at Worceſter; and, being releaſed with the reſt of the King's ſervants, had been employed, from the time of the King's return, in the ſame ſervice under the Chancellor; the man having, before the troubles, taught the King, and the Duke of York, and the reſt of the King's children to write, being indeed the beſt writer, for the fairneſs of the hand, of any man in that time.

Whereupon Mr. Long accuſes the Chancellor of the Exchequer of his having been in England, and converſed with Cromwell.

The buſineſs heard in Council.

Maſſonet is produced as a hearſay witneſs of it.

Maſſonet ſaid, " that after his releaſe from his impri- " ſonment, and whilſt he ſtayed in London, he ſpoke " with a maid, who had formerly ſerved him; that " knew the Chancellor very well, and who aſſured him, " that one evening ſhe had ſeen the Chancellor go into " Cromwell's

" Cromwell's chamber at Whitehall; and after he had " been ſhut up with him ſome hours, ſhe ſaw him con- " ducted out again." And Mr. Long deſired time, that he might ſend over for this woman, who ſhould appear and juſtify it. To this impoſſible diſcourſe, the Chancellor ſaid, " he would make no other defence, " than that there were perſons then in the town, who, " he was confident, would avow that they had ſeen " him once every day, from the time he returned from " Spain to the day on which he attended his Majeſty " at Paris;" as indeed there were; and when he had ſaid ſo, he offered to go out of the room; which the King would not have him to do. But he told his Majeſty, " that it was the courſe; and that he ought not " to be preſent at the debate that was to concern him- " ſelf;" and the Keeper, with ſome warmth, ſaid, " it " was true;" and ſo he retired to his own chamber. The Lord Jermyn, as ſoon as he was gone, ſaid, " he " never thought the accuſation had any thing of proba- " bility in it; and that he believed the Chancellor a very " honeſt man: but the uſe that he thought ought to " be made of this calumny, was, that it appeared that an " honeſt and innocent man might be calumniated, as he " thought Mr. Long had likewiſe been; and therefore " they ought both to be cleared." The Keeper ſaid, " he " ſaw not ground enough to condemn the Chancellor; " but he ſaw no cauſe neither to declare him inno- " cent: that there was one witneſs which declared only " what he had heard; but that he undertook alſo to " produce the witneſs herſelf, if he might have time; " which in juſtice could not be denied; and therefore " he propoſed, that a competent time might be given " to Mr. Long to make out his proof; and that in the " mean time the Chancellor might not repair to the " Council."

" Council:" with which propoſition the King was ſo offended, that, with much warmth, he ſaid, " he diſ- " cerned well the deſign; and that it was ſo falſe and " wicked a charge, that, if he had no other exception " againſt Mr. Long than this foul and fooliſh accuſa- " tion, it was cauſe enough never to truſt him." And therefore he preſently ſent for the Chancellor, and, as ſoon as he came in, commanded him to ſit in his place; and told him, " he was ſorry he was not in a condition " to do him more juſtice than to declare him inno- " cent;" which he did do, and commanded the Clerk of the Council to draw up a full order for his vindication, which his Majeſty himſelf would ſign.

The King acquits the Chancellor.

The Keeper could not contain himſelf from appearing very much troubled: and ſaid, " if what he heard from " a perſon of honour, who, he thought, would juſtify it, " were true, the Chancellor had aſperſed the King in ſuch " a manner, and ſo much reviled his Majeſty in point " of his honour, that he was not fit to ſit there." The Chancellor was wonderfully ſurpriſed with the charge; and humbly beſought his Majeſty, " that the Lord " Keeper might produce his author, or be looked upon " as the contriver of the ſcandal." The Keeper anſwered, " that if his Majeſty would appoint an hour the next " day for the Council, to meet, he would produce the " perſon, who, he was confident, would juſtify all he had " ſaid."

The Keeper accuſes the Chancellor of the Exchequer of having ſpoken ill of the King.

The next day, the King being ſate in Council, the Keeper deſired that the Lord Gerard might be called in; who preſently appeared; and being aſked, " whether " he had at any time heard the Chancellor of the Ex- " chequer ſpeak ill of the King?" he anſwered, " Yes." And thereupon made a relation of a conference that had paſſed between the Chancellor and him a year before,

The Lord Gerard produced to prove it.

fore, when the King lay at Chantilly; "that one day, "after dinner, the King took the air, and being in the "field his Majeſty alighted out of his coach, and took "his horſe, with other of the lords, to ride into the "next field to ſee a dog ſet partridge; and that he, the "Lord Gerard, and the Chancellor remained in the "coach, when he entered into diſcourſe of the King's "condition; and ſaid, that he thought his Majeſty was "not active enough, nor did think of his buſineſs; "and, that the Chancellor, who was known to have "credit with him, ought to adviſe him to be active, "for his honour and his intereſt; otherwiſe, his friends "would fall from him. But, that it was generally be-"lieved, that he, the Chancellor, had no mind that his "Majeſty ſhould put himſelf into action, but was "rather for ſitting ſtill; and therefore it concerned "him, for his own juſtification, to perſuade the King "to be active, and to leave France, where he could "not but obſerve that every body was weary of him. "To all which the Chancellor took great pains to purge "himſelf from being in the fault; and ſaid, that no-"body could think that he could take delight to ſtay "in a place where he was ſo ill uſed; but laid all "the fault upon the King; who, he ſaid, was indiſ-"poſed to buſineſs, and took too much delight in "pleaſures, and did not love to take pains; for "which he was heartily ſorry, but could not help "it; which," Gerard ſaid, "he thought was a great re-"proach and ſcandal upon the King, from a man ſo "obliged and truſted, who ought not to aſperſe his "maſter in that manner."

The Chancellor was a little out of countenance; and ſaid, "he did not expect that accuſation from any body, "leſs that the Lord Gerard ſhould diſcover any private "diſcourſe

The Chancellor's defence.

" diſcourſe that had paſſed a year before between them
" two, and which appeared by his relation to have been
" introduced by himſelf, and by his own freedom: that
" whoſoever believed that he had a mind to traduce the
" King, would never believe that he would have choſen
" the Lord Gerard, who was known to be none of his
" friend, to have communicated it to." He ſaid, " he
" did very well remember, that the Lord Gerard did, at
" that time when they two remained alone in the coach,
" very paſſionately cenſure the King's not being active,
" and blamed him, the Chancellor, for not perſuading
" his Majeſty to put himſelf into action; and that he
" was generally believed to be in the fault. Upon which
" he had aſked him, what he did intend by being active,
" and what that action was, and where, to which he
" wiſhed the King ſhould be perſuaded? He anſwered,
" with an increaſe of paſſion, and addition of oaths, that
" rather than ſit ſtill in France, his Majeſty ought to go
" to every Court in Chriſtendom; that, inſtead of ſend-
" ing an ambaſſador who was not fit for any buſineſs,
" he ſhould have gone himſelf to the Diet at Ratiſbon,
" and ſolicited his own buſineſs; which would have
" been more effectual: and that, if he could not find
" any other way to put himſelf into action, he ought
" to go into the Highlands of Scotland to Middleton,
" and there try his fortune." To all which the Chan-
cellor ſaid, he did remember that he replied, " he be-
" lieved the King was indiſpoſed to any of that action
" he propoſed: and though he did not believe that he
" had uſed thoſe expreſſions, of the King's delighting
" in pleaſures, and not loving buſineſs ſo well as he
" ought to do, if the Lord Gerard would poſitively
" affirm he had, he would rather confeſs it, and ſubmit
" himſelf to his Majeſty's judgment, if he thought ſuch

" words

" words proceeded from any malice in his heart towards " him, than, by denying it, continue the debate :" and then he offered to retire ; which the King forbid him to do ; upon which the Keeper was very angry ; and ſaid, " the words amounted to an offence of a high nature ; " and that he was ſorry his Majeſty was no more ſenſi- " ble of them : that for any man, eſpecially a counſel- " lor, and a man in ſo near truſt, to accuſe his maſter " of not loving his buſineſs, and being inclined to plea- " ſures, was to do all he could to perſuade all men to " forſake him ;" and proceeding with his uſual warmth and poſitiveneſs, the King interrupted him ; and ſaid, " he did really believe the Chancellor had uſed thoſe " very words, becauſe he had often ſaid that, and much " more, to himſelf ; which he had never taken ill : that " he did really believe that he was himſelf in fault, and " did not enough delight in his buſineſs ; which was not " very pleaſant ; but he did not know that ſuch putting " himſelf into action, which was the common word, as " the Lord Gerard adviſed, was like to be attended with " thoſe benefits, which, he was confident, he wiſhed." In fine, he declared, " he was very well ſatisfied in the " Chancellor's affection, and took nothing ill that he " had ſaid ;" and directed the Clerk of the Council to enter ſuch his Majeſty's declaration in his book ; with which both the Keeper and the Lord Gerard were very ill ſatisfied. But from that time there were no far- ther public attempts againſt the Chancellor, during the time of his Majeſty's abode in France. But it may not be unſeaſonable to inſert in this place, that after the King's return into England, there came the woman to the Chancellor, who had been carried over to Rouen by Maſſonet, and importuned by Mr. Long to teſtify that ſhe had ſeen the Chancellor with Cromwell ; for which ſhe

ſhould

ſhould have a preſent liberal reward in money from him, and a good ſervice at Paris; which when the woman refuſed to do, he gave her money for her journey back, and ſo ſhe returned: of which the Chancellor informed the King. But Mr. Long himſelf coming at the ſame time to him, and making great acknowledgments, and aſking pardon, the Chancellor frankly remitted the injury; which Mr. Long ſeemed to acknowledge with great gratitude ever after.

The King, wearied with theſe domeſtic vexations, as well as with the uneaſineſs of his entertainment, and the change he every day diſcovered in the countenance of the French Court to him, grew very impatient to leave France; and though he was totally diſappointed of the expectation he had to receive money by the return of Prince Rupert with that fleet, he hoped that, when the prizes ſhould be ſold, and all the ſeamen diſcharged, and Prince Rupert be ſatisfied his demands, which were very large, there would be ſtill left the ſhips, and ordnance, and tackling, which (though they required great charge to be fitted out again to ſea, yet) if ſold, he preſumed, would yield a good ſum of money to enable him to remove, and ſupport him ſome time after he was removed; for there were, beſides the ſhip itſelf, fifty good braſs guns on board the Swallow, which were very valuable. His Majeſty therefore writ to Prince Rupert, (who was returned to Nantes to diſcharge ſome ſeamen, who ſtill remained, and to ſell the reſt of the prizes), "that he ſhould find ſome good chapmen to buy the "ſhips, and ordnance, and tackle, at the value they "were worth:" which was no ſooner known at Nantes, than there appeared chapmen enough, beſides the Marſhal of Melleray, who being governor of that place, and of the province, had much money always by him

to

to lay out on ſuch occaſions. And the Prince writ the King word, " that he had then a good chapman, who " would pay well for the braſs cannon; and that he " ſhould put off all the reſt at good rates." But he writ again the next week, " that, when he had even " finiſhed the contract for the braſs cannon, there came " an order from the Court, that no man ſhould preſume " to buy the braſs cannon, and to Marſhal Melleray " to take care that they were not carried out of that " port."

The Prince apprehended, that this unexpected reſtraint proceeded from ſome claim and demand from Cromwell: and then expected, that it would likewiſe relate to the Swallow itſelf, if not to the other ſhips; and the Marſhal contributed to and cheriſhed this jealouſy, that the better markets might be made of all the reſt; himſelf being always a ſharer with the merchants, who made any purchaſes of that kind: as he had, from the time that his Highneſs firſt came into that port, always inſinuated into him in confidence, and under great good will and truſt, " that he ſhould uſe all expedition in the " ſale of the prizes, leſt either Cromwell ſhould demand " the whole, (which he much doubted), or that the " merchants, owners of the goods, ſhould, upon the " hearing where they were, ſend and arreſt the ſaid ſhips " and goods, and demand reſtitution to be made of " them in a courſe of juſtice; in either of which caſes," he ſaid, " he did not know, conſidering how things " ſtood with England, what the Court would determine:" though, he promiſed, " he would extend his authority " to ſerve the Prince, as far as he could with his own " ſafety; and defer the publiſhing and execution of any " orders he ſhould receive, till the Prince might facili- " tate the diſpatch:" and by this kind advice very good

bargains

bargains had been made for thoſe goods which had been ſold; of which the Marſhal had an account to his own deſire.

But when, upon this unwelcome advertiſement, the King made his addreſs to the Cardinal to revoke this order; and, as the beſt reaſon to oblige him to gratify him, told him, "that the money, which ſhould be "raiſed upon the ſale of thoſe cannon, was the only "means he had to remove himſelf out of France, which "he intended ſhortly to do, and to go to the hither "parts of Germany, and that his ſiſter, the Princeſs of "Orange, and he, had ſome thoughts of finding them-"ſelves together, in the beginning of the ſummer, at "the Spa:" which indeed had newly entered into the King's conſideration, and had been entertained by the Princeſs Royal; the Cardinal, being well pleaſed with the reaſon, told his Majeſty, "that this order was not "newly made, but had been very ancient, that no mer-"chants or any private ſubjects ſhould buy any braſs "ordnance in any port, leſt ill uſe might be made of "them; and that the order was not now revived with "any purpoſe to bring any prejudice to his Majeſty; "who ſhould be no loſer by the reſtraint; for that him-"ſelf would buy the ordnance, and give as much for "them as they were worth; in order to which, he would "forthwith ſend an agent to Nantes to ſee the cannon; "and, upon conference with a perſon employed by the "King, they two ſhould agree upon the price, and then "the money ſhould be all paid together to his Majeſty "in Paris:" intimating "that he would diſpute the "matter afterwards with Cromwell;" as if he knew, or foreſaw, that he would make ſome demand.

It was well for the King that this condition was made for the payment of this money in Paris; for of all the money

money paid or received at Nantes, as well for the ſhips, tackle, and ordnance, as for the prize-goods, not one penny ever came to the King's hands, or to his uſe, but what he received at Paris from the Cardinal for the braſs guns which were upon the Swallow; for the valuing whereof the King ſent one thither to treat with the officer of the Cardinal. All the reſt was diſpoſed, as well as received, by Prince Rupert; who, when he returned to Paris, gave his Majeſty a confuſed account; and averred, "that the expences had been ſo great, that "there was not only no money remaining in his hands, "but that there was a debt ſtill due to a merchant;" which he deſired his Majeſty to promiſe to ſatisfy.

The King's reſolution to go into Germany was very grateful to every body, more from the wearineſs they had of France, than from the foreſight of any benefit and advantage that was like to accrue by the remove. But his Majeſty, who needed no ſpurs for that journey, was the more diſpoſed to it by the extraordinary importunity of his friends in England; who obſerving the ſtrict correſpondence that was between the Cardinal and Cromwell, and knowing that the alliance between them was very near concluded, and being informed that there were conditions agreed upon, which were very prejudicial to the King, did really apprehend that his Majeſty's perſon might be given up; and thereupon they ſent Harry Seymour, who, being of his Majeſty's Bedchamber, and having his leave to attend his own affairs in England, they well knew would be believed by the King, and being addreſſed only to the Marquis of Ormond and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, he might have opportunity to ſpeak with the King privately and undiſcovered, and return again with ſecurity, as he, and divers meſſengers of that kind, frequently did. He was

The King reſolves to go into Germany.

Mr. Harry Seymour ſent to the King from his friends in England.

ſent by the Marquis of Hertford and the Earl of Southampton, with the privity of thoſe few who were truſted by them, "to be very importunate with the King, that "he would remove out of France; and to communi- "cate to his Majeſty all which they received from per- "ſons who were admitted into many of the ſecret reſo- "lutions and purpoſes of Cromwell." And becauſe they well knew in what ſtraits the King was for money, they found ſome means at that time to ſend him a ſupply of about three thouſand pounds; which the King received, and kept with great ſecrecy. They ſent him word likewiſe, "that wherever he ſhould chooſe to "reſide out of France, they were confident his ſervants "in England, under what perſecution ſoever they lay, "would ſend him ſome ſupply: but whilſt he remained "in France, nobody would be prevailed with to ſend to "him." The King was glad to be confirmed in the reſolution he had taken, by his friends' advice; and that they had in ſome degree enabled him to proſecute it; which was the more valuable, becauſe it was known to none. Yet his debts were ſo great in Paris, and the ſervants who were to attend him in ſo ill a condition, and ſo without all conveniences for a journey, that, if the Cardinal, over and above the money for the cannon, (which the King did not deſire to receive till the laſt), did not take care for the payment of all the arrears, which were due upon the aſſignment they had made to him, he ſhould not be able to make his journey.

But in this he received ſome eaſe quickly; for when the Cardinal was ſatisfied that his Majeſty had a full reſolution to be gone, which he ſtill doubted, till he heard from Holland that the Princeſs Royal did really provide for her journey to the Spa, he did let the King know,

know, "that, againſt the time that his Majeſty appointed "his remove, his arrears ſhould be either entirely paid, or "ſo much of his debts ſecured to his creditors, as "ſhould well ſatisfy them; and the reſt ſhould be paid "to his receiver for the charge of the journey;" and likewiſe aſſured his Majeſty, "that, for the future, the "monthly aſſignation ſhould be punctually paid to "whomſoever his Majeſty would appoint to receive it." This promiſe was better complied with than any other that had been made, till, ſome years after, the King thought fit to decline the receiving thereof; which will be remembered in its place.

The Cardinal pays the King all his arrears from France.

All things being in this ſtate, the King declared his reſolution to begin his journey, as ſoon as he could put himſelf into a capacity of moving, upon the receipt of the money he expected; and all preparations were made for enabling the family to be ready to wait upon his Majeſty, and for the better regulating and governing it, when the King ſhould be out of France; there having never been any order taken in it whilſt he remained there, nor could be, becauſe his Majeſty had always eaten with the Queen, and her officers had governed the expence; ſo that by the failing of receiving money that was promiſed, and by the Queen's officers receiving all that was paid, to carry on the expence of their Majeſty's table, which the King's ſervants durſt not enquire into, very few of his Majeſty's ſervants had received any wages from the time of his coming from Worceſter to the remove he was now to make. Nor was it poſſible now to ſatisfy them what they might in juſtice expect, but they were to be contented with ſuch a proportion as could be ſpared, and which might enable them, without reproach and ſcandal, to leave Paris and attend him. They were all modeſt in their deſires, hoping

that they ſhould be better provided for in another place. But now the King met with an obſtruction, that he leaſt ſuſpected, from the extraordinary narrowneſs of the Cardinal's nature, and his over good huſbandry in bargaining. The agent he had ſent to Nantes to view the cannon, made ſo many ſcruples and exceptions upon the price, and upon the weight, that ſpent much time; and at laſt offered much leſs than they were worth, and than the other merchant had offered, when the injunction came that reſtrained him from proceeding. The King knew not what to propoſe in this. The Cardinal ſaid, "he underſtood not the price of cannon himſelf, "and therefore he had employed a man that did; and "it was reaſonable for him to govern himſelf by his "conduct; who aſſured him, that he offered as much "as they could reaſonably be valued at." It was moved on the King's behalf, "that he would permit others to "buy them;" which, he ſaid, "he could not do, "becauſe of the King his maſter's reſtraint; and if "any merchant, or other perſon, ſhould agree for "them, Cromwell would demand them wherever they "ſhould be found; and there were not many that "would diſpute the right with him." In concluſion, the King was compelled to refer the matter to himſelf, and to accept what he was content to pay; and when all was agreed upon according to his own pleaſure, he required new abatements in the manner of payment of the money, all allowance for paying it in gold, and the like, fitter to be inſiſted on by the meaneſt merchant, than by a member of the ſacred college, who would be eſteemed a Prince of the Church.

The condition of King Charles the Firſt's children after their father's death.

Whilſt the King is preparing for his journey to meet the Princeſs of Orange, it will be fit to look back a little on the condition of the reſt of his brothers and ſiſters.

After

After that the Princeſs Henrietta had been ſecretly conveyed from Oatlands into France, by the Lady Moreton her governeſs, in the year forty-ſix; and the Duke of York, in the year forty-eight, had made his eſcape from St. James's; where he, and the reſt of the royal family that remained in England, were under the care and tuition of the Earl of Northumberland; the Parliament would not ſuffer, nor did the Earl deſire, that the reſt ſhould remain longer under his government. But the other two, the Princeſs Elizabeth and the Duke of Glouceſter, were committed to the Counteſs of Leiceſter; to whom ſuch an allowance was paid out of the treaſury, as might well defray their expences with that reſpect that was due to their birth; which was performed towards them as long as the King their father lived. But as ſoon as the King was murdered, it was ordered that the children ſhould be removed into the country, that they might not be the objects of reſpect to draw the eyes and application of people towards them. The allowance was retrenched, that their attendants and ſervants might be leſſened; and order was given, "that they ſhould be treated without any addi-"tion of titles, and that they ſhould ſit at their meat as "the children of the family did, and all at one table." Whereupon they were removed to Penſhurſt, a houſe of the Earl of Leiceſter's in Kent; where they lived under the tuition of the ſame Counteſs, who obſerved the order of the Parliament with obedience enough: yet they were carefully looked to, and treated with as much reſpect as the lady pretended ſhe durſt pay to them.

There, by an act of Providence, Mr. Lovel, an honeſt man, who had been recommended to teach the Earl of Sunderland, whoſe mother was a daughter of the houſe

of Leiceſter, became likewiſe tutor to the Duke of Glouceſter; who was, by that means, well taught in that learning that was fit for his years, and very well inſtructed in the principles of religion, and the duty that he owed to the King his brother: all which made the deeper impreſſion in his very pregnant nature, by what his memory retained of thoſe inſtructions which the King his father had, with much fervor, given him before his death. But ſhortly after, the Princeſs Elizabeth and the Duke of Glouceſter were removed from the government of the Counteſs of Leiceſter, and ſent into the Iſle of Wight to Cariſbrook Caſtle; where Mildmay was captain; and the care of them committed to him, with an aſſignation for their maintenance; which he was to order, and which in truth was given as a boon to him; and he was required ſtrictly, "that no "perſon ſhould be permitted to kiſs their hands, and "that they ſhould not be otherwiſe treated than as the "children of a gentleman;" which Mildmay obſerved very exactly; and the Duke of Glouceſter was not called by any other ſtyle than, Mr. Harry. The tutor was continued, and ſent thither with him; which pleaſed him very well. And here they remained at leaſt two or three years. The Princeſs died in this place; and, according to the charity of that time towards Cromwell, very many would have it believed to be by poiſon; of which there was no appearance, nor any proof ever after made.

But whether this reproach and ſuſpicion made any impreſſion in the mind of Cromwell, or whether he had any jealouſy that the Duke of Glouceſter, who was now about twelve years of age, and a prince of extraordinary hopes both from the comelineſs and gracefulneſs of his perſon, and the vivacity and vigour of his wit and underſtanding,

derſtanding, which made him much ſpoken of, might, at ſome time or other, be made uſe of by the diſcontented party of his own army to give him trouble, or whether he would ſhew the contempt he had of the royal family, by ſending another of it into the world to try his fortune, he did declare one day to the Parliament, "that "he was well content that the ſon of the late King, "who was then in Cariſbrook Caſtle, ſhould have liberty "to tranſport himſelf into any parts beyond the ſeas, as "he ſhould deſire:" which was at that time much wondered at, and not believed; and many thought it a preſage of a worſe inclination; and for ſome time there was no more ſpeech of it. But notice and advice being ſent to the Duke by thoſe who wiſhed his liberty, that he ſhould proſecute the obtaining that order and releaſe, he, who deſired moſt to be out of reſtraint, ſent his tutor, Mr. Lovel, to London, to be adviſed by friends what he ſhould do to procure ſuch an order, and warrant, as was neceſſary for his tranſportation. And he, by the advice of thoſe who wiſhed well to the affair, did ſo dexterouſly ſolicit it, that he did not only procure an order from the Parliament that gave him liberty to go over the ſeas with the Duke, and to require Mildmay to permit him to embark, but likewiſe five hundred pounds from the Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, which he received, to defray the charges and expences of the voyage; being left to provide a ſhip himſelf, and being obliged to embark at the Iſle of Wight, and not to ſuffer the Duke to go on ſhore in any other part of England.

This happened in the latter end of the year 1652; and was ſo well proſecuted, that, ſoon after, the King received advertiſement from his ſiſter in Holland, "that "the Duke of Glouceſter was arrived there; and would

"be the next day with her;" which was no ſooner known than the Queen very earneſtly deſired, that he might be preſently ſent for to Paris, that ſhe might ſee him; which ſhe had never done ſince he was about a year old; for within ſuch a ſhort time after he was born, the troubles were ſo far advanced, that her Majeſty made her voyage into Holland, and from that time had never ſeen him. The King could not refuſe to ſatisfy his mother in ſo reaſonable a deſire, though he did ſuſpect that there might be a farther purpoſe in that deſign of ſeeing him, than was then owned. And therefore he had diſpatched preſently a meſſenger to the Hague, that his brother might make all poſſible haſte to Paris. He was accordingly preſently ſent for, and came ſafely to Paris, to the ſatisfaction of all who ſaw him.

Now all expedition was uſed to provide for the King's remove, ſo generally deſired of all; and, for the future, the charge of governing the expences of the family, and of payment of the wages of the ſervants, and indeed of iſſuing out all monies, as well in journeys as when the Court reſided any where, was committed to Stephen Fox, a young man bred under the ſevere diſcipline of the Lord Peircy, now Lord Chamberlain of the King's houſehold. This Stephen Fox was very well qualified with languages, and all other parts of clerkſhip, honeſty, and diſcretion, that were neceſſary for the diſcharge of ſuch a truſt; and indeed his great induſtry, modeſty, and prudence, did very much contribute to the bringing the family, which for ſo many years had been under no government, into very good order; by which his Majeſty, in the pinching ſtraits of his condition, enjoyed very much eaſe from the time he left Paris.

Mr. Stephen Fox admitted to manage the King's money.

Prince Rupert was now returned from Nantes; and finding

finding that he ſhould receive none of the money the Cardinal was to pay for the braſs ordnance, and being every day more indiſpoſed by the chagrin humour of the Keeper, (who endeavoured to inflame him againſt the King, as well as againſt moſt other men, and thought his Highneſs did not give evidence enough of his concernment and friendſhip for him, except he fell out with every body with whom he was angry), reſolved to leave the King; wrought upon, no doubt, beſides the frowardneſs of the other man, by the deſpair that ſeemed to attend the King's fortune; and told his Majeſty, "that he was reſolved to look after his own affairs in Germany; and firſt to viſit his brother in the Palatinate, and require what was due from him for his appanage; and then to go to the Emperor, to receive the money that was due to him upon the treaty of Munſter;" which was to be all paid by the Emperor: from the proſecution of which purpoſe his Majeſty did not diſſuade him; and, poſſibly, heard it with more indifferency than the Prince expected; which raiſed his natural paſſion; inſomuch, as the day when he took his leave, that nobody might imagine that he had any thoughts ever to return to have any relation to, or dependence upon, the King, he told his Majeſty, "that, if he pleaſed, he might diſpoſe of the place of Maſter of the Horſe;" in which he had been ſettled by the late King, and his preſent Majeſty had, to preſerve that office for him, and to take away the pretence the Lord Peircy might have to it, by his having had that office to the Prince of Wales, recompenſed him with the place of Lord Chamberlain, though not to his full content. But the King bore this reſignation likewiſe from the Prince with the ſame countenance as he had done his firſt reſolution; and ſo, towards the end of April,

Prince Rupert leaves the King; and goes into Germany

Reſigns to him the place of Maſter of the Horſe.

April, or the beginning of May, his Highneſs left the King, and begun his journey for the Palatinate.

Shortly after the Prince was gone, the King begun to think of a day for his own departure, and to make a liſt of his ſervants he intended ſhould wait upon him. He foreſaw that the only end of his journey was to find ſome place where he might ſecurely attend ſuch a conjuncture, as God Almighty ſhould give him, that might invite him to new activity, his preſent buſineſs being to be quiet; and therefore he was wont to ſay, "that he "would provide the beſt he could for it, by having "only ſuch about him as could be quiet." He could not forget the vexation the Lord Keeper had always given him, and how impoſſible it was for him to live eaſily with any body; and ſo, in the making the liſt of thoſe who were to go with him, he left his name out; which the Keeper could not be long without knowing; and thereupon he came to the King, and aſked him, "whether he did not intend that he ſhould wait upon "him?" His Majeſty told him, "No; for that he re- "ſolved to make no uſe of his Great Seal; and there- "fore that he ſhould ſtay at Paris, and not put himſelf "to the trouble of ſuch a journey, which he himſelf "intended to make without the eaſe and benefit of a "coach:" which in truth he did, putting his coach-horſes in a waggon, wherein his bed and clothes were carried: nor was he owner of a coach in ſome years after. The Keeper expoſtulated with him in vain upon the diſhonour that it would be to him to be left behind, and the next day brought the Great Seal, and delivered it to him; and deſired, "that he would ſign a paper, in which his "Majeſty acknowledged, that he had received again his "Great Seal from him;" which the King very willingly ſigned; and he immediately removed his lodging, and

The Lord Keeper Herbert reſigns his office to the King.

left

left the Court; and never after saw his Majesty; which did not at all please the Queen; who was as much troubled that he was to stay where she was, as that he did not go with the King.

The Queen prevailed with the King, at parting, in a particular in which he had fortified himself to deny her, which was, "that he would leave the Duke of Glouces- "ter with her;" which she asked with so much importunity, that, without very much disobliging her, he could not resist. She desired him "to consider in what "condition he had been bred till he came into France, "without learning either exercise or language, or having "ever seen a court, or good company; and being now "in a place, and at an age, that he might be instructed "in all these, to carry him away from all these advan- "tages to live in Germany, would be interpreted by all "the world, not only to be want of kindness towards "his brother, but want of all manner of respect to her." The reasonableness of this discourse, together with the King's utter disability to support him in the condition that was fit for him, would easily have prevailed, had it not been for the fear that the purpose was to pervert him in his religion; which when the Queen had assured the King "was not in her thought, and that she would "not permit any such attempt to be made," his Majesty consented to it.

The Queen prevails with the King to leave the Duke of Gloucester with her.

Now the day being appointed for his Majesty to begin his journey, the King desired that the Chancellor of the Exchequer might likewise part in the Queen's good grace, at least without her notable disfavour, she having been so severe towards him, that he had not for some months presumed to be in her presence: so that though he was very desirous to kiss her Majesty's hand, he himself knew not how to make any advance towards it.

But

But the day before the King was to be gone, the Lord Peircy, who was directed by his Majeſty to ſpeak in the affair, and who in truth had kindneſs for the Chancellor, and knew the prejudice againſt him to be very unjuſt, brought him word that the Queen was content to ſee him, and that he would accompany him to her in the afternoon. Accordingly at the hour appointed by her Majeſty, they found her alone in her private gallery, and the Lord Peircy withdrawing to the other end of the room, the Chancellor told her Majeſty, "that now "ſhe had vouchſafed to admit him into her preſence, "he hoped, ſhe would let him know the ground of the "diſpleaſure ſhe had conceived againſt him; that ſo "having vindicated himſelf from any fault towards her "Majeſty, he might leave her with a confidence in his "duty, and receive her commands, with an aſſurance "that they ſhould be punctually obeyed by him." The Queen, with a louder voice, and more emotion than ſhe was accuſtomed to, told him, "that ſhe had "been contented to ſee him, and to give him leave "to kiſs her hand, to comply with the King's deſires, "who had importuned her to it; otherwiſe, that he "lived in that manner towards her, that he had no rea- "ſon to expect to be welcome to her: that ſhe need not "aſſign any particular miſcarriage of his, ſince his diſ- "reſpect towards her was notorious to all men; and "that all men took notice, that he never came where "ſhe was, though he lodged under her roof," (for the houſe was her's,) "and that ſhe thought ſhe had not ſeen "him in ſix months before; which ſhe looked upon "as ſo high an affront, that only her reſpect towards "the King prevailed with her to endure it."

Upon the King's departure from France, the Chancellor of the Exchequer had an audience of the Queen Mother.

When her Majeſty made a pauſe, the Chancellor ſaid, "that her Majeſty had only mentioned his puniſh- "ment,

" ment, and nothing of his fault: that how great ſoever
" his infirmities were in defect of underſtanding, or in
" good manners, he had yet never been in Bedlam;
" which he had deſerved to be, if he had affected to
" publiſh to the world that he was in the Queen's diſ-
" favour, by avoiding to be ſeen by her: that he had
" no kind of apprehenſion that they who thought worſt
" of him, would ever believe him to be ſuch a fool, as
" to provoke the wife of his dead maſter, the greatneſs
" of whoſe affections to her was well known to him,
" and the mother of the King, who ſubſiſted by her fa-
" vour, and all this in France, where himſelf was a
" baniſhed perſon, and ſhe at home, where ſhe might
" oblige or diſoblige him at her pleaſure. So that
" he was well aſſured, that nobody would think him
" guilty of ſo much folly and madneſs, as not to uſe all
" the endeavours he poſſibly could to obtain her grace
" and protection: that it was very true, he had been
" long without the preſumption of being in her Ma-
" jeſty's preſence, after he had undergone many ſharp
" inſtances of her diſpleaſure, and after he had obſerved
" ſome alteration and averſion in her Majeſty's looks
" and countenance, upon his coming into the room
" where ſhe was, and during the time he ſtayed there;
" which others likewiſe obſerved ſo much, that they
" withdrew from holding any converſation with him in
" thoſe places, out of fear to offend her Majeſty: that
" he had often deſired, by ſeveral perſons, to know the
" cauſe of her Majeſty's diſpleaſure, and that he might
" be admitted to clear himſelf from any unworthy ſug-
" geſtions which had been made of him to her Majeſty;
" but could never obtain that honour; and therefore
" he had conceived, that he was obliged, in good
" manners, to remove ſo unacceptable an object from
" the

" the eyes of her Majeſty, by not coming into her " preſence; which all who knew him, could not but " know to be the greateſt mortification that could be " inflicted upon him; and therefore he moſt humbly " beſought her Majeſty at this audience, which might " be the laſt he ſhould receive of her, ſhe would diſ- " miſs him with the knowledge of what had been taken " amiſs, that he might be able to make his innocence " and integrity appear: which he knew had been blaſted " by the malice of ſome perſons; and thereby miſun- " derſtood and miſinterpreted by her Majeſty." But all this prevailed not with her Majeſty; who, after ſhe had, with her former paſſion, objected his credit with the King, and his endeavours to leſſen that credit which ſhe ought to have, concluded, " that ſhe ſhould be glad " to ſee reaſon to change her opinion;" and ſo, careleſsly, extended her hand towards him; which he kiſſing, her Majeſty departed to her chamber.

The King left Paris in June 1654.

It was about the beginning of June in the year 1654, that the King left Paris; and becauſe he made a private journey the firſt night, and did not join his family till the next day, which adminiſtered much occaſion of diſcourſe, and gave occaſion to a bold perſon to publiſh, amongſt the amours of the French Court, a particular that reflected upon the perſon of the King, though with leſs licence than he uſed towards his own Sovereign, it will not be amiſs in this place to mention a preſervation God then wrought for the King, that was none of the leaſt of his mercies vouchſafed to him; and which ſhews the wonderful liberty that was then taken by ſome near him, to promote their own deſigns and projects, at the price of their maſter's honour, and the intereſt of their country, or the ſenſe they had of that honour and intereſt.

There

There was at that time in the Court of France, or rather in the jealouſy of that Court, a lady of great beauty, of a preſence very graceful and alluring, and a wit and behaviour that captivated thoſe who were admitted into her preſence; her extraction was very noble, and her alliance the beſt under the Crown, her fortune rather competent, than abounding, for her degree; being the widow of a duke of an illuſtrious name, who had been killed fighting for the King in the late troubles, and left his wife childleſs, and in her full beauty. The King had often ſeen this lady with that eſteem and inclination, which few were without, both her beauty and her wit deſerving the homage that was paid to her. The Earl of Briſtol, who was then a lieutenant general in the French army, and always amorouſly inclined, and the more inclined by the difficulty of the attempt, was grown powerfully in love with this lady; and, to have the more power with her, communicated thoſe ſecrets of ſtate which concerned her ſafety, and more the Prince of Condé, whoſe couſin german ſhe was; the communication whereof was of benefit or convenience to both: yet though he made many romantic attempts to ingratiate himſelf with her, and ſuch as would neither have become, or been ſafe to any other man than himſelf, who was accuſtomed to extraordinary flights in the air, he could not arrive at the high ſucceſs he propoſed. At the ſame time, the Lord Croſts was tranſported with the ſame ambition; and though his parts were very different from the other's, yet he wanted not art and addreſs to encourage him in thoſe attempts, and could bear repulſes with more tranquillity of mind, and acquieſcence, than the other could. When theſe two lords had lamented to each other their mutual infelicity, they agreed generouſly to merit their miſtreſs's favour

by

by doing her a ſervice that ſhould deſerve it; and boldly propoſed to her the marriage of the King; who, they both knew, had no diſlike of her perſon: and they purſued it with his Majeſty with all their artifices. They added the reputation of her wiſdom and virtue to that of her beauty, and "that ſhe might be inſtrumental to "the procuring more friends towards his reſtoration, "than any other expedient then in view;" and at laſt prevailed ſo far with the King, who no doubt had a perfect eſteem of her, that he made the overture to her of marriage; which ſhe received with her natural modeſty and addreſs, declaring herſelf "to be much un-"worthy of that grace;" and beſeeching and adviſing him "to preſerve that affection and inclination for an "object more equal to him, and more capable to contri-"bute to his ſervice;" uſing all thoſe arguments for refuſal, which might prevail with and inflame him to new importunities.

Though theſe lords made themſelves, upon this advance, ſure to go through with their deſign, yet they foreſaw many obſtructions in the way. The Queen, they knew, would never conſent to it, and the French Court would obſtruct it, as they had done that of Mademoiſelle; nor could they perſuade the lady herſelf to depart from her dignity, and to uſe any of thoſe arts which might expedite the deſign. The Earl of Briſtol therefore, that the news might not come to his friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer by other hands, frankly imparted it to him, only as a paſſion of the King's that had exceedingly tranſported him; and then magnified the lady, "as a perſon that would exceed-"ingly cultivate the King's nature, and render him "much more dexterous to advance his fortune:" and therefore he profeſſed, "that he would not diſſuade "his

" his Majeſty from gratifying ſo noble an affection;" and uſed many arguments to perſuade the Chancellor too to think very well of the choice. But when he found that he was ſo far from concurring with him, that he reproached his great preſumption for interpoſing in an affair of ſo delicate a nature, as by his conduct might prove the ruin of the King, he ſeemed reſolved to proſecute it no farther, but to leave it entirely to the King's own inclination; who, upon ſerious reflections upon his own condition, and conference with thoſe he truſted moſt, quickly concluded that ſuch a marriage was not like to yield much advantage to his cauſe; and ſo reſolved to decline any farther advance towards it. Yet the ſame perſons perſuaded him, that it was a neceſſary generoſity to take his laſt farewell of her; and ſo, after he had taken leave of his mother, he went ſo much out of his way as to viſit her at her houſe; where thoſe lords made their laſt effort; and his Majeſty, with great eſteem of the lady's virtue and wiſdom, the next day joined his family, and proſecuted his journey towards Flanders; his ſmall ſtep out of the way having raiſed a confident rumour in Paris that he was married to that lady.

The King had received a paſs from the Archduke for his paſſing through Flanders, ſo warily worded, that he could not but take notice, that it was expected and provided for, that he ſhould by no means make any unneceſſary ſtay in his journey; and he found the gates of Cambray ſhut when he came thither, and was compelled to ſtay long in the afternoon, before they were opened to receive him; which they excuſed, " by reaſon that " they underſtood the enemy was at hand, and intended " to ſit down before that city;" of which there appeared in the face of all the people, and the governor himſelf,

The King comes to Cambray in his journey.

himſelf, a terrible apprehenſion. But, upon recollection, his Majeſty was well received by the governor, and treated and lodged that night by him in his houſe; who was the better compoſed by his Majeſty's aſſuring him, "that the French army was at a great diſtance "from him, and that his Majeſty had paſſed through "it the day before," (when Marſhal Turenne had drawn up the army to receive his Majeſty; the Duke of York having there likewiſe taken his leave of the King), "and, "by the march that they then appeared to make, there "was great reaſon to conclude that they had no deſign "upon Cambray;" which good information made the King's preſence the more acceptable. But beſides the civility of that ſupper, and lodging that night, his Majeſty had not the leaſt addreſs from the Archduke, who was within four or five leagues with his army, but paſſed without the leaſt notice taken of him, through thoſe provinces; ſo great a terror poſſeſſed the hearts of the Spaniard, leſt their ſhewing any reſpect to the King in his paſſage through their country, ſhould incenſe Cromwell againſt them, whoſe friendſhip they yet ſeemed to have hope of.

The King paſſes through Flanders without being taken notice of by the Archduke.

His Majeſty intended to have made no ſtay, having received letters from the Hague, that his ſiſter was already in her journey for the Spa. But, when he came to Mons, he found two gentlemen there, who came out of England with letters and inſtructions from thoſe of his friends there who retained their old affections. By them his Majeſty was informed, that many of them recovered new courage from the general diſcontent which poſſeſſed the kingdom, and which every day increaſed by the continual oppreſſions and tyranny they ſuſtained. The taxes and impoſitions every day were augmented, and Cromwell, and his Council, did greater acts of ſovereignty

At Mons he meets with meſſengers to him from his friends in England.

They notify to him the ſtate of affairs in England, relating chiefly to Cromwell and his army.

vereignty than ever King and Parliament had attempted. All gaols were full of ſuch perſons as contradicted their commands, and were ſuſpected to wiſh well to the King; and there appeared ſuch a rend among the officers of the army, that the Protector was compelled to diſplace many of them, and to put more confiding men in their places. And as this remedy was very neceſſary to be applied for his ſecurity, ſo it proved of great reputation to him, even beyond his own hope, or at leaſt his confidence. For the licence of the common ſoldiers, manifeſted in their general and public diſcourſes, cenſures, and reproaches of him, and his tyrannical proceedings, (which liberty he well knew was taken by many, that they might diſcover the affections and inclinations of other men, and for his ſervice), did not much affect him, or was not terrible to him otherwiſe than as they were ſoldiers of this or that regiment, and under this or that captain, whoſe officers he knew well hated him, and who had their ſoldiers ſo much at their devotion, that they could lead them upon any enterpriſe: and he knew well that this ſeditious ſpirit poſſeſſed many of the principal officers both of horſe and foot, who hated him now, in the ſame proportion that they had heretofore loved him, above all the world. This loud diſtemper grew the more formidable to him, in that he did believe the fire was kindled and blown by Lambert, and that they were all conducted and inſpired by his melancholic and undiſcerned ſpirit, though yet all things were outwardly very fair between them. Upon this diſquiſition he ſaw hazard enough in attempting any reformation, (which the army thought he durſt not undertake to do alone, and they feared not his proceeding by a council of war, where they knew they had many friends), but apparent danger, and very probable ruin, if he deferred

it. And ſo truſting only to, and depending upon his own ſtars, he caſhiered ten or a dozen officers, though not of the higheſt command, and thoſe whom he moſt apprehended, yet of thoſe petulant and active humours, which made them for the preſent moſt uſeful to the others, and moſt pernicious to him. By this experiment he found the example wrought great effects upon many who were not touched by it, and that the men who had done ſo much miſchief, being now reduced to a private condition, and like other particular men, did not only loſe all their credit with the ſoldiers, but behaved themſelves with much more warineſs and reſervation towards all other men. This gave him more eaſe than he had before enjoyed, and raiſed his reſolution how to proceed hereafter upon the like provocations, and gave him great credit and authority with thoſe who had believed that many officers had a greater influence upon the army than himſelf.

It was very evident that he had ſome war in his purpoſe; for from the time that he had made a peace with the Dutch, he took greater care to increaſe his ſtores and magazines of arms and ammunition, and to build more ſhips than he had ever done before; and he had given order to make ready two great fleets in the winter, under officers who ſhould have no dependence upon each other; and landmen were likewiſe appointed to be levied. Some principal officers amongſt theſe made great profeſſions of duty to the King; and made tender of their ſervice to his Majeſty by theſe gentlemen. It was thought neceſſary to make a day's ſtay at Mons, to diſpatch thoſe gentlemen; who were very well known, and worthy to be truſted. Such commiſſions were prepared for them, and ſuch inſtructions, as were deſired by thoſe who employed them.

And

And his Majeſty gave nothing ſo much in charge to the meſſengers, and to all his friends in England with whom he had correſpondence, as, "that they ſhould "live quietly, without making any deſperate or unrea- "ſonable attempt, or giving advantage to thoſe who "watched them, to put them into priſon, and to ruin "their eſtates and families." He told them, "the "vanity of imagining that any inſurrection could give "any trouble to ſo well a formed and diſciplined army, "and the deſtruction that muſt attend ſuch a raſh at- "tempt: that, as he would be always ready to venture "his own perſon with them in any reaſonable and well "formed undertaking; ſo he would with patience at- "tend God's own time for ſuch an opportunity; and, "in the mean time, he would ſit ſtill in ſuch a conve- "nient place as he ſhould find willing to receive him; "of which he could yet make no judgment:" however, it was very neceſſary that ſuch commiſſions ſhould be in the hands of diſcreet and able men, in expectation of two contingencies, which might reaſonably be expected. The one, ſuch a ſchiſm in the army, as might divide it upon contrary intereſts into open conteſts, and declarations againſt each other, which could not but produce an equal ſchiſm in the government: the other, the death of Cromwell, which was conſpired by the Levellers, under ſeveral combinations. And if that fell out, it could hardly be imagined, that the army would remain united to the particular deſign of any ſingle perſon, but that the Parliament, which had been with ſo much violence turned out of doors by Cromwell, and which took itſelf to be perpetual, would quickly aſſemble again together, and take upon themſelves the ſupreme government.

The King adviſes his friends in England to be quiet.

Lambert, who was unqueſtionably the ſecond perſon

in the command of the army, and was thought to be the firſt in their affections, had had no leſs hand than Cromwell himſelf in the diſſolution of that Parliament, and was principal in raiſing him to be Protector under the Inſtrument of Government; and ſo could never reaſonably hope to be truſted, and employed by them in the abſolute command of an army that had already ſo notoriouſly rebelled againſt their maſters. Then Monk, who had the abſolute command in Scotland, and was his rival already, under a mutual jealouſy, would never ſubmit to the government of Lambert, if he had no other title to it than his own preſumption; and Harry Cromwell had made himſelf ſo popular in Ireland, that he would not, probably, be commanded by a man whom he knew to be his father's greateſt enemy. Theſe conſiderations had made that impreſſion upon thoſe in England who were the moſt wary and averſe from any raſh attempt, that they all wiſhed that commiſſions, and all other neceſſary powers, might be granted by the King, and depoſited in ſuch good hands as had the courage to truſt themſelves with the keeping them, till ſuch a conjuncture ſhould fall out as is mentioned, and of which few men thought there was reaſon to deſpair.

The King having in this manner diſpatched thoſe meſſengers, and ſettled the beſt way he could to correſpond with his friends, continued his journey from Mons to Namur; where he had a pleaſant paſſage by water to Liege; from whence, in five or ſix hours, he reached the Spa, the next day after the Princeſs Royal, his beloved ſiſter, was come thither, and where they reſolved to ſpend two or three months together; which they did, to their ſingular content and ſatiſfaction. And for ſome time the joy of being out of France,

The King arrives at the Spa, where he meets the Princeſs of Orange.

France, where his Majeſty had enjoyed no other pleaſure than being alive, and the delight of the company he was now in, ſuſpended all thoughts of what place he was next to retire to. For as it could not be fit for his ſiſter to ſtay longer from her own affairs in Holland, than the pretence of her health required, ſo the Spa was a place that nobody could ſtay longer in than the ſeaſon for the waters continued; which ended with the ſummer.

The Earl of Rocheſter returns to the King from Ratiſbon.

The King no ſooner arrived at the Spa, than the Earl of Rocheſter returned thither to him from his negociation at Ratiſbon; where he had remained during the Diet, without owning the character he might have aſſumed; yet performed all the offices with the Emperor, and the other Princes, with leſs noiſe and expence, and with the ſame ſucceſs as he could have expected from any qualification. The truth is, all the German Princes were at that time very poor; and that meeting for the chooſing a King of the Romans was of vaſt expence to every one of them, and full of faction and contradiction; ſo that they had little leiſure, and leſs inclination, to think of any buſineſs but what concerned themſelves: yet in the cloſe of the Diet, by the conduct and dexterity of the Elector of Mentz, who was eſteemed the wiſeſt and moſt practical Prince of the empire, and who, out of mere generoſity, was exceedingly affected with the ill fortune of the King, that aſſembly was prevailed with to grant a ſubſidy of four romer months; which is the meaſure of all taxes and impoſitions in Germany; that is, by the romer months, which every Prince is to pay, and cauſe it to be collected from their ſubjects in their own method. This money was to be paid towards the better ſupport of the King of Great Britain. And the Elector of

The King obtains a ſmall ſubſidy from the Diet in Germany.

Mentz, by his own example, perſuaded as many of the Princes as he had credit with, forthwith to pay their proportions to the Earl of Rocheſter, who was ſolicitous enough to receive it. The whole contribution, if it had been generouſly made good, had not amounted to any conſiderable ſum upon ſo important an occaſion. But the Emperor himſelf paid nothing, nor many other of the Princes, amongſt whom were the Elector Palatine, and the Landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, who had both received great obligations from King James, and the laſt King his ſon: ſo that the whole that was ever paid to the King did not amount to ten thouſand pounds ſterling; a great part whereof was ſpent in the negociation of the Earl, and in the many journeys he made to the Princes, being extremely poſſeſſed with the ſpirit of being the King's General, which he thought he ſhould not be, except he made levies of men; for which he was very ſolicitous to make contracts with old German officers, when there was neither port in view, where he might embark them, nor a poſſibility of procuring ſhips to tranſport them, though Cromwell had not been poſſeſſed of any naval power to have reſiſted them; ſo blind men are, whoſe paſſions are ſo ſtrong, and their judgment ſo weak, that they can look but upon one thing at once.

That part of the money that was paid to his Majeſty's uſe was managed with very good huſbandry, and was a ſeaſonable ſupport to his well ordered family, which with his own expences for his table, and his ſtable, and the board-wages, with which all his ſervants from the higheſt to the loweſt were well ſatisfied, according to the eſtabliſhment after he left France, amounted not to above ſix hundred piſtoles a month; which expence was not exceeded in many years, even until his coming into

The monthly expences of the King's ſmall family.

into Holland in order to his return into England. This method in the managery gave the King great eaſe; contented, and kept the family in better order and humour than could reaſonably have been expected; and was the more ſatisfactory, by the no care, and order, that had been obſerved during all the reſidence the King had made in France.

The King ſtayed not ſo long at the Spa as he meant to have done, the ſmall pox breaking out there; and one of the young ladies who attended upon the Princeſs Royal, being ſeized upon by it, died: ſo that his Majeſty, and his ſiſter, upon very ſudden thoughts, removed from the Spa to Aken, or Aquiſgrane, an imperial and free town, governed by their own magiſtrates; where the King of the Romans ought to receive his firſt iron crown, which is kept there. This place is famous for its hot baths, whither many come after they have drank the cold waters of the Spa, and was a part of the preſcription which the phyſicians had made to the Princeſs, after ſhe ſhould have finiſhed her waters in the other place. Upon that pretence, and for the uſe of thoſe baths, the Courts removed now thither; but in truth with a deſign that the King might make his reſidence there, the town being large, and the country about it pleaſant, and within five hours (for the journeys in thoſe countries are meaſured by hours) of Maeſtricht, the moſt pleaſant ſeat within the dominions of the United Provinces. The magiſtrates received the King ſo civilly, that his Majeſty, who knew no other place where he was ſure to be admitted, reſolved to ſtay there; and, in order thereunto, contracted for a convenient houſe, which belonged to one who was called a Baron; whither he reſolved to remove, as ſoon as his ſiſter, who

The King removes to Aken from the Spa.

had

had taken the two great inns of the town for her's and the King's accommodation, ſhould return into Holland.

Here the good old Secretary Nicholas, who had remained in Holland from the time that, upon the treaty of Breda, the King had tranſported himſelf into Scotland, preſented himſelf to his Majeſty; who received him very graciouſly, as a perſon of great merit and integrity from the beginning of the troubles, and always entirely truſted by the King his father. And now to him the King gave his ſignet; which for three years had been kept by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, out of friendſhip that it might be reſtored to him. And he had therefore refuſed in France to be admitted into the Secretary's office, which he executed, becauſe he knew that they who adviſed it, did it rather that Nicholas might not have it, than out of any kindneſs to himſelf. He held himſelf obliged by the friendſhip, that had ever been between them, to preſerve it for him; and, as ſoon as he came to Aken, deſired the King to declare him to be his Secretary; which was done; by which he had a faſt friend added to the Council, and of general reputation.

Secretary Nicholas comes hither to the King, and the King gives him the ſignet.

When the King remained at Aken, he received many expreſſes out of England, which informed him of the renewed courage of his friends there: that the faction and animoſity which every day appeared between the officers of the army, and in Cromwell's Council, upon particular intereſt, raiſed a general opinion and hope, that there would be an abſolute rupture between them; when either party would be glad to make a conjunction with the King's. In order thereunto, there was an intelligence entered into throughout the kingdom, that they might make uſe of ſuch an occaſion; and they

The accounts the King receives here out of England.

ſent

ſent now to the King to be directed by him, how they ſhould behave themſelves upon ſuch and ſuch contingencies; and ſent for more commiſſions of the ſame kind as had been formerly ſent to them. The King renewed his commands to them, "not to flatter themſelves with vain imaginations; nor to give too eaſy credit to appearances of factions and diviſions; which would always be counterfeited, that they might the more eaſily diſcover the agitations and tranſactions of thoſe upon whom they looked as inveterate and irreconcileable enemies to the government." He gives the ſame advice as before to his friends.

News came from Scotland, that Middleton had ſome ſucceſſes in the Highlands; and the Scottiſh lords who were priſoners in England aſſured the King, "that there was now ſo entire a union in that nation for his ſervice, that they wiſhed his Majeſty himſelf would venture thither:" and the Lord Balcarris, who was with the King, and entruſted by that people, uſed much inſtance with him to that purpoſe; which, how unreaſonable ſoever the advice ſeemed to be, men knew not how to contradict by propoſing any thing that ſeemed more reaſonable; and ſo underwent the reproach of being lazy and unactive, and unwilling to ſubmit to any fatigue, or to expoſe themſelves to any danger; without which, it was thought, his Majeſty could not expect to be reſtored to any part of his ſovereignty. The King receives an account from Scotland and Middleton.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer one day repreſenting to the King the ſadneſs of his condition, and the general diſcourſes of men, and, "that it was his Majeſty's misfortune to be thought by many not to be active enough towards his own redemption, and to love his eaſe too much, in reſpect both of his age and his fortune," deſired him "to conſider upon this The Chancellor of the Exchequer's diſcourſe to the King concerning his going into Scotland.

news,

" news, and importunity from Scotland, whether in " thoſe Highlands there might not be ſuch a ſafe re- " treat and reſidence, that he might reaſonably ſay, " that with the affections of that people, which had " been always firm both to his father and himſelf, he " might preſerve himſelf in ſafety, though he could not " hope to make any advance, or recover the lower part " of that kingdom poſſeſſed by the enemy; and if ſo, " whether he might not expect the good hand of Provi- " dence, by ſome revolution, more honourably there, " than in ſuch corners of other Princes' dominions, as " he might be forced to put himſelf into." His Ma- jeſty diſcourſed very calmly of that country, part where- of he had ſeen; of the miſerable poverty of the people, and their courſe of life; and how " impoſſible it was " for him to live there with ſecurity or with health; that, " if ſickneſs did not deſtroy him, which he had reaſon " to expect from the ill accommodation he muſt be " there contented with, he ſhould in a ſhort time be " betrayed and given up." And in this debate, he told him that melancholic concluſion, which David Leſley made at Warrington-bridge, which is mentioned before, when he told the King, " that thoſe men would never " fight;" which his Majeſty had never, he ſaid, told to any body before. However, he ſaid, " if his friends " would adviſe him to that expedition, he would tranſ- " port himſelf into the Highlands; though he knew " what would come of it, and that they would be ſorry " for it:" which ſtopped the Chancellor from ever ſay- ing more to that purpoſe. And it was not long after that news came, of Middleton's having been like to be given up to the enemy by the treachery of that people, and of the defeat his troops had received, and that he ſhould be at laſt forced to quit that miſerable country; which,

The King's reply.

which, however, he reſolved to endure, as long as ſhould be poſſible.

The ſeaſon of the year now begun to approach that would oblige the Princeſs Royal to return to the Hague, leſt the jealous States, from her long abſence, might be induced to contrive ſome act prejudicial to her and her ſon; which ſhe was the more liable to, from the unkind differences between her and the Princeſs Dowager, mother of the deceaſed Prince of Orange, a lady of great cunning and dexterity to promote her own intereſt. The air of Aken, and the ill ſmell of the baths, made that place leſs agreeable to the King than at firſt he believed it to be; and he wiſhed to find a better town to reſide in, which he might be put to endure long. The city of Cologne was diſtant from Aken two ſhort days' journey, and had the fame of an excellent ſituation. But the people were reported to be of a proud and mutinous nature, always in rebellion againſt their Biſhop and Prince, and of ſo much bigotry in religion that they had expelled all Proteſtants out of their city, and would ſuffer no exerciſe of religion, but of the Roman Catholic. So that there ſeemed little hope that they would permit the King to reſide there; the rather, becauſe it was the ſtaple for the wines of that country, and maintained a good intelligence and trade with England. If the King ſhould ſend thither to provide a houſe, and declare a purpoſe to ſtay there, and they ſhould refuſe to receive him, it might be of very ill conſequence, and fright any other places, and Aken itſelf, from permitting him to return thither; and therefore that adventure was to be avoided. At laſt it was concluded, that the Princeſs Royal ſhould make Cologne her way into Holland, which was reaſonable enough, by the convenience of the river for the commodious tranſportation of her goods

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and family: and the King, accompanying her ſo far, might make a judgment, upon his obſervation, whether it would be beſt for him to ſtay there, or to return to Aken; where he would leave his family, as the place where he had taken a houſe, and to which he meant in few days to return. With this reſolution they left Aken, about the middle of September; and lodging one night at Juliers, a little dirty town upon a flat, not worthy to have made a quarrel between ſo many of the princes of Europe, nor of the fame it got by the ſiege, they came the next day to Cologne; where they were received with all the reſpect, pomp, and magnificence, that could be expected, or the city could perform. The houſe, which the harbingers of the Princeſs had taken for her reception, ſerved likewiſe to accommodate the King; and the magiſtrates performed their reſpects to both with all poſſible demonſtration of civility.

In September the King and his ſiſter come to Cologne.

Cologne is a city moſt pleaſantly ſituated upon the banks of the Rhine; of a large extent, and fair and ſubſtantial buildings; and encompaſſed with a broad and excellent rampart, upon which are fair walks of great elms, where two coaches may go on breaſt, and, for the beauty of it, is not inferior to the walls of Antwerp, but rather ſuperior, becauſe this goes round the town. The government is under the ſenate and conſuls; of whom there was one then conſul, who ſaid "he was deſcended "from father to ſon of a Patrician Roman family, that "had continued from the time the colony was firſt "planted there." It had never been otherwiſe ſubject to the Biſhops, than in ſome points which refer to their eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction; which they ſometimes endeavouring to enlarge, the magiſtrates always oppoſe: and that gives the ſubject of the diſcourſe of jealouſies, and conteſts, between their Prince and them; which are neither

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ſo frequent, nor of that moment, as they are reported to be. The Elector never reſides there, but keeps his court at his caſtle of Bonne, near four miles from thence. And that Elector, who was of the houſe of Bavaria, and a melancholic and peeviſh man, had not then been in the city in very many years. The number of churches and religious houſes is incredible; inſomuch as it was then averred, "that the religious perſons and church-"men made up a full moiety of the inhabitants of the "town;" and their intereſt and authority ſo far prevailed, that, ſome few years before the King came thither, they expelled all thoſe of the Proteſtant religion, contrary to the advice of the wiſeſt of the magiſtrates; who confeſſed "that the trade of the town was much decayed "thereby, and the poverty thereof much increaſed." And it is very poſſible, that the vaſt number and unſkilful zeal of the eccleſiaſtical and religious perſons may at ſome time expoſe that noble city to the ſurpriſe of ſome powerful prince, who would quickly deprive them of their long enjoyed privileges. And there was, in that very time of the King's ſtay there, a deſign by the French to have ſurpriſed it; Schomberg lying many days in wait there, to have performed that ſervice; which was very hardly prevented. The people are ſo much more civil than they were reported to be, that they ſeem to be the moſt converſible, and to underſtand the laws of ſociety and converſation better than any other people of Germany. To the King they were ſo devoted, that when they underſtood he was not ſo fixed to the reſolution of reſiding at Aken, but that he might be diverted from it, they very handſomely made tender to him of any accommodation that city could yield him, and of all the affection and duty they could pay him; which his Majeſty moſt willingly accepted; and giving order for the payment

The citizens invite the King to reſide there.

ment of the rent of the houſe he had taken at Aken, which he had not at all uſed, and other diſburſements, which the maſter of the houſe had made to make it the more convenient for his Majeſty, and likewiſe ſending very gracious letters to the magiſtrates of that town, for the civility they had expreſſed towards him, he ſent for that part of his family which remained there, to attend him at Cologne; where he declared he would ſpend that winter.

The King fixes there.

As ſoon as the King came to Cologne, he ſent to the neighbour Princes, by proper meſſages and inſinuations, for that money, which by the grant of the Diet, that is, by their own conceſſion, they were obliged to pay to his Majeſty; which though it amounted to no great ſum, yet was of great conveniency to his ſupport. The Duke of Newburgh, whoſe Court was at Duſſeldorp, a ſmall day's journey from Cologne, and by which the Princeſs Royal was to paſs if ſhe made uſe of the river, ſent his proportion very generouſly, with many expreſſions of great reſpect and duty, and with inſinuation "that he would be glad to receive the honour of entertaining the King and his ſiſter in his palace, as "ſhe returned." However he forbore to make any ſolemn invitation, without which they could not make the viſit, till ſome ceremonies were firſt adjuſted; upon which that nation is more punctual, and obſtinate, than any other people in Europe. He who gave the intimation, and came only with a compliment to congratulate his Majeſty's and her Royal Highneſs's arrival in thoſe parts, was well inſtructed in the particulars; of which there were only two of moment, and the reſt were formalities from which they might recede, if thoſe two were conſented to. The one was, "that the King, at "their firſt meeting, ſhould at leaſt once treat the Duke

"with

" with *Alteſſe*;" the other, " that the Duke might ſa-
" lute the Princeſs Royal;" and without conſenting to theſe two, there could be no meeting between them. Both the King and his ſiſter were naturally enough inclined to new ſights and feſtivities; and the King thought it of moment to him to receive the reſpect and civility of any of the German Princes: and among them, there were few more conſiderable in their dominions, and none in their perſons, than the Duke of Newburgh; who reckoned himſelf upon the ſame level with the Electors. And the King was informed, " that the Emperor himſelf al-
" ways treated him with *Alteſſe*;" and therefore his Majeſty made no ſcruple of giving him the ſame. The matter of ſaluting the Princeſs Royal was of a new and delicate nature; that dignity had been ſo punctually preſerved, from the time of her coming into Holland, that the old Prince of Orange, father of her huſband, would never pretend to it: yet that ceremony depending only upon the cuſtom of countries, and the Duke of Newburgh being a ſovereign Prince, inferior to none in Germany, and his ambaſſador always covering before the Emperor, the King thought fit, and her Royal Highneſs conſented, that the Duke ſhould ſalute her. And ſo all matters being adjuſted without any noiſe, the King, about the middle of October, accompanied his ſiſter by water to Duſſeldorp; where they arrived between three and four of the clock in the afternoon; and found the Duke and his Ducheſs waiting for them on the ſide of the water; where after having performed their mutual civilities and compliments, the King, and the Princeſs Royal, and the Duke and the Ducheſs of Newburgh, went into the Duke's coach, and the company into the coaches which were provided for them, and alighted at the caſtle, that was very near; where his

Majeſty was conducted into his quarter, and the Princeſs into her's, the Duke and the Ducheſs immediately retiring into their own quarters; where they new dreſſed themſelves, and viſited not the King again till above half an hour before ſupper, and after the King and Princeſs had performed their devotion.

The caſtle is a very princely houſe, having been the ſeat of the Duke of Cleve; which duchy, together with that of Juliers, having lately fallen to heirs females, (whereof the mothers of the Elector of Brandenburgh, and Duke of Newburgh, were two), when all the pretenders ſeizing upon that which lay moſt convenient to them, this of Duſſeldorp, by agreement, afterwards remained ſtill to Newburgh; whoſe father, being of the reformed religion in the late contention, found the houſe of Brandenburgh too ſtrong for him, by having the Prince of Orange and the States his faſt friends; and thereupon, that he might have a ſtrong ſupport from the Emperor and King of Spain, became Roman Catholic, and thereby had the aſſiſtance he expected. At the ſame time he put his ſon, who was then very young, to be bred under the Jeſuits; by which education, the preſent Duke was with more than ordinary bigotry zealous in the Roman religion.

He was a man of very fine parts of knowledge, and in his manners and behaviour much the beſt bred of any German. He had the flowing civility and language of the French, enough reſtrained and controlled by the German gravity and formality; ſo that, altogether, he ſeemed a very accompliſhed Prince, and became himſelf very well, having a good perſon, and graceful motion. He was at that time above thirty, and had been married to the ſiſter of the former, and the then King of Poland; who leaving only a daughter, he was now newly

newly married to the daughter of the Landgrave of Heſſe Darmſtadt, who upon her marriage became Roman Catholic. She had no eminent features of beauty, nor the French language and vivacity, to contribute to the entertainment; ſo that ſhe was rather a ſpectator of the feſtivity, than a part of it. The entertainment was very ſplendid and magnificent in all preparations, as well for the tables which were prepared for the lords and the ladies, as that where his Majeſty and his ſiſter and the Duke and the Ducheſs only ſate: the meals, according to the cuſtom of Germany, very long, with ſeveral ſorts of muſic, both of inſtruments and voices; which, if not excellent, was new, and differed much from what his Majeſty was accuſtomed to hear. There was wine in abundance, but no man preſſed to drink, if he called not for it; and the Duke himſelf an enemy to all exceſſes.

After two days ſpent in this manner, in which time the King made a great friendſhip with the Duke, which always continued, they parted; and there being near the river, diſtant another ſhort day's journey, a handſome open town of good receipt, called Santen, belonging to that part of the duchy of Cleve which was aſſigned to the Elector of Brandenburgh, the King reſolved to accompany his ſiſter thither; where having ſpent that night, the next morning her Royal Highneſs, after an unwilling farewell, proſecuted her journey to Holland, and his Majeſty returned by horſe to Cologne; where the ſame houſe was prepared for him in which he and his ſiſter had inhabited, whilſt ſhe ſtayed there. And by this time the end of October was come; which, in thoſe parts, is more than the entrance into winter. The magiſtrates of the city renewed their civilities, and pro-

The King brings his ſiſter to Santen in the duchy of Cleve, where they part; and the King returns to Cologne.

feſſions of reſpect to the King; which they always made good; nor could his Majeſty have choſen a more convenient retreat in any place; and he, being well refreſhed with the divertiſements he had enjoyed, betook himſelf with great cheerfulneſs to compoſe his mind to his fortune; and, with a marvellous contentedneſs, preſcribed ſo many hours in the day to his retirement in his cloſet; which he employed in reading and ſtudying both the Italian and French languages; and, at other times, walked much upon the walls of the town, (for, as is ſaid before, he had no coach, nor would ſuffer his ſiſter to leave him one), and ſometimes rid into the fields; and, in the whole, ſpent his time very well.

His way of life there.

The Nuncio of the Pope reſided in that city, and performed all reſpects to his Majeſty: he was a proper and grave man, an Italian biſhop, who never made the leaſt ſcruple at his Majeſty's enjoying the liberty of his chapel, and the exerciſe of his religion, though it was very public; ſo that in truth his Majeſty was not without any reſpect that could be ſhewed to him in thoſe parts, ſave that the Elector never came to ſee him, though he lived within little more than an hour; which he excuſed by ſome indiſpoſition of health, and unwillingneſs to enter into that city; though it proceeded as much from the ſullenneſs and moroſeneſs of his nature, unapt for any converſation, and averſe from all civilities; which made him for a long time to defer the payment of his ſmall quota, which had been granted to the King by the Diet, and was at laſt extorted from him by an importunity unfit to have been preſſed upon any other prince, or gentleman. This Elector's defect of urbanity was the more excuſable, or the leſs to be complained of, ſince the Elector Palatine, ſo nearly allied

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to the Crown, and ſo much obliged by it, did not think fit to take any notice of the King's being ſo near him, or to ſend a meſſenger to ſalute him.

An account of the endeavours at Paris to pervert the Duke of Glouceſter in his religion.

Within a ſhort time after his Majeſty's return to Cologne, he received news that exceedingly afflicted him, and the more, that he knew not what remedy to apply to the miſchief which he ſaw was likely to befall him upon it. From Paris, his Majeſty heard, that the Queen had put away the tutor he had left to attend his brother the Duke of Glouceſter; who remained at Paris, upon her Majeſty's deſire, that he might learn his exerciſes. The Queen had conferred with him upon "the "deſperateneſs of his condition, in reſpect of the King "his brother's fortune, and the little hope that appeared "that his Majeſty could ever be reſtored, at leaſt if he "did not himſelf become Roman Catholic; whereby "the Pope, and other Princes of that religion, might be "united in his quarrel; which they would never under-"take upon any other obligation: that it was therefore "fit that the Duke, who had nothing to ſupport him, "nor could expect any thing from the King, ſhould "be inſtructed in the Roman Catholic religion; that "ſo, becoming a good Catholic, he might be capable "of thoſe advantages which her Majeſty ſhould be able "to procure for him: that the Queen of France would "hereupon confer abbeys and benefices upon him, to "ſuch a value, as would maintain him in that ſplendour "as was ſuitable to his birth: that, in a little time, the "Pope would make him a Cardinal; by which he might "be able to do the King his brother much ſervice, and "contribute to his recovery; whereas, without this, he "muſt be expoſed to great neceſſity and miſery, for "that ſhe was not able any longer to give him main-"tenance." She found the Duke more reſolute than

ſhe expected from his age; he was ſo well inſtructed in his religion, that he diſputed againſt the change; urged the precepts he had received from the King his father, and his dying in the faith he had preſcribed to him; put her Majeſty in mind of the promiſe ſhe had made to the King his brother at parting; and acknowledged, "that he had obliged himſelf to his Majeſty, that he "would never change his religion; and therefore be- "ſought her Majeſty, that ſhe would not farther preſs "him, at leaſt till he ſhould inform the King of it." The Queen well enough knew the King's mind, and thought it more excuſable to proceed in that affair without imparting it to him; and therefore took upon her the authority of a mother, and removed his tutor from him; and committed the Duke to the care of Abbot Mountague her Almoner; who, having the pleaſant abbey of Pontoiſe, entertained his Highneſs there, ſequeſtered from all reſort of ſuch perſons as might confirm him in his averſeneſs from being converted.

As ſoon as the King received this advertiſement, which both the Duke and his tutor made haſte to tranſmit to him, he was exceedingly perplexed. On the one hand, his Majeſty knew the reproaches which would be caſt upon him by his enemies, who took all the pains they could to perſuade the world, that he himſelf had changed his religion; and though his exerciſe of it was ſo public, wherever he was, that ſtrangers reſorted to it, and ſo could bear witneſs of it, yet their impudence was ſuch in their poſitive averment, that they perſuaded many in England, and eſpecially of thoſe of the reformed religion abroad, that his Majeſty was in truth a Papiſt: and his leaving his brother behind him in France, where it was evident the Queen would endeavour to pervert him, would be an argument, that he did not deſire to prevent it:

it: on the other ſide, he knew well the little credit he had in France, and how far they would be from aſſiſting him, in a conteſt of ſuch a nature with his mother. However, that the world might ſee plainly that he did all that was in his power, he ſent the Marquis of Ormond with all poſſible expedition into France; who, he very well knew, would ſteadily execute his commands. He writ a letter of complaint to the Queen, of her having proceeded in that manner in a matter of ſo near importance to him, and conjured her "to diſcon- "tinue the proſecution of it; and to ſuffer his brother "the Duke of Glouceſter to repair with the Marquis of "Ormond to his preſence." He commanded the Duke "not to conſent to any propoſitions which ſhould be "made to him for the change of his religion; and that "he ſhould follow the advice of the Marquis of Or- "mond, and accompany him to Cologne." And he directed the Marquis of Ormond, "to let Mr. Mounta- "gue, and whoſoever of the Engliſh ſhould join with "him, know, that they ſhould expect ſuch a reſent- "ment from his Majeſty, if they did not comply with "his commands, as ſhould be ſuitable to his honour, "and to the affront they put upon him."

The King ſends the Marquis of Ormond into France to him.

The Marquis behaved himſelf with ſo much wiſdom and reſolution, that though the Queen was enough offended with him, and with the expoſtulation the King made with her, and imputed all the King's ſharpneſs and reſolution to the counſel he received from the Marquis and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, yet ſhe thought not fit to extend her power in detaining the Duke, both againſt the King's and his own will; and the Duke, upon the receipt of the King's letter, declared, "that he would obey his Majeſty;" and the Abbot found, that he muſt enter into an abſolute defi-

ance with the King, if he perſiſted in adviſing the Queen not to comply with his Majeſty's directions: ſo that, after two or three days' deliberation, the Queen expreſſing very much diſpleaſure at the King's proceeding, and that ſhe ſhould wholly be diveſted of the power and authority of a mother, told the Marquis, "that the Duke might diſpoſe of himſelf as he pleaſed; "and that ſhe would not concern herſelf farther, nor ſee "him any more." And thereupon the Duke put himſelf into the hands of the Marquis; who immediately removed him from Pontoiſe to the houſe of the Lord Hatton, an Engliſh lord, who lived then in Paris; where he remained for ſome days, until the Marquis could borrow money (which was no eaſy matter) to defray the journey to the King. And then they quickly left Paris; and ſhortly after came to the King; who was extremely ſatisfied with the Marquis's negociation and ſucceſs; and kept his brother always with him, till the time that he returned into England, the Queen remaining as much unſatisfied.

The Marquis brings the Duke to Cologne.

Innocent the tenth was now dead; who had outlived the underſtanding and judgment he had been formerly maſter of, and loſt all the reputation he had formerly gotten; and, as Jehoram, *departed without being deſired.* He had fomented the rebellion in England by cheriſhing that in Ireland; whither he had ſent a light-headed Nuncio, who did much miſchief to his Majeſty's ſervice, as hath been touched before. The world was in great expectation who ſhould ſucceed him, when, one day, the Duke of Newburgh ſent a gentleman to the King to bring him the news that Cardinal Chigi was choſen Pope; "of which," the Duke ſaid, "his "Majeſty had great cauſe to be glad;" which the King underſtood not. But, the next day, the Duke himſelf

The Duke of Newburgh ſends the King word, that Cardinal Chigi was choſen

himſelf came to the King, and told him, "that he came "to congratulate with his Majeſty for the election of "the new Pope, who called himſelf Alexander the ſe- "venth; and who, he ſaid, he was confident, would do "him great ſervice;" and thereupon related a diſcourſe that had paſſed between him and the new Pope, when he was Nuncio at Cologne, ſome years before: when they two conferring together ("as," he ſaid, "there was great "confidence and friendſhip between them") of the rebellion in England, and of the execrable murder of the late King, the Nuncio broke out into great paſſion, even with tears, and ſaid, "it was a monſtrous thing "that the two Crowns ſhould weary and ſpend each "other's ſtrength and ſpirits in ſo unjuſt and ground- "leſs a war, when they had ſo noble an occaſion to "unite their power to revenge that impious murder, in "which the honour and the lives of all kings were "concerned; and, he ſaid, the Pope was concerned "never to let either of them to be quiet, till he had re- "conciled them, and obliged all Chriſtian kings and "ſtates, without conſideration of any difference in reli- "gion, to join together for the reſtoration of the King; "which would be the greateſt honour the Pope could "obtain in this world. All which," he ſaid, "the "Nuncio ſpoke with ſo much warmth and concernment, "that he could not doubt, but that, now God had raiſed "him to that chair, he hoped, for that end, he would "remember his former opinion, and execute it himſelf; "being," he ſaid, "a man of the moſt public heart, and "the moſt ſuperior to all private deſigns, that the world "had:" the Duke taking great delight to remember many of his diſcourſes, and deſcribing him to be ſuch a man, as he was generally believed to be for the firſt two years of his reign, till he manifeſted his affections with more

Pope; and his diſcourſe with his Majeſty concerning making ſome application to the Pope for ſupply and aſſiſtance.

more ingenuity. The Duke desired his Majesty to consider, "whether there might not be somewhat he "might reasonably wish from the Pope; and if it were "not fit to be proposed as from his Majesty, he would "be willing to promote it in his own name, having, he "thought, some interest in his Holiness. And," he said, "he was resolved to send a person purposely to "Rome with his congratulation, and to render his obe- "dience to the Pope; and that he would instruct that "person in whatsoever his Majesty should wish: and "though he could not hope, that any greater matter "would be done towards his Majesty's restoration, till "the peace should be effected between the two Crowns, "(which he knew the Pope would labour in till he had "brought it to pass), yet he could not doubt but that, "out of the generosity of his Holiness, his Majesty "would receive some supply towards his better support; "which, for the present, was all that could be ex- "pected: that the person whom he intended to send "was a Jesuit, who was at that present in Newburgh; "but he had, or would send for him: that though he "was a religious man, yet he was a person of that expe- "rience, temper, and wisdom, that he had entrusted "him in affairs not only of the greatest secrecy, but in "negociations of the greatest importance; in which he "had always behaved himself with singular prudence "and judgment:" and he assured his Majesty "he was "equal to any trust; and if, upon what he had said and "offered, his Majesty thought he might be of use to "him in his journey, he would send him to Cologne as "soon as he came, that he might attend upon his Ma- "jesty, and receive any commands he would vouchsafe "to lay upon him."

Though the King had in truth very little hope that the

the new Pope would be more magnanimous than the old, and did believe that the maxim, with which Innocent had anſwered thoſe who would have diſpoſed him to ſupply the King with ſome money, "that he could "not, with a good conſcience, apply the patrimony of "the Church to the aſſiſtance and ſupport of heretics," would be as current divinity with Alexander, and all his ſucceſſors, yet he could not but be abundantly ſatisfied with the kindneſs of the Duke of Newburgh, and could not conclude how far his interpoſition might prevail upon a temper and conſtitution ſo refined, and without thoſe dregs which others had uſed to carry about them to that promotion: therefore, after thoſe acknowledgments which were due for the overtures, his Majeſty told him, "that he would entirely commit it to his wiſ-"dom, to do thoſe offices with the new Pope as he "thought fit, ſince he could expect nothing but upon "that account; and that he would do any thing on his "part which was fit for him to do, and which ſhould "be thought of moment to facilitate the other pre-"tences." Whereupon the Duke told him, "that the "bloody laws in England againſt the Roman Catholic "religion made a very great noiſe in the world; and "that his Majeſty was generally underſtood to be a "Prince of a tender and merciful nature, which would "not take delight in the executing ſo much cruelty; "and therefore he conceived it might be very agreeable "to his inclination to declare, and promiſe, that when it "ſhould pleaſe God to reſtore his Majeſty to his go-"vernment, he would never ſuffer thoſe laws to be "executed, but would cauſe them to be repealed; "which generous and pious reſolution made known to "the Pope, would work very much upon him, and diſ-"poſe him to make an anſwerable return to his Ma-"jeſty."

"jeſty." The King anſwered, "that his Highneſs "might very ſafely undertake on his behalf, that if it "ſhould be in his power, it ſhould never be in his will, "to execute thoſe ſevere laws: but that it was not in his "power abſolutely to repeal them; and it would be "leſs in his power to do it, if he declared that he had a "purpoſe to do it: therefore, that muſt be left to "time; and it might reaſonably be preſumed, that he "would not be backward to do all of that kind which he "ſhould find himſelf able to do; and the declaration "which he then made, his Majeſty ſaid, that he would "be ready to make to the perſon the Duke meant to "ſend, if he came to him:" which was acknowledged to be as much as could be deſired.

Germany is the part of the world, where the Jeſuits are looked upon to have the aſcendant over all other men in the deepeſt myſteries of ſtate and policy, inſomuch as there is not a Prince's court of the Roman Catholic religion, wherein a man is held to be a good courtier, or to have a deſire to be thought a wiſe man, who hath not a Jeſuit to his confeſſor; which may be one of the reaſons, that the policy of that nation is ſo different from, and ſo much undervalued by the other politic parts of the world. And therefore it is the leſs to be wondered at that this Duke, who had himſelf extraordinary qualifications, retained that reverence for thoſe who had taught him when he was young, that he believed them to grow, and to be improved as faſt as he, and ſo to be ſtill abler to inform him. Without doubt, he did believe his Jeſuit to be a very wiſe man; and, it may be, knew, that he would think ſo to whom he was ſent: and as ſoon as he came to him, he ſent him to the King to be inſtructed and informed of his Majeſty's pleaſure. The man had a very good aſpect, and

and leſs vanity and preſumption than that ſociety uſe to have, and ſeemed deſirous to merit from the King by doing him ſervice; but had not the ſame confidence he ſhould do it, as his maſter had. And when he returned from Rome, he brought nothing with him from the Pope but general good wiſhes for the King's reſtoration, and ſharp complaints againſt Cardinal Mazarine for being deaf to all overtures of peace; and that till then all attempts to ſerve his Majeſty would be vain and ineffectual: and concerning any ſupply of money, he told the Duke, that the Pope had uſed the ſame adage that his predeceſſor had done; and ſo that intrigue was determined.

The effect of this.

The reſt and quiet that the King propoſed to himſelf in this neceſſitated retreat was diſturbed by the impatience and activity of his friends in England; who, notwithſtanding all his Majeſty's commands, and injunctions, not to enter upon any ſudden and raſh inſurrections, which could only contribute to their own ruin, without the leaſt benefit or advantage to his ſervice, were ſo pricked and ſtung by the inſolence of their enemies, and the uneaſineſs of their own condition and fortune, that they could not reſt. They ſent expreſſes every day to Cologne for more commiſſions and inſtructions, and made an erroneous judgment of their own ſtrength and power, by concluding that all who hated the preſent government would concur with them to overthrow it, at leaſt would act no part in the defence of it. They aſſured the King, "that they had made ſuf-
"ficient proviſion of arms and ammunition, and had ſo
"many perſons engaged to appear upon any day that
"ſhould be aſſigned, that they only deſired his Ma-
"jeſty would appoint that day; and that they were ſo
"united, that even the diſcovery before the day, and
"the

An inſurrection deſigned in England by ſome of the King's party.

"the clapping up many perſons in priſon, which they "expected, ſhould not break the deſign." The King doubted they would be deceived; and that, though the perſons who ſent thoſe expreſſes were very honeſt men, and had ſerved well in the war, and were ready to engage again, yet they were not equal to ſo great a work. However, it was not fit to diſcountenance or diſhearten them; for, as many of his party were too reſtleſs and too active, ſo there were more of them remiſs and lazy, and even abandoned to deſpair. The truth is, the unequal temper of thoſe who wiſhed very well, and the jealouſy, at leaſt the want of confidence in each other, made the King's part exceeding difficult. Very many who held correſpondence with his Majeſty, and thoſe he aſſigned to that office, would not truſt each other; every body choſe their own knot, with whom they would converſe, and would not communicate with any body elſe; for which they had too juſt excuſes from the diſcoveries which were made every day by want of wit, as much as want of honeſty; and ſo men were caſt into priſon, and kept there, upon general jealouſies. But this reſervation, ſince they could not all reſolve to be quiet, proved very grievous to the King; for he could not convert and reſtrain thoſe who were too forward, by the counſel of thoſe who ſtood in a better light, and could diſcern better what was to be done, becauſe they could not be brought together to confer; and they who appeared to be leſs deſperate were by the others reproached with being leſs affectionate, and to want loyalty as much as courage: ſo they who were undone upon one and the ſame account, were oppreſſed and torn in pieces by one and the ſame enemy, and could never hope for recovery but by one and the ſame remedy, grew to reproach and revile one another, and contracted

tracted a greater animosity between themselves, than against their common adversary: nor could the King reconcile this distemper, nor preserve himself from being invaded by it.

Though the messengers who were sent were addressed only to the King himself, and to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and were so carefully concealed, that no notice was taken or advertisement sent by the many spies, who were suborned to give intelligence of any one express that was sent to Cologne, yet they had commonly some friend or acquaintance in the Court, with whom they conferred; and ever returned worse satisfied with those who made objections against what they proposed, or seemed to doubt that they would not be able to perform what they so confidently promised; and it was thought a very reasonable conviction of a man who liked not the most extravagant undertaking, if he were not ready to propose a better: so that his Majesty thought fit often to seem to think better of many things promised than in truth he did. The messengers, which were sent this winter to Cologne, (who, I say still, were honest men, and sent from those who were such), proposed to the King, as they had formerly done, "that when they "were in arms, and had provided a place where his Ma- "jesty might land safely, he would then be with them, "that there might be no dispute upon command:" and in the spring they sent to him, "that the day was appointed, "the eighteenth of April, when the rising would be ge- "neral, and many places seized upon, and some declare "for the King, which were in the hands of the army:" for they still pretended, and did believe, "that a part of "the army would declare against Cromwell at least, "though not for the King: that Kent was united to a "man; Dover-castle would be possessed, and the whole "county

Propositions to the King to this purpose from England.

" county in arms upon that day; and therefore, that " his Majeſty would vouchſafe to be in ſome place, con- " cealed, upon the ſea-coaſt, which it was very eaſy for " him to be on that day; from whence, upon all being " made good that was undertaken, and full notice given " to his Majeſty that it was ſo, he might then, and not " before, tranſport himſelf to that part which he thought " to be in the beſt poſture to receive him, and might " give ſuch other directions to the reſt as he found ne- " ceſſary:" and even all theſe particulars were communicated in confidence by the meſſengers to their friends who were near the King, and who again thought it but reaſonable to raiſe the ſpirits of their friends, by letting them know in how happy a condition the King's affairs were in England; and " that his friends were in ſo good " a poſture throughout the kingdom, that they feared " not that any diſcovery might be made to Cromwell, " being ready to own and juſtify their counſels with " their ſwords:" ſo that all this quickly became more than whiſpered throughout the Court; and, " that the " King was only expected to be nearer England, how " diſguiſed ſoever, that he might quickly put himſelf " into the head of the army that would be ready to re- " ceive him, whereby all emulations about command " might be prevented, or immediately taken away; and " if his Majeſty ſhould now neglect this opportunity, " it might eaſily be concluded, that either he was be- " trayed, or that his counſels were conducted by men of " very ſhallow capacities and underſtanding."

How weakly and improbably ſoever theſe preparations were adjuſted, the day was poſitively appointed, and was ſo near, at the time when his Majeſty had notice of it, that it was not poſſible for him to ſend orders to contradict it: and he foreſaw, that if any thing ſhould be attempted

tempted without ſucceſs, it would be imputed to his not being at a diſtance near enough to countenance it. On the other hand, it was neither difficult, nor hazardous to his Majeſty, to remove that reproach, and to be in a place from whence he might advance if there were cauſe, or retire back to Cologne, if there were nothing to do; and all this with ſo little noiſe, that his abſence ſhould ſcarce be taken notice of. Hereupon, the meſſenger returned with the King's approbation of the day, and direction, "that, as ſoon as the day ſhould be paſt, an expreſs ſhould be directed to Fluſhing at the ſign of "the city of Rouen," (a known inn in that town,) "to "enquire for an Engliſhman," (whoſe name was given him,) "who ſhould be able to inform him, whither he "ſhould repair to ſpeak with the King." The King approves of the day of riſing.

Before the meſſenger's departure, or the King's reſolution was taken, the Earl of Rocheſter, who was always jealous that ſomebody would be General before him, upon the firſt news of the general diſpoſition and reſolution to be in arms, deſired the King, "that he would "permit him to go over in diſguiſe, to the end, that "getting to London, which was very eaſy, he might, "upon adviſing with the principal perſons engaged, of "whom there was none who had not been commanded "by him, or was not inferior to him in command, aſ-"ſiſt them in their enterpriſe, and make the beſt of "that force which they could bring together: and if "he found that they were not in truth competently pro-"vided to ſuſtain the firſt ſhock, he might, by his ad-"vice and authority, compoſe them to expect a better "conjuncture, and in the mean time to give over all "inconſiderate attempts; and there would be little dan-"ger in his withdrawing back again to his Majeſty."

With this errand the Earl left Cologne, under pre-

The Earl of Rochester obtains leave of the King to go into England in order thereunto.

tence of purſuing his buſineſs with the German Princes, upon the donative of the Diet; for which he uſed to make many journeys; and nobody ſuſpected that he was gone upon any other deſign. But when he came into Flanders, he was not at all reſerved; but in the hours of good fellowſhip, which was a great part of the day and night, communicated his purpoſe to any body he did believe would keep him company, and run the ſame hazard with him; and finding Sir Joſeph Wagſtaff, who had ſerved the King in the laſt war very honeſtly, and was then watching at the ſea-coaſt to take the firſt opportunity to tranſport himſelf as ſoon as he ſhould hear of the general inſurrection, (which all letters to all places mentioned as a matter reſolved on), Rocheſter frankly declared to him what he was going about: ſo they hired a bark at Dunkirk; and, without any miſadventure, found themſelves in ſafety together at London: but many of thoſe who ſhould have been in arms were ſeized upon, and ſecured in ſeveral priſons.

Sir Joſeph Wagſtaff goes with him.

The King goes from Cologne to Zealand.

The meſſenger being diſpatched, the King, at the time appointed, and that he might be ſure to be near at the day, left Cologne very early in the morning, attended only by the Marquis of Ormond, and one groom to look to their horſes: nor was it known to any body, but to the Chancellor and the Secretary Nicholas, whither the King was gone, they making ſuch relations to inquiſitive people, as they thought fit. The day before the King went, Sir John Mennes, and John Nicholas, eldeſt ſon to the Secretary, were ſent into Zealand, to ſtay there till they ſhould receive farther orders; the former of them being the perſon deſigned to be at the ſign of the Rouen in Fluſhing, and the other to be near to prepare any thing for the King's hand that ſhould be found

found neceſſary, and to keep the cyphers; both of them perſons of undoubted fidelity.

There was a gentleman who lived in Middleburg, and of one of the beſt families and the beſt fortune there, who had married an Engliſh lady, who had been brought up in the Court of the Queen of Bohemia, and was the daughter of a gentleman of a very noble family, who had been long an officer in Holland. The King had made this Dutchman a baronet; and ſome, who were nearly acquainted with him, were confident that his Majeſty might ſecretly repoſe himſelf in his houſe, without any notice taken of him, as long as it would be neceſſary for him to be concealed. And his Majeſty being firſt aſſured of this, made his journey directly thither, in the manner mentioned before; and being received, as he expected, in that houſe, he gave preſent notice to Sir John Mennes and Mr. Nicholas, that they might know whither to reſort to his Majeſty upon any occaſion. Upon his firſt arrival there, he received intelligence, "that the meſſenger who had been "diſpatched from Cologne, met with croſs winds and "accidents in his return, which had been his misfor-"tune likewiſe in his journey thither; ſo that he came "not ſo ſoon to London as was expected; whereupon "ſome conceived that the King did not approve the "day, and therefore excuſed themſelves from appear-"ing at the time; others were well content with the "excuſe, having diſcerned, with the approach of the "day, that they had embarked themſelves in a deſign "of more difficulty than was at firſt apprehended; and "ſome were actually ſeized upon, and impriſoned, by "which they were incapable of performing their pro-"miſe." Though this diſappointment confirmed the King in his former belief, that nothing ſolid could re-

ſult from ſuch a general combination; yet he thought it fit, now he was in a poſt where he might ſecurely reſt, to expect what the Earl of Rocheſter's preſence, of whoſe being in London he was advertiſed, might produce. And by this time the Chancellor of the Exchequer, according to order, was come to Breda; from whence he every day might hear from, and ſend to the King.

There cannot be a greater manifeſtation of the univerſal prejudice and averſion in the whole kingdom towards Cromwell and his government, than that there could be ſo many deſigns and conſpiracies againſt him, which were communicated to ſo many men, and that ſuch ſignal and notable perſons could reſort to London, and remain there, without any ſuch information or diſcovery, as might enable him to cauſe them to be apprehended; there being nobody intent and zealous to make any ſuch diſcoveries, but ſuch whoſe trade it was for great wages to give him thoſe informations, who ſeldom care whether what they inform be true or no. The Earl of Rocheſter conſulted with great freedom in London with the King's friends; and found that the perſons impriſoned were only taken upon general ſuſpicion, and as being known to be of that party, not upon any particular diſcovery of what they deſigned or intended to do; and that the ſame ſpirit ſtill poſſeſſed thoſe who were at liberty. The deſign in Kent appeared not reaſonable, at leaſt not to begin upon; but he was perſuaded, (and he was very credulous), that in the North there was a foundation of ſtrong hopes, and a party ready to appear powerful enough to poſſeſs themſelves of York; nor had the army many troops in thoſe parts. In the Weſt likewiſe there appeared to be a ſtrong combination, in which many gentlemen were engaged, whoſe agents

agents were then in London, and were exceedingly importunate to have a day aſſigned, and deſired no more, than that Sir Joſeph Wagſtaff might be authorized to be in the head of them; who had been well known to them; and he was as ready to engage with them. The Earl of Rocheſter liked the countenance of the North better; and ſent Marmaduke Darcy, a gallant gentleman, and nobly allied in thoſe parts, to prepare the party there; and appointed a day and place for the rendezvous; and promiſed to be himſelf there; and was contented that Sir Joſeph Wagſtaff ſhould go into the Weſt; who, upon conference with thoſe of that country, likewiſe appointed their rendezvous upon a fixed day, to be within two miles of Saliſbury. It was an argument that they had no mean opinion of their ſtrength, that they appointed to appear that very day when the judges were to keep their aſſizes in that city, and where the ſheriff and principal gentlemen of the county were obliged to give their attendance. Of both theſe reſolutions the Earl of Rocheſter, who knew where the King was, took care to advertiſe his Majeſty; who, from hence, had his former faint hopes renewed; and in a ſhort time after they were ſo improved, that he thought of nothing more, than how he might with the greateſt ſecrecy tranſport himſelf into England; for which he did expect a ſudden occaſion.

The Earl of Rocheſter deſigns for the North; and Wagſtaff into the Weſt.

Sir Joſeph Wagſtaff had been formerly Major General of the foot in the King's weſtern army, a man generally beloved; and though he was rather for execution than counſel, a ſtout man, who looked not far before him; yet he had a great companionableneſs in his nature, which exceedingly prevailed with thoſe, who, in the intermiſſion of fighting, loved to ſpend their time in jollity and mirth. He, as ſoon as the day was appointed,

pointed, left London, and went to ſome of his friends' houſes in the country, near the place, that he might aſſiſt the preparations as much as was poſſible. Thoſe of Hampſhire were not ſo punctual at their own rendezvous, as to be preſent at that near Saliſbury at the hour; however, Wagſtaff, and they of Wiltſhire, appeared according to expectation. Penruddock, a gentleman of a fair fortune, and great zeal and forwardneſs in the ſervice, Hugh Grove, Jones, and other perſons of condition, were there with a body of near two hundred horſe well armed, which, they preſumed, would every day be improved upon the acceſs of thoſe who had engaged themſelves in the weſtern aſſociation, eſpecially after the fame of their being up, and effecting any thing, ſhould come to their ears. They accounted that they were already ſtrong enough to viſit Saliſbury in all its preſent luſtre, knowing that they had many friends there, and reckoning that all who were not againſt them, were for them; and that they ſhould there increaſe their numbers both in foot and horſe; with which the town then abounded: nor did their computation and conjecture fail them. They entered the city about five of the clock in the morning: they appointed ſome officers, of which they had plenty, to cauſe all the ſtables to be locked up, that all the horſes might be at their devotion; others, to break open the gaols, that all there might attend their benefactors. They kept a good body of horſe upon the market-place, to encounter all oppoſition; and gave order to apprehend the judges and the ſheriff, who were yet in their beds, and to bring them into the market-place with their ſeveral commiſſions, not caring to ſeize upon the perſons of any others.

The riſing at Saliſbury.

All this was done with ſo little noiſe or diſorder, as if the town had been all of one mind. They who were within

within doors, except they were commanded to come out, ſtayed ſtill there, being more deſirous to hear than to ſee what was done; very many being well pleaſed, and not willing that others ſhould diſcern it in their countenance. When the judges were brought out in their robes, and humbly produced their commiſſions, and the ſheriff likewiſe, Wagſtaff reſolved, after he had cauſed the King to be proclaimed, to cauſe them all three to be hanged, (who were half dead already), having well conſidered, with the policy which men in ſuch actions are naturally poſſeſſed with, how he himſelf ſhould be uſed if he were under their hands, chooſing therefore to be beforehand with them. But he having not thought fit to deliberate this beforehand with his friends, whereby their ſcrupulous conſciences might have been confirmed, many of the country gentlemen were ſo ſtartled with this propoſition, that they proteſted againſt it; and poor Penruddock was ſo paſſionate to preſerve their lives, as if works of this nature could be done by halves, that the Major General durſt not perſiſt in it; but was prevailed with to diſmiſs the judges, and, having taken their commiſſions from them, to oblige them upon another occaſion to remember to whom they owed their lives, reſolving ſtill to hang the ſheriff; who poſitively, though humbly, and with many tears, refuſed to proclaim the King; which being otherwiſe done, they likewiſe prevailed with him rather to keep the ſheriff alive, and to carry him with them to redeem an honeſter man out of the hands of their enemies. This ſeemed an ill omen to their future agreement, and ſubmiſſion to the commands of their General; nor was the tenderheartedneſs ſo general, but that very many of the gentlemen were much ſcandalized at it, both as it was a contradiction to their commander in chief; and as it

would have been a ſeaſonable act of ſeverity to have cemented thoſe to perſeverance who were engaged in it, and have kept them from entertaining any hopes but in the ſharpneſs of their ſwords.

The noiſe of this action was very great both in and out of the kingdom, whither it was quickly ſent. Without doubt it was a bold enterpriſe, and might have produced wonderful effects, if it had been proſecuted with the ſame reſolution, or the ſame raſhneſs, it was entered into. All that was reaſonable in the general contrivance of inſurrection and commotion over the whole kingdom, was founded upon a ſuppoſition of the diviſion and faction in the army; which was known to be ſo great, that it was thought Cromwell durſt not draw the whole army to a general rendezvous, out of apprehenſion that, when they ſhould once meet together, he ſhould no longer be maſter of them. And thence it was concluded, that, if there were in any one place ſuch a body brought together as might oblige Cromwell to make the army, or a conſiderable part of it, to march, there would at leaſt be no diſpoſition in them to fight to ſtrengthen his authority, which they abhorred. And many did at that time believe, that if they had remained with that party at Saliſbury for ſome days, which they might well have done without any diſturbance, their numbers would have much increaſed, and their friends farther weſt muſt have been prepared to receive them, when their retreat had been neceſſary by a ſtronger part of the army's marching againſt them. Cromwell himſelf was alarmed; he knew well the diſtemper of the kingdom, and in his army, and now when he ſaw ſuch a body gathered together without any noiſe, that durſt in the middle of the kingdom enter into one of the chief cities of it, when his judges and all the civil power

of

of that county was in it, and take them priſoners, and proclaim the King in a time of full peace, and when no man durſt ſo much as name him but with a reproach, he could not imagine, that ſuch an enterpriſe could be undertaken without a univerſal conſpiracy; in which his own army could not be innocent; and therefore knew not how to truſt them together. But all this apprehenſion vaniſhed, when it was known, that within four or five hours after they had performed this exploit, they left the town with very ſmall increaſe or addition to their numbers. The unfortunate iſſue of it.

The truth is, they did nothing reſolutely after their firſt action; and were in ſuch diſorder and diſcontent between themſelves, that without ſtaying for their friends out of Hampſhire, (who were, to the number of two or three hundred horſe, upon their way, and would have been at Saliſbury that night), upon pretence that they were expected in Dorſetſhire, they left the town, and took the ſheriff with them, about two of the clock in the afternoon: but were ſo weary of their day's labour, and their watching the night before, that they grew leſs in love with what they were about, and differed again amongſt themſelves about the ſheriff; whom many deſired to be preſently releaſed; and that party carried it in hope of receiving good offices afterwards from him. In this manner they continued on their march weſtward. They from Hampſhire, and other places, who were behind them, being angry for their leaving Saliſbury, would not follow, but ſcattered themſelves; and they who were before them, and heard in what diſorder they had left Wiltſhire, likewiſe diſperſed: ſo that after they had continued their journey into Devonſhire, without meeting any who would join with them, horſe and men were ſo tired for want of meat and ſleep, that one ſingle troop

troop of horſe, inferior in number, and commanded by an officer of no credit in the war, being in thoſe parts by chance, followed them at a diſtance, till they were ſo ſpent, that he rather entreated than compelled them to deliver themſelves; ſome, and amongſt thoſe Wagſtaff, quitted their horſes, and found ſhelter in ſome honeſt men's houſes; where they were concealed till opportunity ſerved to tranſport them into the parts beyond the ſeas, where they arrived ſafely. But Mr. Penruddock, Mr. Grove, and moſt of the reſt, were taken priſoners, upon promiſe given by the officer that their lives ſhould be ſaved; which they quickly found he had no authority to make good. For Cromwell no ſooner heard of his cheap victory, than he ſent judges away with a new commiſſion of Oyer and Terminer, and order to proceed with the utmoſt ſeverity againſt the offenders. But Roles, his chief juſtice, who had ſo luckily eſcaped at Saliſbury, had not recovered the fright; and would no more look thoſe men in the face who had dealt ſo kindly with him; but expreſsly refuſed to be employed in the ſervice, raiſing ſome ſcruples in point of law, whether the men could be legally condemned; upon which Cromwell, ſhortly after, turned him out of his office, having found others who executed his commands. Penruddock and Grove loſt their heads at Exeter; and others were hanged there; who having recovered the faintneſs they were in when they rendered, died with great courage and reſolution, profeſſing their duty and loyalty to the King: many were ſent to Saliſbury, and tried and executed there, in the place where they had ſo lately triumphed; and ſome who were condemned, where there were fathers, and ſons, and brothers, that the butchery might appear with ſome remorſe, were reprieved, and ſold, and ſent ſlaves to the

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Barbadoes; where their treatment was ſuch, that few of them ever returned into their own country. Thus this little fire, which probably might have kindled and inflamed all the kingdom, was for the preſent extinguiſhed in the Weſt; and Cromwell ſecured without the help of his army; which he ſaw, by the countenance it then ſhewed when they thought he ſhould have uſe of them, it was high time to reform; and in that he reſolved to uſe no longer delay.

The ill ſucceſs like-wiſe of the deſign in the North.

The deſign of the North, which was thought to be much better prepared and provided for, made leſs noiſe, and expired more peaceably. The Earl of Rocheſter, who ſaw danger at a diſtance with great courage, and looked upon it leſs reſolutely when it was nearer, made his journey from London, with a friend or two, into Yorkſhire at the time appointed; and found ſuch an appearance of gentlemen upon the place, as might very well have deſerved his patience. There had been ſome miſtake in the notice that had been given, and they who did appear, undertook for many who were abſent, that, if he would appoint another ſhort day for a rendezvous, he ſhould be well attended. Marmaduke Darcy had ſpent his time very well amongſt them, and found them well diſpoſed, and there could be no danger in ſtaying the time propoſed, many of them having houſes, where he might be well concealed, and the country generally wiſhed well to the King, and to thoſe who concerned themſelves in his affairs. But he took many exceptions; complained, as if they had deceived him; and aſked many queſtions, which were rather reaſonable than ſeaſonable, and which would have furniſhed reaſons againſt entering upon the deſign, which were not to be urged now when they were to execute, and when indeed they ſeemed to have gone too far to retire. He had not yet heard

heard of the ill ſucceſs at Saliſbury; yet he did not think the force which the gentlemen were confident they could draw together, before they could meet with any oppoſition, ſufficient to enter upon any action, that was like to be dangerous in the end: ſo he reſolved to ſtay no longer; the gentlemen being as much troubled that he had come at all; they parted with little good will to each other, the Earl returning through by-roads to London, which was the ſecureſt place, from whence he gave the King notice of the hopeleſſneſs of affairs. If he had not been a man very fortunate in diſguiſes, he could never have eſcaped ſo many perambulations. For as he was the leaſt wary in making his journeys in ſafe hours, ſo he departed very unwillingly from all places where there was good eating and drinking; and entered into conferences with any ſtrangers he met, or joined with.

The Earl of Rocheſter returns to London; whence he adviſes the King of the ill ſucceſs.

When he returned from the North, he lodged at Ayleſbury; and having been obſerved to ride out of the way in a large ground, not far from the town, of which he ſeemed to take ſome ſurvey, and had aſked many queſtions of a country fellow who was there, (that ground in truth belonging to his own wife), the next juſtice of peace had notice of it; who being a man devoted to the government, and all that country very ill affected always to the King, and the news of Saliſbury, and the proclamation thereupon, having put all men upon their guard, came himſelf to the inn where the Earl was; and being informed, that there were only two gentlemen above at ſupper, (for Sir Nicholas Armorer was likewiſe with the Earl, and had accompanied him in that journey), he went into the ſtable; and upon view of the horſes found they were the ſame which had been obſerved in the ground. The juſtice commanded the keeper of the inn, one Gilvy, who, beſides that he was a

An accident that befell him in his return.

perſon

perſon notoriouſly affected to the government, was likewiſe an officer, "that he ſhould not ſuffer thoſe horſes, "nor the perſons to whom they belonged, to go out of "the houſe, till he, the ſaid juſtice, came thither in the "morning; when he would examine the gentlemen, "who they were, and from whence they came." The Earl was quickly advertiſed of all that paſſed below, and enough apprehenſive of what muſt follow in the morning. Whereupon he preſently ſent for the maſter of the houſe, and nobody being preſent but his companion, he told him, "he would put his life into his hands; which "he might deſtroy or preſerve: that he could get no-"thing by the one, but by the other he ſhould have "profit, and the good will of many friends, who might "be able to do him good." Then he told him who he was; and, as an earneſt of more benefit that he might receive hereafter, he gave him thirty or forty Jacobus's, and a fair gold chain, which was more worth to be ſold than one hundred pounds. Whether the man was moved by the reward, which he might have poſſeſſed without deſerving it, or by generoſity, or by wiſdom and foreſight, for he was a man of a very good underſtanding, and might conſider the changes which followed after, and in which this ſervice proved of advantage to him, he did reſolve to permit and contrive their eſcape: and though he thought fit to be accountable to the juſtice for their horſes, yet he cauſed two other, as good for their purpoſe, of his own, to be made ready by a truſty ſervant in another ſtable; who, about midnight, conducted them into London-way; which put them in ſafety. The inn-keeper was viſited in the morning by the juſtice; whom he carried into the ſtable, where the horſes ſtill ſtood, he having ſtill kept the key in his own pocket, not making any doubt of the perſons whilſt he kept

kept their horſes; but the inn-keeper confeſſed they were eſcaped out of his houſe in the night, how or whither he could not imagine. The juſtice threatened loud; but the inn-keeper was of that unqueſtionable fidelity, and gave ſuch daily demonſtration of his affection to the commonwealth, that Cromwell more ſuſpected the connivance of the juſtice, (who ought not to have deferred the examination of the perſons till the morning), than the integrity of a man ſo well known as the inn-keeper was. The Earl remained in London whilſt the enquiry was warm and importunate, and afterwards eaſily procured a paſſage for Flanders; and ſo returned to Cologne.

The King leaves Zealand; and returns to Cologne.

As ſoon as the King received advertiſement of the ill ſucceſſes in England, and that all their hopes were for the preſent blaſted there, he left Zealand, and returning by Breda, ſtayed in a dorp near the town, till the Chancellor of the Exchequer attended him; and then returned with all ſpeed to Cologne; where his little Court was quickly gathered together again, and better diſpoſed to ſit ſtill, and expect God's own time. His Majeſty was exceedingly afflicted with the loſs of ſo many honeſt gentlemen in England, who had engaged themſelves ſo deſperately, not only without, but expreſsly againſt his Majeſty's judgment: and he was the more troubled, becauſe he was from ſeveral of his friends from thence advertiſed, "that all his counſels were diſcovered; and "that Cromwell had perfect intelligence of whatſoever "his Majeſty reſolved to do, and of all he ſaid himſelf; "ſo that it would not be ſafe for any body to correſpond "with him, or to meddle in his affairs or concernments: "that his coming into Zealand, and his continuance "there, was known to Cromwell, with all the particulars "of his motion; that many perſons of condition were

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" ſeized upon, and impriſoned for having a deſign to " poſſeſs themſelves of ſome towns, and places of " ſtrength; which intelligence could not be given but " from Cologne;" implying, " that the miſcarriage in " all the laſt deſigns proceeded wholly from the treaſon " of ſome perſons near his Majeſty." The King did not at all wonder that Cromwell, and his inſtruments, took great pains to make it generally be believed, that they knew all that was reſolved or thought of at Cologne; but that any men who were really devoted to his ſervice, and who had kindneſs and eſteem for all thoſe who were truſted by his Majeſty, ſhould be wrought upon to believe thoſe reports, very much diſturbed him.

The diſcovery of the treachery of Manning; and a particular account of it.

Whilſt he was in this agony, and immediately after his return to Cologne, a diſcovery was made of a villainy, that made him excuſe his friends in England for their jealouſy, and yet compoſed his own mind from any fear of being betrayed, it being an impoſture of ſuch a nature, as was dangerous and ridiculous together. There was one Manning, a proper young gentleman, bred a Roman Catholic in the family of the Marquis of Worceſter, whoſe page he had been. His father, of that religion likewiſe, had been a colonel in the King's army; and was ſlain at the battle of Alresford; where this young man, being then a youth, was hurt, and maimed in the left arm and ſhoulder. This gentleman came to Cologne ſhortly after the King came thither firſt, and pretended, " that he had ſold the incumbered fortune " his father had left him; upon which, he had enough to " maintain him, and reſolved to ſpend it in waiting upon " the King, till his Majeſty ſhould be able to raiſe an " army; in which he hoped to have an opportunity to " revenge his father's blood;" with many diſcourſes of that nature; and he brought a letter to Dr. Earles from his

his uncle Manning, who was well known to him, to commend his nephew to his converſation. He was a handſome man, had ſtore of good clothes, and plenty of money; which, with the memory of his father, eaſily introduced him, and made him acceptable to the company that was there. He knew moſt of the King's party in England, and ſpoke as if he were much truſted by them, and held correſpondence with them; and had every week the Diurnal, and the news of London, which ſeldom elſe came ſo far as Cologne. He aſſociated himſelf moſt with the good-fellows, and eat in their company, being well provided for the expence. By degrees, he inſinuated himſelf with the Earl of Rocheſter, and told him, "that all the King's party looked upon him "as the general who muſt govern and command them; "for which they were very impatient: that he himſelf "would be ready to run his fortune, and attend him "into England; and that he had two hundred good "men liſted, who would appear well mounted and "armed, whenever he ſhould require them; and that he "knew where good ſums of money lay ready to be ap-"plied to that ſervice." The Earl was raviſhed with this diſcourſe, and looked upon him as a man ſent from heaven to advance his deſigns; and aſked him, "whe-"ther he had been with the Chancellor of the Exche-"quer, and communicated all this to him?" He ſaid, "he had, at his firſt coming to town, waited upon the "Chancellor; and intended to have ſpoken of this, and "much more than he had yet ſpoken, if he had been "vacant, or willing to hear: but he ſeemed to him too "reſerved; which he imputed then to ſome buſineſs "that poſſeſſed him, and therefore made him a ſecond "viſit; when he found him with the ſame warineſs, and "without a deſire to be informed by him concerning

"the

" the affairs of that kingdom; ſo that he reſolved to " viſit him no more."

In the end, he told the Earl, " that he would impart " a ſecret to him of the laſt importance, and which he " had not yet had opportunity to inform the King of, " and, he did believe, it would be the ſame thing to " impart it to his lordſhip as to his Majeſty himſelf: " the ſum was, that he was truſted by the young Earl " of Pembroke, whoſe affections were entire for his " Majeſty, to aſſure the King of the ſame; and that " though it would not be ſafe for him to appear in the " head and beginning of an inſurrection, he would ad- " vance it as much as if he were there in perſon; and " becauſe he knew the Weſt was better prepared to be- " gin the work than any other part of the kingdom, he " had cauſed three thouſand pounds to be laid aſide, and " kept ready at Wilton, which ſhould be delivered to " any man, who, in the King's name, ſhould require it " of ſuch a man," (naming a perſon, who was known to be much truſted by that Earl,) " upon delivery of a " private token he produced out of his pocket," (which was a clean piece of paper, ſealed with three impreſſions of an antique head in hard wax,) " which," he ſaid, " the Earl required him to preſent to the King when " he thought it might be ſeaſonable." He added, " that he would be glad to be himſelf in that firſt en- " gagement, and ſo to be preſent when that token " ſhould be delivered; yet he conſidered, that he was " not enough known to have ſuch a ſecret imparted to " him, as the time of ſuch an action ought to be; and " therefore, if it pleaſed the King, he would preſently " deliver that token into his lordſhip's hands; who, he " was confident, would be the firſt that would have op- " portunity to employ it."

The Earl had the journey then in his head, which he made ſhortly after; and thought ſuch a treaſure as this would much advance the ſervice. He made haſte to inform the King of the whole, that he might have his approbation to receive the token. To that purpoſe, he brought the man to the King; who had never before taken other notice of him, than for his bringing the Diurnal conſtantly to be read to his Majeſty after dinner, or ſupper, as he received it. He made a large relation to the King of what the Earl of Pembroke had commanded him to ſay, and preſented the token to his Majeſty for the three thouſand pounds; the manner of his diſcourſe being ſuch, as the King had not the leaſt ſuſpicion of the truth of it. As ſoon as he left the King, the Earl brought him to the Chancellor, conjuring him to uſe him with great kindneſs, and gently reproaching him for his want of courteſy to him before; which he wondered at; for it was very true that Manning had viſited him twice before, and it was as true, that he had received him with as much civility as was poſſible, having known his father, and moſt of his family, and was glad to ſee him frequently at prayers, well knowing that he had been bred a Roman Catholic; and the young man had ſeemed much pleaſed with the reception he had given him. But from that time that he made that relation concerning the Earl of Pembroke, which he repeated over to him as he had related it to the King, the Chancellor always ſuſpected him; and could not prevail with himſelf to have any familiarity with him; which the other complained heavily of, and the Chancellor was much reproached for not treating a perſon of ſo much merit, who had loſt his father, and been himſelf maimed in the King's ſervice, with more openneſs; for he did always uſe him with all neceſſary

ceſſary civility. But the Chancellor's knowledge of the Earl of Pembroke, and of the humour that then poſſeſſed him, and of the uneaſineſs of his own fortune, which did not make him at that time maſter of much money, beſides that he believed that, if the thing were true, he ſhould have received advertiſement ſooner of it from a perſon who was moſt truſted by the Earl, and who correſponded very conſtantly with the Chancellor, made him diſtruſt him. He therefore told the King, "that he doubted Manning had made that part of the "ſtory to make himſelf the more welcome;" which his Majeſty did not think was a reaſonable jealouſy; but wiſhed him to uſe all the means he could to diſcover the truth. The Chancellor had no farther ſuſpicion of him than upon the account of that ſtory, nor the leaſt apprehenſion that he was a ſpy.

When it was publicly known that the King was abſent from Cologne, at that time that he made his journey to Zealand, in the manner that is mentioned before, the Earl of Rocheſter being departed from thence ſome time before, Mr. Manning appeared wonderfully troubled, and complained to ſome, "that he being en-"truſted by all the King's friends, who would not cre-"dit any orders but ſuch as ſhould paſs through his "hands, the King was now gone without imparting it "to him; which would be the ruin of his deſign." He went to the Chancellor, and lamented himſelf, "that there ſhould be any ſword drawn in England be-"fore his; his father's blood boiled within him, and "kept him from ſleep." He deſired him therefore, "that he would ſo far communicate the deſign to him, "that he might only know to what part of England to "tranſport himſelf, that he might be in action as ſoon "as might be poſſible." He could draw nothing from

the Chancellor; who told him, "that he knew of no "probability of any action; and therefore could give "no advice." Upon which he complained much of the Chancellor's want of kindneſs to him: but he loſt no time in following the King; and having great acquaintance with Herbert Price, a man much truſted by the Earl of Rocheſter, and that affected to know, or to be thought to know, the greateſt ſecrets, he prevailed with him, upon bearing his charges, to accompany him, that they might find out where the King was, at leaſt that they might be ready on the ſea-coaſt, to tranſport themſelves into England upon the firſt occaſion. Whether by accident, or that the Earl of Rocheſter had made any mention of Zealand to Mr. Price, thither they both came; and ſeeing Sir John Mennes and Mr. Nicholas there, they believed there might likewiſe be others of their Cologne friends. Herbert Price, as he was a man of a very inquiſitive nature, watched ſo narrowly, that he found an opportunity to meet the King in an evening, when he uſed to walk to take a little air after the day's confinement. The King, ſince he was diſcovered, thought it beſt to truſt him; and charged him "not only to make no diſcovery, but to remove "out of the iſland, leſt his being ſeen there, might raiſe "ſuſpicion in other men." He did very importunately deſire the King that he might bring Manning to ſpeak with him, as not only an honeſt man, (as no doubt he thought him to be), but a man of that importance and truſt, as might contribute much to his preſent ſervice. But the King would by no means admit him, nor did he ſee him; yet afterwards, upon this reflection, his Majeſty concluded that Cromwell came to be informed of his being in Zealand, without any reproach to Mr. Price's fidelity; which was not ſuſpected, though his pre-

preſumption and importunity were always very inconvenient.

Shortly after the King's return to Cologne, Manning likewiſe came thither with his accuſtomed confidence. And in this time the Chancellor received advertiſement from England, "that he had no kind of truſt from the "Earl of Pembroke, but, on the contrary, had been "turned out of his ſervice upon matter of diſhoneſty; "and that he was a looſe perſon, of no reputation:" and his Majeſty was informed by others from Antwerp, "that every poſt brought many letters for him, which "were taken up there, and tranſmitted to Cologne; "and that he had letters of credit upon a merchant of "Antwerp for good ſums of money." All this raiſed a ſuſpicion in the King; who gave direction to a truſty perſon, who was purpoſely ſent to take up all thoſe letters at Antwerp, which were ſent thither from England for him, it being known under what cover they came, and likewiſe thoſe which were ſent from Cologne by him, his addreſs being likewiſe diſcovered. By this means the party returned with many great packets both from and to him; which being opened, and read, adminiſtered matter of great amazement. There were letters from Thurlow, Cromwell's ſecretary and principal miniſter, containing the ſatisfaction the Protector received in the particular intelligence he received from him, with ſhort inſtructions how he ſhould behave himſelf. The perſon employed had been ſo dexterous, that he brought with him Manning's letters of three poſts, all full of the moſt particular things done at Cologne; and the particular words ſaid by the King, and others, that muſt needs affect thoſe who ſhould receive the intelligence; but of all which there was nothing

true; no ſuch action had been done, no ſuch word ſpoken.

In one letter, after ſuch information as he thought fit, he ſaid, "that by the next he ſhould ſend ſuch advice as was of much more moment than he had ever yet ſent, and above what he had given from Zealand, and by which they might ſee, that there was nothing ſo ſecret at Cologne, of which he could not be informed, if he had money enough;" and therefore deſired the bill for the thouſand crowns might be diſpatched. Together with this, the letter of the ſubſequent poſt was likewiſe ſeized upon; and by his method, which was afterwards diſcovered, it was very probable that they were both ſent at one and the ſame time, and by the ſame poſt, though they were of ſeveral dates. That of the latter date was very long, and in it was incloſed an overture or deſign for the ſurpriſe and taking of Plymouth; in which there was a very exact and true deſcription of the town, and fort, and iſland, and the preſent ſtrength and force that was there. Then a propoſition, that a veſſel with five hundred men (there were no more deſired) ſhould come to ſuch a place, (a creek deſcribed,) and, upon a ſign then given, ſuch a place in the town ſhould be firſt ſeized upon, whilſt others ſhould poſſeſs both the fort and the iſland. The names of the perſons who undertook to do both the one and the other, were likewiſe ſet down; and they were all men known to be well affected to the King, who, with the aſſiſtance of that five hundred men, might indeed be able to maſter the place. For the better going through the work when it was thus begun, there was an undertaking that Sir Hugh Pollard, and other perſons named, who were all notable men for their zeal to the King's ſervice,

ſervice, ſhould be ready from the Devonſhire ſide, as Colonel Arundel and others from Cornwall, to ſecond and ſupport what was to be done.

The letter informed, "that when the King delivered "that paper to the Council," (which, he ſaid, "he had "received from a very good hand;" and then the Marquis of Ormond made this and this objection, and others found this and that difficulty in the execution of the enterpriſe, all which the Chancellor anſwered very clearly, and the King himſelf ſaid very much of the eaſineſs of the undertaking,) "there was one difficulty "urged, that the King himſelf appeared to be ſtartled "at, and looked upon the Chancellor; who aroſe from "his place, and went to the King's chair, and whiſpered "ſomewhat in his ear. Whereupon his Majeſty told "the Lords, that he had indeed forgot ſomewhat that "the Chancellor put him in mind of, and for that par-"ticular they ſhould refer the care of it to him, who "would take it upon him, and ſo the matter was re-"ſolved, and the Earl of Rocheſter undertook for the "five hundred men, and their tranſportation." Manning concluded, "that if he had money, they ſhould "know conſtantly how this deſign ſhould be advanced, "or any other ſet on foot." Every body was exceedingly amazed at this relation, in which there was not one ſyllable of truth. There had never ſuch a propoſition been made, nor was there any ſuch debate or diſcourſe. There were in his letter many vain inſinuations of his intereſt, as if he were never out of the King's company. Two of the King's ſervants were ſent to ſeize upon his perſon and his papers; who found him in his chamber writing, and his cypher and papers before him; all which they poſſeſſed themſelves of without any reſiſtance. There were ſeveral letters prepared, and made up

with the dates proper for many poſts to come, with information and intelligence of the ſame nature as the former.

The Secretary of State and one of the Lords of the Council were ſent to examine him; to whom he confeſſed, without any reſerve, "that the neceſſity of his "fortune had expoſed him to that baſe condition of "life; and, to make himſelf fit for it, he had diſſem-"bled his religion; for, he ſaid, he remained ſtill a Ca-"tholic: that he was ſent over by Thurlow to be a ſpy "wherever the King ſhould be, and had conſtantly ſent "him intelligence, for which he had received good ſums "of money; yet, that he had been ſo troubled in mind "for the vileneſs of the life he led, that he was reſolved, "by raiſing great expectations in them, to draw a good "ſum of money from them; and then to renounce far-"ther correſpondence, and to procure the King's par-"don, and faithfully to ſerve him." Being aſked, why he made ſuch relations, which had no truth in them, he anſwered, "that if he had come to the knowledge of "any thing which in truth had concerned the King, he "would never have diſcovered it; but he thought it "would do no prejudice to the King, if he got money "from the rebels by ſending them lies, which could nei-"ther do them good, nor hurt his Majeſty; and there-"fore all his care was to amuſe them with particulars, "which he knew would pleaſe them; and ſo when he "was alone he always prepared letters containing ſuch "things as occurred to his invention, to be ſent by the "ſucceeding poſts, and that he had never written any "thing that was true, but of his Majeſty's being in "Zealand; which, he believed, could produce no pre-"judice to him."

The King now diſcerned from whence all the apprehenſions

henſions of his friends proceeded; and that they had too much ground for their jealouſies; for though none of his counſels had been diſcovered, they who had received thoſe letters might reaſonably think that none of them were concealed; and might well brag to their confidents of their knowing all that the King did. By this means, ſuch particulars were tranſmitted to the King's friends, as could not but very much amuſe them, and, no doubt, was the cauſe of the commitment of very many perſons, and of ſome who had no purpoſe to ſuffer for their loyalty. His Majeſty took care to publiſh the tranſactions of this man, with the method of the intelligence he gave; by which his friends diſcerned with what ſhadows they had been affrighted, and his enemies likewiſe diſcovered what current ware they had received for their money: yet they endeavoured to have it believed that he was not a man ſent over by them, but a ſecretary in great truſt about ſome perſon employed, whom they had corrupted: in which men were likewiſe quickly undeceived, and knew that he was a man without any dependence or relation to, or countenance from the Court: and the wretch ſoon after received the reward due to his treaſon.

As the King's hopes were much eclipſed in England by the late unſeaſonable attempt, and the loſs of ſo many gallant perſons, as periſhed, or were undone in it; ſo Cromwell advanced his own credit, and was very much enriched by it, and more confirmed with thoſe who were of doubtful faith towards him. He lay before under the reproach of deviſing plots himſelf, that the Commonwealth might be thought in danger, to the end he might have excuſe to continue ſo vaſt forces ſtill in pay. Whereas it now appeared how active and confident the King's party ſtill was, and that they would not have had the

Cromwell's advantage by the riſings of the King's party.

the preſumption to make ſo bold an attempt ir the middle of the kingdom, if they had not had good aſſurance of being ſeconded; and therefore they were to look upon the fire as only raked up, not extinguiſhed. The ſucceſs and triumph of a few deſperate perſons at Saliſbury, that had produced ſuch a conſternation throughout the kingdom, and would have endangered the ſecurity of the whole Weſt, if there had not happened ſome accidental confuſion amongſt the undertakers, was evidence enough that there was not yet force ſufficient to provide for the ſafety of the kingdom; and therefore that it was neceſſary to make better proviſion for the quiet of every county, that it might not be endangered by every bold attempt: and the charge that this neceſſary defence would cauſe ſhould in juſtice be borne by thoſe who were the occaſion of the expence.

His order for decimating the King's party.

Thereupon he made by his own authority, and that of his Council, an order, "that all thoſe who had ever "borne arms for the King, or had declared themſelves "to be of the royal party, ſhould be decimated, that is, "pay a tenth part of all that eſtate which they had left, "to ſupport the charge which the Commonwealth was "put to, by the unquietneſs of their temper, and the "juſt cauſe of jealouſy which they had adminiſtered." And that the public might loſe nothing of what he had ſo frankly given to it, commiſſioners were appointed in every county, to value what that tenth part of every ſuch eſtate did amount to; and that no man might have too good a bargain of his own, every man was obliged to pay as much as thoſe commiſſioners judged fit; and till he paid it, beſides impriſonment, which was a judgment apart, and inflicted once or twice a year, as the jealouſies wrought, his whole eſtate was ſequeſtered. And in this decimation there was no conſideration taken

of

of former compoſitions, of any articles of war, or of any acts of pardon and indemnity, which had been granted under their great ſeal, without enquiry into their actions, or ſo much as accuſing any of them of any crime or guilt, or of having any correſpondence with the King or any body truſted by him; or that they were in any degree privy to the late deſigns or inſurrection.

That this order might be ſubmitted to, and executed, he publiſhed a declaration to make the juſtice as well as the neceſſity of that proceeding appear; in which he did not only ſet down the grounds of his preſent proceeding againſt the royal party, but the rules by which he meant to proceed againſt any other party that ſhould provoke, or give him trouble. It was a declaration worded and digeſted with much more aſperity againſt all who had ſerved the King, than had ever been before publiſhed. Great caution had been hitherto uſed, as if nothing more had been deſigned than to unite the whole nation in the joint defence of the common intereſt, and as if a reſolution had been taken to have aboliſhed all marks of diſunion and diſtinction of parties, and that all men, of what condition ſoever, (except thoſe who had been always excepted by name), who would ſubmit to the government, ſhould be admitted to have ſhares, and to act parts in the adminiſtration and defence of it. But now notice was taken of "ſuch an inherent malignity, "and irreconcileableneſs in all thoſe who from the be-"ginning had adhered to the King, and oppoſed the "proceedings of the Parliament, towards all thoſe who "had ſerved their country, and vindicated the intereſt "of the people and nation, that they declined the com-"mon rules of civility, and would have no converſation "with them; and, that the ſame malice and animoſity "might deſcend to their poſterity, they would not make "marriages,

His declaration to juſtify it.

" marriages, or any friendſhip or alliance, with thoſe who " had been ſeparated, or divided from them in thoſe " public differences; and therefore they were not here- " after to wonder, or complain, if they were looked upon " as a common enemy, which muſt be kept from being " able to do miſchief; ſince they would always be will- " ing to do all they could; and that they were not to " expect to be proſecuted, like other men, by the ordi- " nary forms of juſtice, and to have their crimes to be " proved by witneſſes, before they ſhould be concluded " to be guilty. If any deſperate attempts were under- " taken by any of that party to diſturb the public peace, " that it would be reaſonable to conclude that they all " wiſhed well to it, though they appeared not to own " it: that all conſpiracies of that nature were acted in " ſecret, and were deeds of darkneſs, and men might " juſtly be ſuſpected and proceeded againſt as privy to " them, by their common diſcourſes, by the company " they uſually kept, and by their very looks;" with many other expreſſions, of ſuch an unuſual nature in the diſquiſition of juſtice, and legal proceedings, that the King's party might reaſonably conclude, they had nothing left that they could call their own, but muſt expect a total extirpation, either by maſſacre, or tranſplantation.

But then the declaration took notice likewiſe of " the " factions in the army, that would not acquieſce in the " government eſtabliſhed; but would have another found " out, and formed according to their levelling humours; " all which diſtractions, to what other ends ſoever di- " rected, muſt ſo weaken the Commonwealth, if not " wiſely prevented, as it muſt in the end be expoſed as " a prey to their inveterate enemies; and therefore, that " the ſame remedies muſt be applied to them, as to the " others;"

" others;" with intimation clear enough, " that the con-
" nivance they had formerly received, and even the par-
" dons that had been granted for their former mutinies
" and tranſgreſſions, were of no more validity than the
" articles, promiſes, and acts of indemnity, which had
" been granted to the royal party: all which were de-
" clared to be void and null, upon any ſucceeding delin-
" quency:" ſo that all diſcontented people who liked not the preſent government, what part ſoever they had acted in the pulling down the old, whether Preſbyterian, Independent, or Leveller, were left to conſider of the conſequence of thoſe maxims there laid down; and might naturally conclude, that they were in no better condition of ſecurity for what they enjoyed, and had purchaſed dearly, than thoſe who by their help were brought to the loweſt miſery; though, for the preſent, none but the King's party underwent that inſupportable burden of decimation; which brought a vaſt incredible ſum of money into Cromwell's coffers, the greater part whereof was raiſed (which was a kind of pleaſure, though not eaſe, to the reſt) upon thoſe who never did, nor ever would have given the King the leaſt aſſiſtance, and were only reputed to be of his party becauſe they had not aſſiſted the rebels with a viſible cheerfulneſs, or in any conſiderable proportion; and had propoſed to themſelves to ſit ſtill as neuters, and not to be at any charge with reference to either party; or ſuch who had ſheltered themſelves in ſome of the King's garriſons for their own conveniency.

The King cauſed an anſwer to be made to it.

This declaration was ſent to Cologne; where the King cauſed an anſwer to be made to it upon the grounds that were laid down in it; and as if it were made by one who had been always of the Parliament ſide, and who was well pleaſed to ſee the Cavaliers reduced to that extremity;

mity; but with ſuch reflections upon the tyranny that was exerciſed over the kingdom, and upon the foulneſs of the breach of truſt the Protector was guilty of, that it obliged all the nation to look upon him as a deteſtable enemy, who was to be removed by any way that offered itſelf; many of which arguments were made uſe of againſt him in the next Parliament that he called; which was not long after.

THE END OF THE FOURTEENTH BOOK.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

REBELLION, &c.

BOOK XV.

EZRA iii. 26.

And I will make thy tongue cleave to the roof of thy mouth; that thou ſhalt be dumb, and ſhalt not be to them a reprover; for they are a rebellious houſe.

HOS. x. 3.

For now they ſhall ſay, We have no king, becauſe we feared not the Lord; what then ſhall a king do to us?

HAB. i. 10.

And they ſhall ſcoff at the kings, and the princes ſhall be a ſcorn unto them.

THE King remained at Cologne above two years, contending with the rigour of his fortune with great temper and magnanimity; whilſt all the Princes of Europe ſeemed to contend amongſt themſelves, who ſhould moſt eminently forget and neglect him; and whilſt Cromwell exerciſed all imaginable tyranny over thoſe nations, who had not been ſenſible enough of the bleſſings they enjoyed under his Majeſty's father's peaceable

The King ſtayed at Cologne above two years.

ble and mild government: ſo that, if the King's nature could have been delighted to behold the oppreſſions his rebellious ſubjects endured in all the three nations, he might have had abundant comfort, and pleaſure of this kind in all of them: firſt, in ſeeing Scotland, which firſt threw off, wantonly, its own peace and plenty, and infected the other two kingdoms with its rebellion, now reduced, and governed by a rod of iron; vanquiſhed and ſubdued by thoſe whom they had taught the ſcience of rebellion, and with whom they had joined, by ſpecious pretences, and vows, and horrible perjuries, to deſtroy their own natural Prince, and diſſolve the regal government, to which they had been ſubject ever ſince they were a nation: in ſeeing the pride and inſolence of that people, which had uſed to practiſe ſuch ill manners towards their King, ſuppreſſed, contemned, and expoſed to ſlavery under the diſcipline and caſtigation of men who were very few of them born gentlemen, but bred up in the trades and profeſſions of common men. Theſe men governed in their houſes, and preſcribed new laws to them to live by, which they had never been accuſtomed to, yet were compelled to obey, upon penalty of their lives and eſtates; whilſt their adored idol, Preſbytery, which had pulled off the Crown from the head of the King, was trod under foot, and laughed at; and their Preachers, who had threatened their Princes with their rude thunder of excommunication, diſputed with, ſcoffed at, and controlled by artificers, and corrected by the ſtrokes and blows of a corporal; and all this ſubjection ſupported at their own charge, their fierce governors being paid by them out of their own eſtates.

The condition of Scotland under Cromwell.

He then beheld Ireland, that begun its rebellion with inhuman maſſacres, and butcheries of their peaceable

Of Ireland.

and

and innocent neighbours, after the other of Scotland was ſuppreſſed, or ſo compounded, that the bleſſing of peace had again covered the three nations, if this ſottiſh people had not, without any provocation, but of their own folly and barbarity, with that bloody prologue engaged again the three kingdoms in a raging and devouring war; ſo that though Scotland blew the firſt trumpet, it was Ireland that drew the firſt blood; and if they had not at that time rebelled, and in that manner, it is very probable all the miſeries, which afterwards befell the King, and his dominions, had been prevented. Theſe unhappy people, when they ſaw that they could not make war, but were beaten as often as encountered, would not yet make peace; or if they did, they no ſooner made it than broke it, with all the circumſtances of treachery and perjury, that can make any foul action the moſt odious. And after they had, for their laſt preſervation, returned to their obedience to the King, and put themſelves again under his protection, they quickly repented of their loyalty, offered themſelves to the ſovereignty of a foreign prince; and when they had ſeen their natural King murdered by his other rebels, for want of that aſſiſtance which they might have given him, choſe rather to depend on the clemency of the uſurper, driving from them the governor and government of the King: I ſay, his Majeſty ſaw now this miſerable people grovelling at the feet of their proud conquerors, reduced to the loweſt deſolation, and even to the point of extirpation; the blood they had wantonly and ſavagely ſpilt in the beginning of the rebellion, now plentifully revenged in ſtreams of their own blood, from one end of the kingdom to the other; whilſt thoſe perſons who firſt contrived the rebellion, and could never be reached by the

King, and they who cauſed every peace to be broken which had been made with his Majeſty, with all the poſſible affronts to his royal dignity and authority, after they had endeavoured, by all the treacherous offices againſt the royal power, to reconcile themſelves to their new maſters, were every day taken, and infamouſly put to death by their authority who uſurped the government; who ſold, as hath been ſaid before, ſo many thouſands of them to the ſervices of foreign Princes, under whom they periſhed for want of bread, and without regard: ſo that there is not an account in hiſtory of any nation, the Jews only excepted, that was ever reduced to a more complete miſery than the Iriſh were at this time. And all this was the more extraordinary, in that it was without the pity of any, all the world looking upon them as deſerving the fate they underwent.

Of England. Laſtly, England, that ſeemed to glory in the conqueſt of thoſe two kingdoms, and to reign peaceably over them, yielded a proſpect too, full of variety. Though the King's heart was even broken with the daily informations he received of the ruin and deſtruction his faithful and loyal party underwent; and the butchery frequently acted upon them, and the extreme tyranny the uſurper exerciſed over the whole nation, was grievous to him, yet he could not be equally afflicted to ſee thoſe who had been the firſt authors of the public calamity, now ſo much ſharers in it, that they were no more maſters of their eſtates, than they were whom they had firſt ſpoiled; and that themſelves were brought and expoſed upon thoſe ſcaffolds, which they had cauſed to be erected for others; that little or no part of the new government was in their hands which had pulled down the old; and that, after monarchy had been made ſo odious to the people, the whole wealth of the nation

tion was become at the diſpoſal of a ſingle perſon; and that thoſe lords, without whoſe monſtrous aſſiſtance the ſcepter could never have been wreſted out of the hands of the King, were now numbered and marſhalled with the dregs of the people: in a word, that Cromwell was not ſo jealous of any, as of thoſe who had raiſed him; and contrived and propoſed nothing more to himſelf, than to ſuppreſs thoſe, or to drive them out of the kingdom, who had been the principal means to ſuppreſs the royal authority, and to drive the royal family, and all that adhered to it, into baniſhment.

This proſpect the King had of the three kingdoms during his reſidence at Cologne; but with thoſe manifeſtations of God's vengeance upon thoſe ingrateful nations, of which he had a moſt tender and compaſſionate feeling, he was not without ſome glimmering light to diſcern an approach of that recompence, which the divine juſtice uſually aſſigns to thoſe who patiently attend his vindication.

Cromwell, whoſe great heart was ſolicitous to extend the terror of his name into foreign countries, by which method he thought to render the rough and ſtubborn humours of the people at home more obſequious to him, had in the beginning of the year 1655, after his diſſolution of his refractory Parliament, ſent two very great fleets to ſea; the one under Pen, conſiſting of about thirty ſhips of war, with which there was likewiſe embarked a land army, conſiſting of four or five thouſand foot, and two troops of horſe, under the command of General Venables, a gentleman of a good family in Cheſhire; who had ſerved long in the army in the condition of a colonel, and was then called out of Ireland to command in this expedition.

Cromwell in the beginning of 1655 ſent two great fleets to ſea; the one under Pen, with a land army under Venables:

Both theſe ſuperior officers were well affected to the

King's ſervice, and were not fond of the enterpriſe they were to conduct, the nature of which they yet knew nothing of. They did, by ſeveral ways, without any communication with each other, (which they had not confidence to engage in), ſend to the King, that if he were ready with any force from abroad, or ſecure of poſſeſſing any port within, they would, that is, either of them would, engage, with the power that was under their charge, to declare for his Majeſty. If this had been upon a joint and mutual confidence in each other, and that both fleet, and land forces, though the body of horſe was ſmall, would at the ſame time have ſet up the King's ſtandard, it might have been the foundation of ſome hopeful expectation. But neither of them daring to truſt the other, the King could not preſume upon any port; without which neither had promiſed to engage; nor could he make out of the diſtinct overtures (however he might hope to unite them) ſuch a probable attempt, after the miſcarriage of ſo many, as to embark his friends in. So he wiſhed them to reſerve their affections for his Majeſty, till a more proper ſeaſon to diſcover them; and to proſecute the voyage to which they were deſigned; from which he was not without hope of ſome benefit to himſelf; for it was evident Cromwell meant to make ſome enemy, which probably might give his Majeſty ſome friend.

The other fleet under Blake.

The other fleet was not inferior in naval ſtrength, and power, but was without a land army; and that was committed to the command of Blake; in whom Cromwell had all confidence. Neither fleet knew what the other, or what itſelf was to do, till each of them came to ſuch a point; where they were to open their commiſſions; and Cromwell had communicated his purpoſe for either to ſo very few, that, for many months after

after they were both at ſea, nobody knew to what they were deſigned. Though the intercourſe between Cromwell and the Cardinal was maintained with many civilities, and ſome confidence, yet there was nothing of a treaty ſigned; he reſolving, as he profeſſed, "to give "his friendſhip to that Crown that ſhould beſt deſerve "it:", and, without doubt, both Crowns were amuſed with his preparations, aad ſolicitous to know where the ſtorm would fall.

Spain, that had hitherto kept Don Alonzo de Cardinas in England, after he had ſo many years reſided there as ambaſſador to the late King, believing they were leſs faulty in that than if they ſhould ſend another originally to Cromwell, now thought it neceſſary to omit no occaſion to endear themſelves to him; and therefore they ſent the Marquis of Leyda with a ſplendid train, as extraordinary ambaſſador, to congratulate all his ſucceſſes, and to offer him the entire friendſhip of the Catholic King. The Marquis, who was a wiſe and a jealous man, found by his reception, and Cromwell's reſervation in all his audiences, and the approaches he could make, that there was no room left for his maſter; and ſo, after a month ſpent there, he returned to look to his government in Flanders, with an expectation that as ſoon as any news came of the fleets, they ſhould hear of ſome acts of hoſtility upon the ſubjects of Spain; and did all he could to awaken all the miniſters of that King to the ſame apprehenſion and expectation.

The Marquis of Leyda ſent ambaſſador by Spain to Cromwell, who after a month returns to Flanders.

The two fleets ſet out from the coaſt of England; that under Blake, ſome months before the other; and made its courſe directly to the Mediterranean; being bound in the firſt place to ſuppreſs the inſolence of thoſe of Algiers and Tunis, who had infeſted the Engliſh merchants, and were grown powerful in thoſe ſeas.

The fleet under Blake goes into the Mediterranean.

When he ſhould have performed that ſervice, he was to open another commiſſion, which would inform him what courſe he was to ſteer. The other fleet under Pen was bound directly to the Barbadoes; where they were to open their commiſſions, and to deliver letters to that governor. There they found, that they were to take in new men for the land army, and then to proſecute their courſe directly to the iſland of Hiſpaniola. The governor had orders to ſupply new men for the expedition; and there were ſhips ready for their tranſportation, there being a marvellous alacrity in the planters of thoſe Leeward iſlands, which were overſtocked with inhabitants, to ſeek their fortune farther from home. So that, after a ſhorter ſtay at the Barbadoes than they had reaſon to expect, having now found there two frigates, (which Cromwell had ſent before to prepare all things ready, and to put ſeveral ſhallops together, which were brought ready in quarters), and making prize of about forty Dutch ſhips, belonging to their new allies of Holland, for trading thither, (contrary to the act of navigation), about the end of March they ſet ſail, with an addition of four or five thouſand foot for the land army, towards St. Chriſtopher's; where, after a ſhort ſtay, they received about fifteen hundred men more: ſo that Venables had now under his command a body of above nine thouſand men, with one troop of horſe more, which the planters of the Barbadoes joined to him; and having a proſperous wind, they came, about the middle of April, within view of Santo Domingo; which is the chief city and port of the iſland of Hiſpaniola.

That under Pen to the Barbadoes.

Thence to Hiſpaniola.

Their orders.

Their orders from Cromwell were very particular, and very poſitive, that they ſhould land at ſuch a place, which was plainly enough deſcribed to them. But whether they did not clearly underſtand it, or thought it not

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ſo convenient, when they were near enough to make a judgment of it, they called a council of war; and it was there reſolved that General Venables ſhould land in another place, (which they conceived to be much nearer the town than in truth it was), and from thence march directly to it, there being another brigade of foot to be landed, at a leſs diſtance from the town, in a bay, that ſhould join with them; and join they did. But by the march which Venables had made, in which he ſpent two days and a half in the woods and uneaſy paſſages, and in the terrible heat of that country's ſun, where they found no water to drink, they were ſo diſpirited before they joined with their companions, that it was an ill preſage of the miſadventure that followed. The loſs of that time in their advance had another very ill effect. For the inhabitants of the town, that, at the firſt appearance of ſuch a fleet, the like whereof in any degree they had never ſeen before, had been ſeized upon by ſuch a conſternation, that they deſpaired of making any reſiſtance, when they ſaw their enemies proceed ſo ſlowly, and engaged in ſuch a march as muſt tire and infinitely annoy them, they recovered their ſpirits, and prepared for their defence. So that when Venables, upon the conjunction with his other forces, and after having found ſome freſh water to refreſh his men, advanced towards the town, his forlorn hope found themſelves charged by a party of horſe armed with long lances, and other arms, which they had not been accuſtomed to; ſo, tired and diſmayed with their march and heat, they bore the charge very ill, and were eaſily routed, and routed thoſe which were behind them; and were, in that diſorder, purſued till they came to their main body; upon ſight whereof the Spaniard retired without any loſs, having left the captain of the forlorn hope, and above fifty of his company, dead upon the place.

Venables beaten by a few Spaniards.

place. The Engliſh retired back in great diſcomfort to the bay, and the freſh water river they had found there; where they ſtayed ſo long, that the General thought his men not only enough refreſhed, but enough confirmed in their reſolutions to redeem the ſhame of their laſt diſorder, having got guides, who undertook to conduct them a nearer way to the city, and that they ſhould not go near a fort, which the Spaniards had in a wood, from whence they had been infeſted. The common opinion that the Negroes, natives of thoſe parts, are ſuch enemies to the Spaniards, that they are willing to betray them, and do any miſchief to them, might poſſibly incline the Engliſh to give credit to thoſe guides. But they did conduct them directly to the fort; near which an ambuſcade in the woods diſcharged a volley again upon the forlorn hope, and fell then in upon them with ſuch fury, that diſordered the whole army; which, though it recovered the courage once more to make an attempt upon that fort, was again ſeized upon by a panic fear, which made them directly fly back to the bay with the loſs of above ſix hundred men, whereof their Major General was one.

This fright they never recovered; but, within few days after, having undergone many diſtreſſes by the intolerable heat of the climate, and the Negroes killing their men every day, as they went into the woods to find meat, they were, within five or ſix days after the beginning of May, compelled to reimbark themſelves on board the fleet, with a thouſand men leſs than had been landed, who had by ſeveral ways loſt their lives there; for which they revenged themſelves upon a neighbour iſland, called Jamaica; where they made another deſcent, took their city, and drove all the inhabitants into the woods. And here they left a good body of foot, conſiſting of three

He reimbarks, and makes a deſcent upon Jamaica; where he ſucceeds.

three or four thouſand men, under the command of a colonel, to fortify and plant in this iſland, a place fruitful in itſelf, and abounding in many good proviſions, and a perpetual ſharp thorn in the ſides of the Spaniard; who received exceeding damage from thence; they who were ſo eaſily frighted, and beaten, when they were in a great body upon the other iſland, making afterwards frequent incurſions, with ſmall numbers, into it from Jamaica; ſacking their towns, and returning with very rich booty. When Venables had put this iſland into as good order as he could, he returned with Pen into England.

That fleet returns into England.

The other fleet under the command of Blake had better ſucceſs, without any miſadventures. After he had reduced thoſe of Algiers, where he anchored in their very mole, to ſubmit to ſuch conditions for the time paſt, and the time to come, as he thought reaſonable, he ſailed to Tunis; which he found better fortified and more reſolved; for that King returned a very rude anſwer, contemning his ſtrength, and undervaluing his menaces, and refuſing to return either ſhip or priſoner that had been taken. Whereupon Blake put his fleet in order, and thundered with his great guns upon the town; whilſt he ſent out ſeveral long boats manned with ſtout mariners, who, at the ſame time, entered with very notable reſolution into their harbours, and ſet fire to all the ſhips there, being nine men of war; which were burnt to aſhes; and this with the loſs only of five and twenty of the Engliſh, and about eight and forty hurt, all the boats, with the reſt of the men, returning ſafe to the ſhips. This was indeed an action of the higheſt conduct and courage, and made the name of the Engliſh very terrible and formidable in thoſe ſeas.

The fleet under Blake had better ſucceſs: forces Algiers to a peace; enters the harbour of Tunis, and burns their fleet.

The ſucceſs of both fleets came to Cromwell's notice about the ſame time, but did not affect him alike. He

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was never ſo diſcompoſed, (for he had uſually a great command over his paſſions), as upon the miſcarriage at Hiſpaniola. And as ſoon as they came on ſhore, he committed both Pen and Venables to the Tower, and could never be perſuaded to truſt either of them again; and could not, in a long time, ſpeak temperately of that affair. However, he loſt no time in cheriſhing his infant plantation in Jamaica; which many thought to be at too great a diſtance, and wiſhed the men might be recalled; but he would not hear of it; and ſent preſently a good ſquadron of ſhips, and a recruit of fifteen hundred men to carry on that work; and reſolved nothing more, than to make a continual war from that place upon the Spaniard.

Cromwell commits Pen and Venables to the Tower.

Sends recruits to Jamaica.

And now the rupture with Spain could be no longer concealed. Therefore he ſent orders to Blake, "that "he ſhould watch the return of the Plate-fleet, and do "what miſchief he could upon the coaſt of Spain;" and gave directions to his ſhips in the Downs to infeſt thoſe of Flanders, which they had not yet done: what had been hitherto treated privately between him and the Cardinal, was now expoſed to the light. He now ſent Lockhart his ambaſſador into France; who was received with great ſolemnity; and was a man of great addreſs in treaty, and had a marvellous credit and power with the Cardinal. He finiſhed there the alliance with France. Cromwell undertook "to ſend over an army "of ſix thouſand foot, to be commanded by their own "ſuperior officer, who was to receive orders only from "Marſhal Turenne:" and when Dunkirk and Mardike ſhould be taken, they were to be put into Cromwell's hands. There were other more ſecret articles, which will be mentioned.

Lockhart ſent by him ambaſſador into France; who finiſhes an alliance there, begun before by the agents of France in England.

Flanders had notice of this their new enemy from England,

England, before they heard any thing from Spain, that might better enable them to contend with him; and Don Alonzo remained ſtill in London without notice of what was done, till the affair of Jamaica was upon the Exchange, and fraternities entered into there for the better carrying on that plantation. Nor was he willing to believe it then, till Cromwell ſent to him to leave the kingdom; which he did very unwillingly, when there was no remedy; and was tranſported into Flanders to increaſe the jealouſies and diſcontents, which were already too great and uneaſy there. The Prince of Condé, whoſe troops and vigour were the preſervation and life of that country, was very ill ſatisfied with the formality and phlegm of the Archduke, and with the unactivity and warineſs of the Conte of Fuenſaldagna; who he thought omitted many opportunities.

Don Alonzo ſent to by Cromwell to leave England.

The Archduke was weary of the title of Governor of the Low Countries and General of the army, when the power was in truth in Fuenſaldagna, and nothing to be done without his approbation; and having, by frequent complaints to Madrid, endeavoured in vain to vindicate his authority, had implored his diſmiſſion, and Fuenſaldagna himſelf was as ill ſatisfied as the other two; and knowing well the defects of the Court, as well as the poverty of Madrid, thought the defence of Flanders conſiſted moſt in preſerving the army, by being on the defenſive part; and therefore, to gratify the coldneſs of his own conſtitution, he did by no means approve the frequent enterpriſes and reſtleſs ſpirit of the Prince of Condé; which ſpent their men: and he thought the great charge in ſupporting the ſtate and dignity of the Archduke, was not recompenſed by any benefit from his ſervice, beſides the irreconcileableneſs with the Archduke, by his having compelled him, by the authority of

of the King, to diſmiſs the Count of Swaſſenburgh; whom he loved of all the world; ſo that he was likewiſe weary of his poſt, and deſired his deliverance to be ſent him from Madrid.

The Council there thought it neceſſary to gratify them both, and to remove both the Archduke and the Conde; honourably to diſmiſs the former to return to his own reſidence in Germany, and to bring Don Juan of Auſtria, the natural ſon of the King of Spain, who had paſſed through many employments with reputation, and was at that time General in Italy, to undertake the government of Flanders, with ſuch reſtrictions as the King of Spain thought fit; and at the ſame time, that the Conde of Fuenſaldagna ſhould immediately enter upon the government of Milan; which had been exerciſed for the laſt ſix years by the Marquis of Carracena; who was now to govern the army in Flanders under Don Juan; and that the Marquis, who had the moſt diſadvantage of this promotion, might be better pleaſed, they gave him ſuch an addition of authority, as could not but breed ill blood in Don Juan; as it fell out afterwards. This counſel was taken, and to be executed in this conjuncture, when France and Cromwell were ready to enter Flanders with two powerful armies, whilſt it was, upon the matter, under no command.

Don Juan of Auſtria made Governor of Flanders: and Carracena appointed to command the army under him.

The King was yet at Cologne; and no ſooner heard of the war that Cromwell had begun upon Spain, but he concluded that the Spaniard would not be unwilling to enter into ſome correſpondence with him; at leaſt, that their fears were over of offending Cromwell. He therefore ſent privately to the Archduke, and to Fuenſaldagna, to offer them his conjunction. Don Alonzo was likewiſe there; and the long experience he had in England, and the quality he ſtill held, made his judgment

The King had ſent to the Archduke to offer his conjunction before the Archduke left Flanders.

ment in thoſe affairs moſt eſteemed by them. He, whether upon the conſcience of his former behaviour, by which he had diſobliged both the late and the preſent King, or whether, by having lived long in a place where the King's intereſt was contemned, he did in truth believe that his Majeſty could bring little advantage to them, had no mind to make a conjunction with him: yet they ſaw one benefit which they might receive, if his Majeſty would draw off the Iriſh from the ſervice of France; which they had reaſon to believe would be in his power, becauſe he had formerly drawn off ſome regiments from Spain, whilſt he remained in France. So that they were all of opinion, that they would confer with any body the King ſhould authorize to treat with them; which when the King knew, he reſolved to go to them himſelf; and left Cologne, attended only by two or three ſervants; and when he came near Bruſſels, ſent to advertiſe the Archduke at what diſtance he was; and "that he would ſee him *incognito* in what "place, or manner, he ſhould think fit."

The King came into Flanders, and treats with the Archduke near Bruſſels.

They either were, or ſeemed to be much troubled that the King was come in perſon; and deſired, that he would by no means come to Bruſſels; but that he would remain in a little vile dorp about a league from Bruſſels; where he was very meanly accommodated. Thither the Conde of Fuenſaldagna and Don Alonzo came to his Majeſty; and the Archduke met him privately at another place. The King quickly diſcovered that Don Alonzo had a private intrigue with ſome officers of the Engliſh army, who were enemies to Cromwell, upon whoſe intereſt he more depended than the King's, and offered it as great merit to his Majeſty, if he could be able to perſuade them to make up a conjunction with the King. This correſpondence between

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Don Alonzo and thoſe Levellers, was managed by an Iriſh Jeſuit, who, by ſpeaking Spaniſh, had got himſelf to be mutually truſted by them. The King preſſed them "that he might remove his family to Bruſſels, or "to ſome place in Flanders, that it might be notorious "that he was in alliance with his Catholic Majeſty; "and then they ſhould quickly ſee he had another kind "of intereſt in England, than what thoſe men pre-"tended to, upon whom they ought not to depend; and "they would quickly find, if his Majeſty reſided in that "country, his influence upon the Iriſh who were in "France."

They would by no means conſent that his Majeſty ſhould remain in Bruſſels, as little at Antwerp, or indeed in any place as taken notice of by the State to be there, "which," they ſaid, "the King of Spain's honour "would not permit, without ſhewing thoſe reſpects to "him that he might live in that grandeur as became a "great King; which the preſent ſtate of their affairs "would not permit them to defray the charge of." But they intimated, "that if his Majeſty would chooſe to "remove his family to Bruges, and remain there with "them, ſo far *incognito* as not to expect any public ex-"penſive reception, they were ſure he would find all re-"ſpect from the inhabitants of that city." The King deſired that ſome treaty might be ſigned between them; which was committed to the wiſdom of Don Alonzo; who prepared it in as perfunctory a manner as was poſ-ſible; by which the King was permitted to reſide in Bruges, and nothing on the King of Spain's part under-taken but "that whenever the King could cauſe a good "port town in England to declare for him, his Catholic "Majeſty would aſſiſt him with a body of ſix thouſand "foot, and with ſuch a proportion of ammunition, and

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"ſo many ſhips to tranſport that body thither;" which was the propoſition the Levellers had made; and Don Alonzo, by making it the contract with the King, thought this way to beget an intelligence between them and the royal party; of the power of which he had no eſteem.

The King diſcerned that what they offered would be of no moment, nor could he make ſuch confident propoſitions of advantage to Spain, as might warrant him to inſiſt upon large conceſſions. Beſides, it was evident to him, that the affairs in thoſe provinces, which remained under Spain, were in ſo evil a poſture, that, if they ſhould promiſe any great matters, they would not be able to perform them. However, all that he deſired, was to have the reputation of a treaty between him and the King of Spain; under which he might draw his family from Cologne, and remain in Flanders, which was at a juſt diſtance from England, to expect other alterations. So his Majeſty readily accepted the treaty as it was drawn by Don Alonzo; and ſigned it; and declared that he would reſide in the manner they propoſed at Bruges. Whereupon, after ſeven or eight days' ſtay in that inconvenient manner, the treaty was engroſſed and ſigned by the King, the Archduke, and Don Alonzo, in April, or the end of March 1657; the diſpatch of the treaty being haſtened by the neceſſity of the departure of the Archduke and the Conde of Fuenſaldagna; who begun their journey within two or three days after the ſigning of it: Don Juan and the Marquis of Carracena being known to be on their way; and both, though not together, within few days' journey of Flanders.

The treaty ſigned April 1657, between Spain and the King.

The treaty, as it was ſigned, was ſent by an expreſs into Spain, for the approbation and ſignature of his Catholic

The King removes his family from Cologne, and comes to reſide at Bruges.

tholic Majeſty. The King with his ſmall train went to Bruges, and lodged in the houſe of a ſubject of his own, the Lord Tarah, an Iriſhman; who had been born in that country, and inherited an eſtate by his mother. There the King ſtayed, till a handſome accommodation was provided for him in that city, having ſent to his brother the Duke of Glouceſter, who remained yet at Cologne, to come to him, and that his family ſhould all come from thence. So that by the time his Majeſty had returned again to Bruſſels, to congratulate Don Juan's arrival, and ſpent three or four days there, he found himſelf as well ſettled at Bruges as he had been at Cologne; where, when his family left it, there was not the leaſt debt remained unſatisfied; which, in the low condition his Majeſty had been in, and ſtill was, gave reputation to his œconomy.

As, upon the diſſolution of the unruly Parliament, Cromwell had ſent out his two great fleets, to propagate his fame abroad, preſuming that, by the conqueſt which the one would make in the Weſt Indies, he ſhould have money enough to keep his army in obedience to him, and by the other's deſtroying or ſuppreſſing the Turks of Algiers and Tunis, which were indeed grown formidable to all merchants, he ſhould raiſe his reputation in Chriſtendom, and become very popular with all the merchants of England; ſo he did not, in the mean time, neglect to take all the ways he could deviſe, to provide for his own ſecurity at home. Though he had brought the King's party ſo low, that he had no apprehenſion of their power to raiſe an army againſt him; yet he diſcerned, that, by breaking their fortunes and eſtates, he had not at all broken their ſpirits; and that, by taking ſo many of their lives, their numbers were not much

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leſſened; and that they would be ſtill ready to throw themſelves into any party that ſhould declare againſt him; to which, he knew, they were enough inclined.

But that which troubled him moſt, was the diſtemper in his army; where he knew there were many troops more at the diſpoſal of that party that would deſtroy him, than at his own. It was once in his purpoſe to have drawn over a regiment of Swiſs, upon pretence of ſending them into Ireland, but in truth with intention to keep them as a guard to his own perſon; and to that purpoſe he had ſent a perſon to treat with Colonel Balthazer, a man well known in the Proteſtant Cantons; but this came to be diſcovered: ſo he had not confidence to proceed in it. He reſolved therefore upon an expedient, which ſhould provide for all inconveniences, as well amongſt the people, as in the army. He conſtituted, out of the perſons who he thought were moſt devoted to himſelf, a body of Major Generals; that is, he aſſigned to ſuch a ſingle perſon ſo many counties, to be under his command as their Major General: ſo that all England was put under the abſolute power of twelve men, neither of them having any power in the juriſdiction of another, but every man, in thoſe counties which were committed to his charge, had all that authority which was before divided among committee-men, juſtices of peace, and ſeveral other officers.

Cromwell diſturbed with the diviſions in his own army.

Conſtitutes his Major Generals.

The Major General committed to priſon what perſons he thought fit to ſuſpect; took care to levy all monies which were appointed by the Protector and his Council to be collected for the public; ſequeſtered all who did not pay their decimation, or ſuch other payments as they were made liable to; and there was no appeal from any of their acts but to the Protector himſelf. They had likewiſe a martial power, which was to

Their power.

liſt a body of horſe and foot, who were to have ſuch a ſalary conſtantly paid, and not to be called upon to ſerve but upon emergent occaſion, and then to attend ſo many days at their own charge; and if they ſtayed longer, they were to be under the ſame pay with the army, but independent upon the officers thereof, and only to obey their Major General. A horſeman had eight pounds a year; for which he was to be ready with his horſe if he were called upon; if he were not, he might intend his own affairs. By this means he had a ſecond army in view, powerful enough to control the firſt, if they at any time deſerved to be ſuſpected. But he diſcerned, by degrees, that theſe new magiſtrates grew too much in love with their own power; and beſides that they carried themſelves like ſo many Baſſa's with their bands of Janizaries, towards the people, and were extremely odious to all parties, they did really affect ſuch an authority as might undermine his own greatneſs; yet for the preſent he thought not fit to control them, and ſeemed leſs to apprehend them.

When Admiral Blake had ſubdued the Turks of Tunis and Algiers, and betaken himſelf to the coaſt of Spain, and by the attempt of Hiſpaniola and the poſſeſſion of Jamaica, the war was ſufficiently declared againſt the Catholic King, Mountague, a young gentleman of a good family, who had been drawn into the party of Cromwell, and ſerved under him as a colonel in his army with much courage, was ſent with an addition of ſhips to join with Blake, and joined in commiſſion of Admiral and General with him; Blake having found himſelf much indiſpoſed in his health, and having deſired that another might be ſent to aſſiſt him, and to take care of the fleet, if worſe ſhould befall him. Upon his arrival with the fleet, they lay long before Cales in

Mountague ſent to join with Blake; and put in commiſſion with him.

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expectation of the Spaniſh Weſt India fleet, and to keep in all ſhips from going out to give notice of their being there. After ſome months' attendance, they were at laſt compelled to remove their ſtation, that they might get freſh water, and ſome other proviſions which they wanted; and ſo drew off to a convenient bay in Portugal, and left a ſquadron of ſhips to watch the Spaniſh fleet; which, within a very ſhort time after the remove of the Engliſh fleet, came upon the coaſt; and before they were diſcovered by the commander of the ſquadron, who was to the leeward, made their way ſo faſt, that when he got up with them, (though he was inferior to them in number), they rather thought of ſaving their wealth by flight, than of defending themſelves; and ſo the Spaniſh Admiral run on ſhore in the bay; and the Vice-Admiral, in which was the Vice-King of Mexico with his wife, and ſons, and daughters, fired; in which the poor gentleman himſelf, his wife, and his eldeſt daughter, periſhed: his other daughters, and his two ſons, and near one hundred others, were ſaved by the Engliſh; who took the Rear-Admiral, and another ſhip, very richly laden; which, together with the priſoners, were ſent into England, the reſt eſcaped into Gibraltar.

An Engliſh ſquadron lights upon the Spaniſh Weſt India fleet; takes the Rear-Admiral and another ſhip off of Cales.

The ſhips which were ſent for England arrived at Portſmouth; and though they might with leſs charge have continued their voyage by ſea to London, Cromwell thought it would make more noiſe, if all the bullion, which was of great value, was landed at Portſmouth; from whence it was brought by land in many carts to London, and carried through the city to the Tower to be there coined, as it was, within as ſhort a time as it could be diſpatched; and though it was in itſelf very conſiderable, they gave out and reported it to be of much greater value than it was. But the loſs to

The bullion taken conveyed from Portſmouth to London.

the Spaniard was prodigious; though moſt of what was in the Admiral was ſaved, and that only: and they ſaw the Engliſh fleet ſtill remaining before them, which was not like to miſs the other fleet they ſhortly after expected, in ſpite of all advertiſements which they were like to be able to ſend to it.

Cromwell now thought his reputation, both abroad and at home, ſo good, that he might venture again upon calling of a Parliament; and, by their countenance and concurrence, ſuppreſs or compoſe thoſe refractory ſpirits, which croſſed him in all places; and having firſt made ſuch ſheriffs in all counties as he thought would be like to contribute to his deſigns, by hindering ſuch men to ſtand againſt whom he had a prejudice, at leaſt, by not returning them if they ſhould be choſen, and by procuring ſuch perſons to be returned as would be moſt agreeable to him, of which there were choice in all counties; and having prepared all things to this purpoſe, as well as he could, he ſent out his writs to call a Parliament to meet at Weſtminſter, upon the ſeventeenth of September, in the year 1656. When, upon the returns, he found, that though in ſome places he had ſucceeded according to his wiſh, it was in others quite the contrary, and that very many members were returned, who were men of the moſt notorious malignity againſt him, he therefore reſorted to his old ſecurity, to keep all manner of perſons from entering into the Houſe, who did not firſt ſubſcribe, "that they would act nothing prejudicial to the government as it was eſtabliſhed under a "Protector;" which being tendered, many members utterly refuſed, and returned into their countries, where they were not, for the moſt part, the worſe welcome for inſiſting upon their privileges, and freedom of Parliament.

Cromwell ſummons a Parliament to meet Sept. 17, 1656.

Impoſes a ſubſcription upon the members before they ſate.

The

The major part frankly ſubmitted and ſubſcribed; ſome of them, that they might have the better opportunity to do miſchief. So a Speaker was choſen; and at firſt they proceeded ſo unanimouſly, that the Protector begun to hope that he had gained his point. With very little or no contradiction, they paſſed an act of renunciation of any title that Charles Stuart (for ſo they had long called the King) or any of that family might pretend; and this all men were bound to ſubſcribe. With as little oppoſition, they paſſed another, whereby it was made high treaſon to attempt any thing againſt the life of the Protector. Then they paſſed ſeveral acts for raiſing money by way of contribution in England, Scotland, and Ireland, in a greater proportion than had ever yet been raiſed. They granted tonnage and poundage to the Protector for his life; and paſſed ſeveral other acts for the raiſing of monies; amongſt them, one for obliging all perſons to pay a full year's rent for all buildings which had been erected in and about London, from before the beginning of the troubles; by all which ways, vaſt ſums of money were to be, and afterwards were, raiſed. All theſe acts they preſented ſolemnly to his Highneſs, to be confirmed by his royal authority; and he as graciouſly confirmed them all; and told them, "that as it had been the cuſtom of the chief go-"vernors to acknowledge the care and kindneſs of the "Commons upon ſuch occaſions, ſo he did very hear-"tily and thankfully acknowledge theirs."

The proceedings of this Parliament.

But after all this he was far from being ſatisfied with the method of their proceeding; for there was nothing done to confirm his perſonal authority; and notwithſtanding all this was done, they might, for ought appeared, remove him from being both Protector and General. There had been for ſome time jealouſies between

Cromwell's jealouſy of Lambert.

him and Lambert, who had been the principal adviſer of the raiſing thoſe Major Generals; and being one of them himſelf, and having the government of the five northern counties committed to him, he deſired to improve their authority, and to have it ſettled by authority of Parliament. But Cromwell, on the other hand, was well contented that they ſhould be looked upon as a public grievance, and ſo taken away, rather upon the deſire of Parliament, than that it ſhould appear to be out of his own inclination. But, hitherto, neither that deſign in Lambert, nor the other in Cromwell, nor any difference between them, had broken out.

The Protector himſelf ſeemed to deſire nothing more than to have the authority they had formerly given him, at leaſt, that he had exerciſed from the time he was Protector, confirmed, and ratified by act of Parliament. And if it had been ſo, it had been much greater than any King ever enjoyed. But he had uſed to ſpeak much, "that it was pity the nobility ſhould be totally "ſuppreſſed; and that the government would be better, "if it paſſed another conſultation beſides that of the "Houſe of Commons." In matter of religion, he would often ſpeak, "that there was much of good in the order "of Biſhops, if the droſs were ſcoured off." He courted very much many of the nobility, and uſed all devices to diſpoſe them to come to him; and they who did viſit him were uſed with extraordinary reſpect by him; all which raiſed an opinion in many, that he did in truth himſelf affect to be King; which was the more confirmed, when many of thoſe who had neareſt relation to him, and were moſt truſted by him, as ſoon as the Parliament had diſpatched thoſe acts, which are mentioned before, and that complaints came from all parts againſt the Major Generals, inveighed ſharply againſt the temper

per and compoſition of the government, as if it was not capable to ſettle the ſeveral diſtractions, and ſatisfy the ſeveral intereſts of the nation; and by degrees propoſed, in direct terms, "that they might inveſt Cromwell with "the title, rights, and dignity of a King; and then he "would know, what he was to do towards the ſatisfac- "tion of all parties, and how to govern thoſe who would "not be ſatisfied." A propoſition in the Parliament for Cromwell to be King.

This propoſition found a great concurrence; and very many, who uſed not to agree in any thing elſe, were of one mind in this, and would preſently vote him King. And it was obſerved that nobody was forwarder in that acclamation, than ſome men who had always had the reputation of great fidelity to the King, and to wiſh his reſtoration: and it cannot be denied that very many of the King's party were ſo deceived in their judgments, as really to believe, that the making Cromwell King for the preſent, was the beſt expedient for the reſtoration of his Majeſty; and that the army, and the whole nation, would then have been united rather to reſtore the true, than to admit of a falſe ſovereign, whoſe hypocriſy and tyranny being now detected, and known, would be the more deteſted.

But the more ſober perſons of the King's party, who made leſs noiſe, trembled at this overture; and believed that it was the only way, utterly to deſtroy the King, and to pull up all future hopes of the royal family by the roots. They ſaw all men even already tired in their hopes; and that which was left of ſpirit in them, was from the horror they had of the confuſion of the preſent government; that very many, who had ſuſtained the King's quarrel in the beginning, were dead; that the preſent King, by his long abſence out of the kingdom, was known to very few; ſo that there was too much rea-

ſon to fear, that much of that affection that appeared under the notion of allegiance to the King, was more directed to the monarchy than to the perſon; and that if Cromwell were once made King, and ſo the government run again in the old channel, though thoſe who were in love with a republic would poſſibly fall from him, he would receive abundant reparation of ſtrength by the acceſs of thoſe who preferred the monarchy, and which probably would reconcile moſt men of eſtates to an abſolute acquieſcence, if not to an entire ſubmiſſion; that the nobility, which being excluded to a man, and deprived of all the rights and privileges due to them by their birthright, and ſo enemies irreconcileable to the preſent government, would, by this alteration, find themſelves in their right places, and be glad to adhere to the name of a King, how unlawful a one ſoever; and there was an act of Parliament ſtill in force, that was made in the eleventh year of King Harry the ſeventh, which ſeemed to provide abſolute indemnity to ſuch ſubmiſſion. And there was, without doubt, at that time, too much propenſion in too many of the nobility, to ranſom themſelves at the charge of their lawful Sovereign. And therefore they who made theſe prudent recollections, uſed all the ways they could to prevent this deſign, and to divert any ſuch vote in the Houſe.

Lambert and his party oppoſe this overture.

On the other ſide, Lambert, who was the ſecond man of power in the army, and many other officers of account and intereſt, beſides the country members, oppoſed this overture with great bitterneſs and indignation: ſome of them ſaid directly, "that if, contrary to their "oaths and engagements, and contrary to the end, for "obtaining whereof they had ſpent ſo much blood and "treaſure, they muſt at laſt return and ſubmit to the "old government, and live again under a King, they "would

" would chooſe much rather to obey the true and law-
" ful heir to the Crown, who was deſcended from a
" long ſucceſſion of Kings who had managed the
" ſcepter over the nation, than to ſubmit to a perſon
" who at beſt was but their equal, and raiſed by them-
" ſelves from the ſame degree of which they all were,
" and, by the truſt they had repoſed in him, had raiſed
" himſelf above them." That which put an end to the preſent debate was, (and which was as wonderful as any thing), that ſome of his own family, who had grown up under him, and had their whole dependence upon him, as Deſborough, Fleetwood, Whaley, and others, as paſſionately contradicted the motion, as any of the other officers; and confidently undertook to know, " that himſelf would never conſent to it; and
" therefore that it was very ſtrange that any men ſhould
" importune the putting ſuch a queſtion, before they
" knew that he would accept it, unleſs they took this way
" to deſtroy him." Upon this (for which the undertakers received no thanks) the firſt debate was put off, till farther conſideration.

And ſome of Cromwell's own relations.

The debate was reſumed again the next day, with the ſame warmth, the ſame perſons ſtill of the ſame opinion they had been before; moſt of the officers of the army, as well as they who were the great dependents upon and creatures of Cromwell, as paſſionately oppoſed the making him King, as Lambert and the reſt did, who looked to be ſucceſſive Protectors after his deceaſe; only it was obſerved, that they who the day before had undertaken, that he himſelf would never endure it, (which had eſpecially made the pauſe at that time), urged that argument no more; but inveighed ſtill againſt it as a monſtrous thing, and that which would infallibly ruin him. But moſt of thoſe of his Privy Council,

Council, and others neareſt his truſt, were as violent and as poſitive for the declaring him King, and much the major part of the Houſe concurred in the ſame opinion; and notwithſtanding all was ſaid to the contrary, they appointed a committee of ſeveral of the moſt eminent members of the Houſe to wait upon him, and to inform him of "the very earneſt deſire of the Houſe, that he "would take upon him the title of King; and if they "ſhould find any averſion in him, that they ſhould "then enlarge in giving him thoſe reaſons, which had "been offered in the Houſe, and which had ſwayed the "Houſe to that reſolution, which they hoped would "have the ſame influence upon his Highneſs."

A committee appointed to confer with Cromwell about it.

He gave them audience in the Painted Chamber, when they made the bare overture to him, as the deſire of his Parliament; at which he ſeemed ſurpriſed; and told them, "he wondered how any ſuch thing came into "their minds; that it was neither fit for them to offer, "nor him to receive; that he was ſure they could diſ- "cover no ſuch ambition in him, and that his con- "ſcience would not give him leave ever to conſent to "own that title." They, who were well prepared to expect ſuch an anſwer, told him, "that they hoped, he "would not ſo ſuddenly give a poſitive denial to what "the Parliament had deſired upon ſo long and mature "deliberation; that they, who knew his modeſty well, "and that he more affected to deſerve the higheſt titles "than to wear them, were appointed to offer many rea- "ſons, which had induced the Houſe to make this re- "queſt to him; which when he had vouchſafed to "hear, they hoped the ſame impreſſion would be made "upon him, that had been made upon them in the "Houſe." He was too deſirous to give the Parliament all the ſatisfaction he could with a good conſcience, to

He gives them audience, and they offer him their reaſons.

refuſe

refuſe to hear whatever they thought fit to ſay to him; and ſo appointed them another day to attend him in the ſame place; which they accordingly did.

When they came to him again, they all ſucceſſively entertained him with long harangues, ſetting out "the "nature of the Engliſh people, and the nature of the "government to which they had been accuſtomed, and "under which they had flouriſhed from the time they "had been a people: that though the extreme ſuffer- "ings they had undergone by corrupt miniſters, under "negligent and tyrannical kings, had tranſported them "to throw off the government itſelf, as well as to inflict "juſtice upon the perſons of the offenders; yet they "found by experience, that no other government would "ſo well fit the nation, as that to which it had been "accuſtomed: that, notwithſtanding the infinite pains "his Highneſs had taken, and which had been crowned, "even with miraculous ſucceſs, by the immediate bleſſ- "ing of divine Providence upon all his actions and all "his counſels, there remained ſtill a reſtleſs and unquiet "ſpirit in men, that threatened the public peace; and "that it was moſt apparent, by the daily combinations "and conſpiracies againſt the preſent government, how "juſt and gentle and mild ſoever, that the heart of the "nation was devoted to the old form, with which it "was acquainted; and that it was the love of that, not "the affection to the young man who pretended a title "to it, and was known to nobody, which diſpoſed ſo "many to wiſh for the return of it: that the name and "title of a Protector was never known to this kingdom, "but in the hands of a ſubject, during the reign of an "infant Sovereign; and therefore, that the laws gave "little reſpect to him, but were always executed in the "name of the King, how young ſoever, and how unfit

"ſoever

" ſoever to govern: that whatſoever concerned the rights
" of any family, or any perſonal pretence, was well and
" ſafely over; the nation was united, and of one mind
" in the rejection of the old line; there was no danger of
" it; but nobody could ſay, that they were of one mind
" in the rejection of the old form of government; to
" which they were ſtill moſt addicted: therefore, they
" beſought him, out of his love and tenderneſs to the
" commonwealth, and for the preſervation of the name,
" which had got ſo much renown and glory under his
" conduct, that he would take that name and title which
" had ever preſided over it, and by which as he could
" eſtabliſh a firm peace at home, ſo he would find his
" fame and honour more improved abroad; and that
" thoſe very Princes and Kings, who, out of admiration
" of his virtue and noble actions, had contracted a re-
" verence for his perſon, and an impatient deſire of his
" friendſhip, would look upon him with much more
" veneration, when they ſaw him clothed with the ſame
" majeſty, and as much their equal in title as in merit;
" and would with much more alacrity renew the old
" alliances with England, when they were renewed in
" the old form, and under the old title, which would
" make them durable; ſince no foreign Prince could
" preſume to take upon him to judge of right of ſuc-
" ceſſion; which had been frequently changed in all
" kingdoms, not only upon the expiration of a line,
" but upon deprivation and depoſition; in ſuch man-
" ner as was moſt for the good and benefit of the peo-
" ple; of which there was a freſh inſtance in their own
" eyes, in the kingdom of Portugal; where the Duke
" of Braganza, by the election of the people, aſſumed
" the crown, and title of King, from the King of
" Spain; who had enjoyed it quietly, and without in-
" terruption,

"terruption, during three deſcents; and he was ac-
"knowledged as Sovereign of that kingdom by the late
"King; who received his ambaſſadors accordingly."

Cromwell heard theſe and the like arguments with great attention, (and wanted not inclination to have concurred with them; he thanked them "for the pains they "had taken,") "to which he would not take upon him "to give a preſent anſwer; that he would conſider of "all they had ſaid to him, and reſort to God for coun-"ſel; and then he would ſend for them, and acquaint "them with his reſolution:" and ſo they parted, all men ſtanding at gaze, and in terrible ſuſpenſe, according to their ſeveral hopes and fears, till they knew what he would determine. All the diſpute was now within his own chamber. There is no queſtion the man was in great agony, and in his own mind did heartily deſire to be King, and thought it the only way to be ſafe. And it is confidently believed, that upon ſome addreſſes he had formerly made to ſome principal noblemen of the kingdom, and ſome friendly expoſtulations he had by himſelf, or ſome friend, with them, why they reſerved themſelves, and would have no communication or acquaintance with him, the anſwer from them all ſeverally (for ſuch diſcourſes could be held but with one at a time) was, "that if he would make himſelf King, they "ſhould eaſily know what they had to do, but they "knew nothing of the ſubmiſſion and obedience which "they were to pay to a Protector;" and that theſe returns firſt diſpoſed him to that ambition.

He was not terrified with the oppoſition that Lambert gave him; whom he now looked upon as a declared and mortal enemy, and one whom he muſt deſtroy, that he might not be deſtroyed by him: nor did he much conſider thoſe other officers of the army, who in the

the Houſe concurred with Lambert, whoſe intereſt he did not believe to be great; and if it were, he thought he ſhould quickly reduce them, as ſoon as Lambert ſhould be diſgraced, and his power taken from him. But he trembled at the obſtinacy of thoſe who, he knew, loved him; his brother Deſborough, and the reſt, who depended wholly upon him, and his greatneſs, and who did not wiſh his power and authority leſs abſolute than it was. And that theſe men ſhould, with that virulence, withſtand this promotion, grieved him to the heart. He conferred with them ſeverally, and endeavoured, by all the ways he could, to convert them. But they were all inexorable; and told him reſolutely, "that "they could do him no good, if they ſhould adhere to "him; and therefore they were reſolved for their own "intereſt to leave him, and do the utmoſt they could "againſt him, from the time he aſſumed that title."

It was reported, that an officer of name, in the *eclairciſſement* upon the ſubject, told him reſolutely and vehemently, "that if ever he took the title of King "upon him, he would kill him." Certain it is that Cromwell was informed, and gave credit to it, "that "there were a number of men, who bound themſelves "by oath to kill him, within ſo many hours after he "ſhould accept that title." They who were very near him ſaid, that in this perplexity he revolved his former dream, or apparition, that had firſt informed, and promiſed him the high fortune to which he was already arrived, and which was generally ſpoken of even from the beginning of the troubles, and when he was not in a poſture that promiſed ſuch exaltation; and that he then obſerved, it had only declared, "that he ſhould be the "greateſt man in England, and ſhould be near to be "King;" which ſeemed to imply that he ſhould be only

only near, and never actually attain the crown. Upon the whole matter, after a great diſtraction of mind, which was manifeſt in his countenance to all who then ſaw him, notwithſtanding his ſcience in diſſimulation, his coutage failed him; and after he had ſpent ſome days very uneaſily, he ſent for the committee of Parliament, to attend him; and, as his looks were extremely diſcompoſed, and diſcovered a mind full of trouble and irreſolution, ſo his words were broken and disjointed, without method, and full of pauſes; with frequent mention of God and his gracious diſpenſation, he concluded, "that he could not, with a good conſcience, accept the "government under the title of a King." He refuſes the title of King.

Many were then of opinion, that his genius at that time forſook him, and yielded to the King's ſpirit, and that his reign was near its expiration; and that, if his own courage had not failed, he would eaſily have maſtered all oppoſition; that there were many officers of the army, who would not have left him, who were for kingly government in their own affections; and that the greateſt factions in religion rather promiſed themſelves protection from a ſingle perſon, than from a Parliament, or a new numerous Council; that the firſt motion for the making him King was made by one of the moſt wealthy aldermen of the city of London, and who ſerved then for the city in Parliament; which was an argument that that potent body ſtood well affected to that government, and would have joined with him in the defence of it. Others were as confident, that he did very wiſely to decline it; and that, if he had accepted it, he could not have lived many days after. The truth is, the danger was only in ſome preſent aſſaſſination, and deſperate attempt upon his perſon, not from a revolt of the army from him; which no particular

cular man had intereſt enough to corrupt. And he might have ſecured himſelf probably, for ſome time, from ſuch an aſſault; and when ſuch deſigns are deferred, they are commonly diſcovered; as appeared afterwards, in many conſpiracies againſt his life.

His intereſt and power over the army was ſo great, that he had upon the ſudden removed many of thoſe officers who had the greateſt names in the factions of religion, as Harriſon, Rich, and others; who, as ſoon as they were removed, and their regiments conferred on others, were found to be of no ſignification, or influence. And it could have been no hard matter for him, upon very few days' warning, to have ſo quartered and modelled his troops, as to have ſecured him in any enterpriſe he would undertake. And, it may be, there were more men ſcandalized at his uſurping more than the royal authority, than would have been at his aſſumption of the royal title too. And therefore they who at that time exerciſed their thoughts with moſt ſagacity, looked upon that refuſal of his as an immediate act of Almighty God towards the King's reſtoration; and many of the ſobereſt men in the nation confeſſed, after the King's return, that their dejected ſpirits were wonderfully raiſed, and their hopes revived, by that infatuation of his.

But his modeſty, or his wiſdom, or his fear in the refuſing that ſupreme title, ſeemed not to be attended with the leaſt diſadvantage to him. They who had moſt ſignally oppoſed it were ſo ſatisfied that the danger they moſt apprehended was over, that they cared not to croſs any thing elſe that was propoſed towards his greatneſs; which might be their own another day: and they who had carried on the other deſign, and thereby, as they thought, obliged him, reſolved now to give him all

all the power which they knew he did desire, and leave it to his own time, when with less hesitation he might assume the title too. And so they voted, that he should enjoy the title and authority he had already; which they enlarged in many particulars, beyond what it was by the first instrument of government, by another instrument, which they called the humble Petition and Advice; in which they granted him not only that authority for his life, but power by his last will and testament, and in the presence of such a number of witnesses, to make choice of, and to declare his own successor; which power should never be granted to any other Protector than himself. And when they had digested and agreed upon this writing, at the passing whereof Lambert chose rather to be absent than oppose it, his Parliament sent to him for an audience; which he assigned them on the 25th day of May 1657, in the Banqueting House; where their Speaker Withrington presented, and read the Petition and Advice of his Parliament, and desired his assent to it.

He is confirmed Protector by the humble Petition and Advice.

The contents and substance of it were, "that his "Highness Oliver Cromwell should, under the title of "Protector, be pleased to execute the office of chief "magistrate over England, Scotland, and Ireland, and "the territories and dominions thereunto belonging, "&c. and to govern according to all things in that Pe- "tition and Advice: and also, that he would in his "lifetime appoint the person that should succeed him "in the government: that he would call a Parliament "consisting of two Houses, once in a year at farthest: "that those persons who are legally chosen by a free "election of the people to serve in Parliament, may "not be excluded from doing their duties, but by con- "sent of that House whereof they are members: that

The contents of it.

" none but thoſe under the qualifications therein men-
" tioned, ſhould be capable to ſerve as members in
" Parliament: that the power of the other Houſe be
" limited, as therein is preſcribed: that the laws and
" ſtatutes of the land be obſerved and kept; no laws
" altered, ſuſpended, abrogated, or repealed, but by
" new laws made by act of Parliament: that the
" yearly ſum of a million of pounds ſterling be ſettled
" for the maintenance of the navy and army; and
" three hundred thouſand pounds for the ſupport of the
" government; beſides other temporary ſupplies, as
" the Commons in Parliament ſhall ſee the neceſſities
" of the nation to require: that the number of the Pro-
" tector's Council ſhall not exceed one and twenty;
" whereof ſeven ſhall be a *quorum*: the chief officers of
" ſtate, as Chancellors, Keepers of the Great Seal, &c.
" to be approved by Parliament: that his Highneſs
" would encourage a godly miniſtry in theſe nations;
" and that ſuch as do revile and diſturb them in the
" worſhip of God, may be puniſhed according to
" law; and where laws are defective, new ones to be
" made: that the Proteſtant Chriſtian religion, as it is
" contained in the Old and New Teſtament, be aſſerted,
" and held forth for the public profeſſion of theſe na-
" tions, and no other; and that a confeſſion of faith be
" agreed upon, and recommended to the people of
" theſe nations; and none to be permitted, by words
" or writing, to revile or reproach the ſaid confeſſion of
" faith."

When this Petition and Advice was diſtinctly read to him, after a long pauſe, and caſting up his eyes, and other geſtures of perplexity, he ſigned it; and told them, " that he came not thither that day as to a day
" of triumph, but with the moſt ſerious thoughts that
" ever

His ſpeech upon paſſing it.

" ever he had in all his life, being to undertake one of " the greateſt burdens that ever was laid upon the back " of any human creature; ſo that, without the ſupport " of the Almighty, he muſt neceſſarily ſink under the " weight of it, to the damage and prejudice of the na- " tion committed to his charge: therefore he deſired " the help of the Parliament, and the help of all thoſe " who feared God, that by their help he might receive " help and aſſiſtance from the hand of God, ſince no- " thing but his preſence could enable him to diſcharge " ſo great a truſt." He told them, that " this was but an " introduction to the carrying on of the government of " the three nations; and therefore he recommended the " ſupply of the reſt, that was yet wanting, to the wiſ- " dom of the Parliament;" and ſaid, " he could not " doubt, but the ſame ſpirit that had led the Parlia- " ment to this, would eaſily ſuggeſt the reſt to them; and " that nothing ſhould have induced him to have under- " taken this intolerable burden to fleſh and blood, but " that he ſaw it was the Parliament's care to anſwer " thoſe ends for which they were engaged;" calling God to witneſs, " that he would not have undergone it, " but that the Parliament had determined that it made " clearly for the liberty and intereſt of the nation, and " preſervation of ſuch as fear God; and if the nation " were not thankful to them for their care, it would fall " as a ſin on their heads." He concluded with recommending ſome things to them, " which, he ſaid, would " tend to reformation, by diſcountenancing vice and " encouraging virtue;" and ſo diſmiſſed them to return to their Houſe.

But now that they had performed all he could expect from them, he reſolved that he would do ſomewhat for himſelf; and that all the diſcourſes which had paſſed

of Kingſhip ſhould not paſs away in the ſilence of this addreſs, but that this exaltation ſhould be attended with ſuch a noiſe and ſolemnity, as ſhould make it very little inferior to the other. Therefore, within few days after, he ſent a meſſage to the Parliament, "that they would "adjourn until ſuch a time as the ſolemnity of his in-"auguration ſhould be performed;" for the formality whereof they had not provided, nor indeed conſidered it; as if enough had been done already. For this he appointed the ſix and twentieth of June; and in the mean time aſſigned the care to ſeveral perſons, that all things ſhould be made ready for the magnificence of ſuch a work.

The ſolemnity of his inauguration.

On the day appointed, Weſtminſter Hall was prepared, and adorned as ſumptuouſly as it could be for a day of coronation. A throne was erected with a pavilion, and a chair of ſtate under it, to which Cromwell was conducted in an entry, and attendance of his officers, military and civil, with as much ſtate (and the ſword carried before him) as can be imagined. When he was ſate in his chair of ſtate, and after a ſhort ſpeech, which was but the prologue of that by the Speaker of the Parliament Withrington, that this promotion might not ſeem to be without the nobility's having any ſhare in it, the Speaker, with the Earl of Warwick, and Whitlock, veſted him with a rich purple velvet robe lined with ermines; the Speaker enlarging upon the majeſty and the integrity of that robe. Then the Speaker preſented him with a fair Bible of the largeſt edition, richly bound; then he, in the name of all the people, girded a ſword about him; and laſtly preſented him a ſcepter of gold, which he put into his hand, and made a large diſcourſe of thoſe emblems of government and authority. Upon the cloſe of which, there being little wanting to a perfect

formal

formal coronation, but a crown and an archbiſhop, he took his oath, adminiſtered to him by the Speaker, in theſe words, (which amongſt other things had been ſettled by an explanatory Petition and Advice): "I do, "in the preſence, and by the name of Almighty God, "promiſe and ſwear, that, to the utmoſt of my power, I "will uphold and maintain the true reformed Pro- "teſtant Chriſtian religion in the purity thereof, as it is "contained in the holy Scriptures of the Old and New "Teſtament; and to the utmoſt of my power, and "underſtanding, encourage the profeſſion and profeſſors "of the ſame; and that, to the utmoſt of my power, I "will endeavour, as chief magiſtrate of theſe three na- "tions, the maintenance and preſerving of the peace and "ſafety, and juſt rights and privileges of the people "thereof; and ſhall in all things, according to the beſt "of my knowledge and power, govern the people of "theſe three nations according to law."

After this there remained nothing but feſtivals, and proclamations of his power and authority to be made in the city of London, and with all imaginable haſte throughout the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland; which was done accordingly. And that he might entirely enjoy the ſovereignty they had conferred upon him, without any new blaſts and diſputes, and might be vacant to the diſpatch of his domeſtic affairs, which he had modelled, and might have time to conſider how to fill his other Houſe with members fit for his purpoſe, he adjourned his Parliament till January next, as having done as much as was neceſſary for one ſeſſion. In this vacancy, his greatneſs ſeemed to be ſo much eſtabliſhed both at home and abroad, as if it could never be ſhaken. He cauſed all the officers of his army, and all commanders at ſea, to ſubſcribe and approve all

He adjourns his Parliament to January the 20th.

His actions in the vacancy of Parliament.

that the Parliament had done, and to promiſe to obſerve and defend it.

He ſent now for his eldeſt ſon Richard; who, till this time, had lived privately in the country upon the fortune his wife had brought him, in an ordinary village in Hampſhire; and brought him now to the Court, and made him a Privy Counſellor, and cauſed him to be choſen Chancellor of the Univerſity of Oxford. Notwithſtanding all which, few people then believed that he intended to name him for his ſucceſſor; he by his diſcourſes often implying, "that he would name ſuch a "ſucceſſor, as was in all reſpects equal to the office:" and ſo men gueſſed this or that man, as they thought moſt like to be ſo eſteemed by him. His ſecond ſon Harry, who had the reputation of more vigour, he had ſent into Ireland, and made him his Lieutenant of that kingdom, that he might be ſure to have no diſturbance from thence.

His daughters diſpoſed of in marriage.

He had only two daughters unmarried: one of thoſe he gave to the grandſon and heir of the Earl of Warwick, a man of a great eſtate, and throughly engaged in the cauſe from the beginning; the other was married to the Lord Viſcount Falconbridge, the owner likewiſe of a very fair eſtate in Yorkſhire, and deſcended of a family eminently loyal. There were many reaſons to believe, that this young gentleman, being then of about three or four and twenty years of age, of great vigour and ambition, had many good purpoſes, which he thought that alliance might qualify and enable him to perform. Theſe marriages were celebrated at Whitehall with all imaginable pomp and luſtre; and it was obſerved, that though the marriages were performed in public view according to the rites and ceremonies then in uſe, they were preſently afterwards in private married by

by miniſters ordained by biſhops, and according to the form in the book of Common Prayer; and this with the privity of Cromwell; who pretended to yield to it in compliance with the importunity and folly of his daughters.

The ſucceſs of his arms abroad.

Theſe domeſtic triumphs were confirmed and improved by the ſucceſs of his arms abroad. Though the French had no mind to apply thoſe forces upon Dunkirk, which they were obliged, when taken, to put into Cromwell's hands, and ſo march to other places, which they were to conquer to their own uſe, in which the ſix thouſand Engliſh under the command of Raynolds attended them, and behaved themſelves eminently well, and in good diſcipline; yet his ambaſſador Lockhart made ſuch lively inſtances with the Cardinal, with complaints of their breach of faith, and ſome menaces, "that his maſter knew where to find a more punctual "friend;" that as ſoon as they had taken Montmedy, and St. Venant, the army marched into Flanders; and though the ſeaſon of the year was too far ſpent to engage in a ſiege before Dunkirk, they ſate down before Mardike; which was looked upon as the moſt difficult part of the work; which being reduced, would facilitate the other very much: and that fort they took, and delivered it into the hands of Raynolds, with an obligation, "that they would beſiege Dunkirk the next year, and "make it their firſt attempt."

The victory of his fleet over the Spaniard.

But that which made a noiſe indeed, and crowned his ſucceſſes, was the victory his fleet, under the command of Blake, had obtained over the Spaniard; which, in truth, with all its circumſtances, was very wonderful, and will never be forgotten in Spain, and the Canaries. That fleet had rode out all the winter ſtorms before Cales and the coaſt of Portugal, after they had ſent home thoſe former ſhips which they had taken of the Weſt

Indian fleet, and underſtood by the priſoners, that the other fleet from Peru, which is always much richer than that of Mexico, was undoubtedly at ſea, and would be on the coaſt by the beginning of the ſpring, if they received not advertiſement of the preſence of the Engliſh fleet; in which caſe they were moſt like to ſtay at the Canaries. The Admiral concluded, that, notwithſtanding all they had done, or could do to block up Cales, one way or other they would not be without that advertiſement; and therefore reſolved to ſail with the whole fleet to the length of the Canaries, that, if it were poſſible, they might meet with the galleons before they came thither; and if they ſhould be firſt got in thither, they would then conſider what was to be done.

With this reſolution the fleet ſtood for the Canaries, and about the middle of April came thither; and found that the galleons were got thither before them, and had placed themſelves, as they thought, in ſafety. The ſmaller ſhips, being ten in number, lay in a ſemicircle, moored along the ſhore; and the ſix great galleons, (the fleet conſiſting of ſixteen good ſhips), which could not come ſo near the ſhore, lay with their broadſides towards the offing. Beſides this good poſture in which all the ſhips lay, they were covered with a ſtrong caſtle well furniſhed with guns; and there were ſix or ſeven ſmall forts, raiſed in the moſt advantageous places of the bay, every one of them furniſhed with divers good pieces of cannon; ſo that they were without the leaſt apprehenſion of their want of ſecurity, or imagination that any men would be ſo deſperate, as to aſſault them upon ſuch apparent diſadvantage.

When the Engliſh fleet came to the mouth of the bay of Santa Cruz, and the General ſaw in what poſture the Spaniard lay, he thought it impoſſible to bring off any

any of the galleons; however, he reſolved to burn them, (which was by many thought to be equally impoſſible), and ſent Captain Stayner with a ſquadron of the beſt ſhips to fall upon the galleons; which he did very reſolutely; whilſt other frigates entertained the forts, and leſſer breaſt-works, with continual broadſides to hinder their firing. Then the General coming up with the whole fleet, after full four hours' fight, they drove the Spaniards from their ſhips, and poſſeſſed them; yet found that their work was not done; and that it was not only impoſſible to carry away the ſhips, which they had taken, but that the wind that had brought them into the bay, and enabled them to conquer the enemy, would not ſerve to carry them out again; ſo that they lay expoſed to all the cannon from the ſhore; which thundered upon them. However, they reſolved to do what was in their power; and ſo, diſcharging their broadſides upon the forts and land, where they did great execution, they ſet fire to every ſhip, galleons, and others, and burned every one of them; which they had no ſooner done, but it happened the wind turned, and carried the whole fleet without loſs of one ſhip out of the bay, and put them ſafe to ſea again.

The whole action was ſo miraculous, that all men who knew the place, wondered that any ſober men, with what courage ſoever endued, would ever have undertaken it; and they could hardly perſuade themſelves to believe what they had done; whilſt the Spaniards comforted themſelves with the belief, that they were devils, and not men, who had deſtroyed them in ſuch a manner. So much a ſtrong reſolution of bold and courageous men can bring to paſs, that no reſiſtance and advantage of ground can diſappoint them. And it can hardly be imagined, how ſmall loſs the Engliſh ſuſtained in this unparalleled

unparalleled action; no one ſhip being left behind, and the killed and wounded not exceeding two hundred men, when the ſlaughter on board the Spaniſh ſhips, and on the ſhore, was incredible.

Blake returns with the fleet, dies in the way.

The fleet after this, having been long abroad, found it neceſſary to return home. And this was the laſt ſervice performed by Blake; who ſickened in his return, and in the very entrance of the fleet into the ſound of Plymouth, expired. He wanted no pomp of funeral when he was dead, Cromwell cauſing him to be brought up by land to London in all the ſtate that could be; and to encourage his officers to venture their lives, that they might be pompouſly buried, he was, with all the ſolemnity poſſible, and at the charge of the public, interred in Harry the ſeventh's chapel, among the monuments of the Kings. He was a man of private extraction; yet had enough left him by his father to give him a good education; which his own inclination diſpoſed him to receive in the Univerſity of Oxford; where he took the degree of a Maſter of Arts; and was enough verſed in books for a man who intended not to be of any profeſſion, having ſufficient of his own to maintain him in the plenty he affected, and having then no appearance of ambition to be a greater man than he was. He was of a melancholic and a ſullen nature, and ſpent his time moſt with good-fellows, who liked his moroſeneſs, and a freedom he uſed in inveighing againſt the licence of the time, and the power of the Court. They who knew him inwardly, diſcovered that he had an anti-monarchical ſpirit, when few men thought the government in any danger. When the troubles begun, he quickly declared himſelf againſt the King; and having ſome command in Briſtol, when it was firſt taken by Prince Rupert and the Marquis of Hertford, being truſted

His burial, and character.

truſted with the command of a little fort upon the line, he refuſed to give it up, after the Governor had ſigned the articles of ſurrender, and kept it ſome hours after the Prince was in the town, and killed ſome of the ſoldiers; for which the Prince reſolved to hang him, if ſome friends had not interpoſed for him, upon his want of experience in war; and prevailed with him to quit the place by very great importunity, and with much difficulty. After this, having done eminent ſervice to the Parliament, eſpecially at Taunton, at land, he then betook himſelf wholly to the ſea; and quickly made himſelf ſignal there. He was the firſt man that declined the old track, and made it manifeſt that the ſcience might be attained in leſs time than was imagined; and deſpiſed thoſe rules which had been long in practice, to keep his ſhip and his men out of danger; which had been held in former times a point of great ability and circumſpection; as if the principal art requiſite in the captain of a ſhip had been to be ſure to come home ſafe again. He was the firſt man who brought the ſhips to contemn caſtles on ſhore, which had been thought ever very formidable, and were diſcovered by him to make a noiſe only, and to fright thoſe who could rarely be hurt by them. He was the firſt that infuſed that proportion of courage into the ſeamen, by making them ſee by experience, what mighty things they could do, if they were reſolved; and taught them to fight in fire as well as upon water: and though he hath been very well imitated and followed, he was the firſt that gave the example of that kind of naval courage, and bold and reſolute achievements.

After all this luſtre and glory, in which the Protector ſeemed to flouriſh, the ſeaſon of the year threatened ſome tempeſt and foul weather. January brought the Parliament

The Parliament comes together Jan. 20.

ment again together. They did not reaſſemble with the ſame temper and reſignation in which they parted; and it quickly appeared how unſecure new inſtitutions of government are; and when the contrivers of them have provided, as they think, againſt all miſchievous contingencies, they find, that they have unwarily left a gap open to let their deſtruction in upon them.

Cromwell thought he had ſufficiently provided for his own ſecurity, and to reſtrain the inſolence of the Commons, by having called the other Houſe; which by the Petition and Advice was to be done; and having filled it, for the moſt part, with the officers of the army, and ſuch others as he had good reaſon to be confident of. So on the twentieth of January, the day appointed to meet, (whereas, before, the Parliament uſed to attend him in the Painted Chamber, when he had any thing to ſay to them; now) he came to the Houſe of Lords; where his new creations were; then he ſent the Gentleman Uſher of the Black Rod to call the Commons to him. And they being conducted to the bar of that Houſe, he being placed in his chair under a cloth of ſtate, begun his ſpeech in the old ſtyle, "My Lords, and "you, the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes, of the Houſe "of Commons:" and then diſcourſed ſome particulars, which he recommended to them; thanked them "for "their fair correſpondence the laſt ſeſſion;" and aſſured them, "if they would continue to proſecute his deſigns, "they ſhould be called the bleſſed of the Lord, and ge-"nerations to come ſhould bleſs them."

Cromwell ſpeaks to them.

But as ſoon as the Commons came to their Houſe, they cauſed the third article of the Petition and Advice to be read; by which it was provided, that no members legally choſen ſhould be excluded from the performance of their duty, but by conſent of that Houſe of which they

they were members. Upon which, they proceeded to the calling over their Houſe, and readmitted preſently all thoſe who had been excluded for refuſing to ſign that recognition of the Protector; and by this means, above a hundred of the moſt inveterate enemies the Protector had, came and ſat in the Houſe; among whom were Sir Harry Vane, Haſlerig, and many other ſignal men; who had much the more credit and intereſt in the Houſe, for having been excluded for their fidelity to the commonwealth; many of thoſe who had ſubſcribed it, valuing themſelves for having thereby become inſtruments to introduce them again, who could never otherwiſe have come to be readmitted.

The Houſe of Commons readmit all their members that had been excluded, by virtue of a clauſe in the Petition and Advice.

As ſoon as theſe men came into the Houſe, they began to queſtion the authority and juriſdiction of the other Houſe; "that it was true, the Petition and Advice had admitted there ſhould be ſuch an Houſe; "but that it ſhould be a Houſe of Peers, that they "ſhould be called *My Lords*, there was no proviſion; "nor did it appear what juriſdiction it ſhould have: "that it would be a very ridiculous thing, if they ſhould "ſuffer thoſe who were created by themſelves, and ſat "only by their vote, to be better men than they, and to "have a negative voice to control their maſters." When they had enough vilified them, they queſtioned the Protector's authority to ſend writs to call them thither: "Who gave him that authority to make Peers? that it "had been the proper buſineſs of that Houſe to have "provided for all this; which it is probable they would "have done at this meeting, if he had not preſumptuouſly taken that ſovereign power upon him."

Their tranſactions afterward.

Cromwell was exceedingly ſurpriſed and perplexed with this new ſpirit; and found that he had been ſhort-ſighted in not having provided, at the ſame time, for the filling

filling his Houſe of Commons, when he erected his other of Peers: for he had taken away thoſe out of that Houſe who were the boldeſt ſpeakers, and beſt able to oppoſe this torrent, to inſtitute this other Houſe, without ſupplying thoſe other places by men who could as well undergo the work of the other. However, he made one effort more; and convened both Houſes before him; and very magiſterially, and in a dialect he had never uſed before, reprehended them for preſuming to queſtion his authority. "The other Houſe," he ſaid, "were "Lords, and ſhould be Lords;" and commanded them "to enter upon ſuch buſineſs, as might be for the bene-"fit, not the diſtraction of the commonwealth; which "he would with God's help prevent." And when he found this animadverſion did not reform them, but that they continued in their preſumption, and every day improved their reproaches and contempt of him, he went to his Houſe of Lords upon the fourth of February; and ſending for the Commons, after he had uſed many ſharp expreſſions of indignation, he told them, "that it "concerned his intereſt, as much as the peace and tran-"quillity of the nation, to diſſolve that Parliament; and "therefore he did put an end to their ſitting." So that cloud was, for the preſent, diſſipated, that threatened ſo great a ſtorm.

Cromwell convenes both Houſes, and ſpeaks to them.

He diſſolves that Parliament Feb. 4.

The Parliament being diſſolved, Cromwell found himſelf at eaſe to proſecute his other deſigns. After the taking of Mardike, Raynolds, who was commander in chief of that body of the Engliſh in the ſervice of France, endeavouring to give his friends in England a viſit, was, together with ſome other officers who accompanied him, caſt away, and drowned at ſea; upon which, before the diſſolution of the Parliament, Lockhart, who was the Protector's ambaſſador in France, was deſigned to take

Raynolds caſt away coming out of Flanders.

that

that charge upon them; and all things, which were to be tranſported from England, for the proſecution of the buſineſs in Flanders the next ſpring, were diſpatched with the more care and punctuality, that there might be no room left for the Cardinal to imagine, that the Protector was in any degree perplexed with the contradiction and ill humour of the Parliament.

As ſoon as he was rid of that, he thought it as neceſſary to give ſome inſtances at home, how little he feared thoſe men who were thought to be ſo much his rivals in power, and in the opinion of the army, that he durſt not diſoblige them. And therefore, after ſome ſharp expoſtulations with Lambert, who was as poſitive in his own humour, he ſent to him for his commiſſion; which he ſullenly gave up, when there was a general imagination that he would have refuſed to have delivered it. So he was deprived of his regiment, his authority in the army, and of being Major General in the North, in an inſtant, without the leaſt appearance of contradiction or murmur, and the officers Cromwell ſubſtituted in the ſeveral places, found all the obedience that had been paid to the other; and Lambert retired to his garden as unviſited and untaken notice of, as if he had never been in authority; which gave great reputation to the Protector, that he was entire maſter of his army.

Cromwell turns Lambert out of the army.

He had obſerved, throughout the Parliament, that the Major Generals were extremely odious to the people, as they had been formidable to him. For, whilſt his party were proſecuting to have his authority confirmed to him, and that he might have the title of King conferred upon him, Lambert was as ſolicitous to have the Major Generals confirmed by Parliament, and to have their dependence only upon it; which, with the authority they had of lifting men in a readineſs, would have made their

power,

power, and their ſtrength, in a ſhort time to be equal to the other's. Now that was over, Cromwell was content to continue their names, that they might ſtill be formidable in the counties, but abridged them of all that power which might be inconvenient to himſelf.

He abridges the power of his Major Generals.

He took likewiſe an occaſion from an accident that happened, to amuſe the people with the apprehenſion of plots at home to facilitate an invaſion from abroad; and ſending for the Lord Mayor and Aldermen to attend him, he made them a large diſcourſe of the danger they were in of being ſurpriſed; "that there was a deſign to "ſeize upon the Tower; and at the ſame time that "there ſhould be a general inſurrection in the city of "the Cavaliers, and diſcontented party, whilſt the city "remained ſo ſecure, that they had put their militia into "no poſture to be ready to preſerve themſelves in ſuch "an attempt; but on the contrary, that they were ſo "negligent in their diſcipline, that the Marquis of Or-"mond had lain ſecurely in the city full three weeks "without being diſcovered; who was ſent over by the "King to countenance a general inſurrection, whilſt the "King himſelf, he ſaid, had ten thouſand men ready at "Bruges, with two and twenty ſhips, with which he "meant to invade ſome other more northern part of the "kingdom." He wiſhed them "to loſe no time in "putting their militia into a good poſture, and to make "very ſtrict ſearches to diſcover what ſtrangers were "harboured within the walls of the city, and to keep "good watches every night." He ordered double guards to be ſet about the Tower; and that they might ſee that there was more than ordinary occaſion for all this, he cauſed very many perſons of all conditions, moſt of them ſuch as were reaſonably to be ſuſpected to be of the King's party, to be ſurpriſed in the night in their beds,

He acquaints the Lord Mayor &c. of the city with a plot of the Cavaliers, and the Marquis of Ormond's being in England.

Many perſons ſeized on upon that account.

(for

(for thoſe circumſtances made all that was done to be the more notorious), and, after ſome ſhort examination, to be ſent to the Tower; and to other priſons; for there was, at the ſame time, the ſame ſeverity uſed in the ſeveral counties; for the better explanation and underſtanding whereof, it will be neceſſary now that we return to Flanders.

The King's affairs in Flanders.

Within little more than two months after the King's coming to Bruges, the little treaty which had been ſigned by the Archduke with the King, was ſent ratified from Madrid by the King of Spain, with many great compliments; which the King was willing ſhould be believed to be of extraordinary importance. After wonderful excuſes of the lowneſs of their affairs in all places, which diſabled them to perform thoſe ſervices which are due from and to a great King, they let his Majeſty know, "that the Catholic King had aſſigned ſo many "crowns as amounted to ſix thouſand guilders, to be "paid every month towards a royal aid; and half ſo "much more, for the ſupport of the Duke of Glou-"ceſter; that though the ſum was very ſmall, it was as "much as their neceſſities would bear; and the ſmall-"neſs ſhould be recompenſed by the punctuality of the "payment;" the firſt payment being to be made about the middle of the next month; without taking notice that the King had been already in that country near three months, during which time he had not received the leaſt preſent, or aſſiſtance towards his ſupport.

They were willing that the King ſhould raiſe four regiments of foot, which ſhould march with their army, until the King ſhould find the ſeaſon ripe to make an invaſion with that other ſupply which they were bound by the treaty to give. But for the raiſing thoſe four regiments, there was not one penny allowed; or any other

encouragement, than little quarters to bring their men to; and, after their muſter, the common allowance of bread. However, the King was glad of the opportunity to employ and diſpoſe of many officers and ſoldiers, who flocked to him from the time of his firſt coming into Flanders. He reſolved to raiſe one regiment of guards, the command whereof he gave to the Lord Wentworth, which was to do duty in the army as common men, till his Majeſty ſhould be in ſuch a poſture, that they might be brought about his perſon. The Marquis of Ormond had a regiment in order to be commanded by his lieutenant colonel, that the Iriſh might be tempted to come over. The Earl of Rocheſter would have a regiment, that ſuch officers and ſoldiers might reſort to, who were deſirous to ſerve under his command: and becauſe the Scots had many officers about the Court, who pretended that they could draw many of their countrymen to them, the King gave the fourth regiment to the Lord Newburgh, a nobleman of that kingdom, of great courage; who had ſerved his father and himſelf with very ſignal fidelity. Thoſe four regiments were raiſed with more expedition than can be imagined, upon ſo little encouragement.

The King raiſes four regiments of his ſubjects in Flanders.

As ſoon as the treaty was confirmed, in truth, from the time that his Majeſty came into Flanders, and that he reſolved to make as entire a conjunction with the Spaniards as they would permit, he gave notice to the King of France, that he would no longer receive that penſion, which, during the time he had remained at Cologne, had been reaſonably well paid; but, after his coming into Flanders, he never would receive any part of it.

The King no longer receives any penſion from France.

The Spaniſh army was at this time before Condé; a place garriſoned by the French between Valenciennes and

and Cambray; which was inveſted now by Don Juan; who finding that the greateſt part of the garriſon conſiſted of Iriſh, and that there was in it a regiment commanded by Muſkery, a nephew of the Marquis of Ormond, he thought this a good ſeaſon to manifeſt the dependence the Iriſh had upon the King; and therefore writ to his Majeſty at Bruges, and deſired that he would ſend the Marquis to the camp; which his Majeſty could not refuſe; and the Marquis was very willing to go thither; and at the ſame time the Chancellor of the Exchequer was ſent to Bruſſels (under pretence of ſoliciting the payment of the three firſt months, which were aſſigned to the King) to confer with Don Alonzo de Cardinas upon all ſuch particulars as might be neceſſary, to adjuſt ſome deſign for the winter upon England; Don Juan and the Marquis of Carracena referring all things which related to England to Don Alonzo, and being very glad that the Chancellor went to Bruſſels, at the ſame time that the Marquis went to the camp, that ſo a correſpondence between them two might aſcertain any thing that ſhould be deſired on either ſide.

The Marquis of Ormond ſent to treat with the Lord Muſkery at Condé about his regiment.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer ſent to Bruſſels to confer with Don Alonzo de Cardinas.

Condé was reduced to ſtraits by the time the Marquis came thither; who was received with much more civility by Don Juan, at leaſt by the Marquis of Carracena, than any man who related to the King, or indeed than the King himſelf. The thing they deſired of him was, that when the garriſon ſhould be reduced, which was then capitulating, he would prevail with thoſe of the Iriſh nation, when they marched out, to enter into the Spaniſh ſervice, that is, as they called it, to ſerve their own King: for they talked of nothing but going over in the winter into England; eſpecially they deſired that his nephew Muſkery, who had the reputation of a ſtout and an excellent officer, as in truth he was, would come

The ſucceſs of the Marquis's conference with Muskery.

over with his regiment, which was much the beſt, whatever the other would do. After the capitulation was ſigned, the Marquis eaſily found opportunity to confer with his nephew, and the other officers of the ſeveral regiments. When he had informed them of the King's pleaſure, and that the entering into the ſervice of the Spaniard was, for the preſent, neceſſary in order to the King's ſervice, the other regiments made no ſcruple of it; and engaged, as ſoon as they marched out, to go whither they ſhould be directed.

Only Muſkery expreſsly refuſed that either himſelf, or any of his men, ſhould leave their colours, till, according to his articles, they ſhould march into France. He ſaid, "it was not conſiſtent with his honour to do "otherwiſe." But he declared, "that as ſoon as he "ſhould come into France, he would leave his regiment "in their quarters; and would himſelf ride to the Court, "and demand his paſs; which, by his contract with "the Cardinal, was to be given to him, whenever his "own King ſhould demand his ſervice; and his regi-"ment ſhould likewiſe be permitted to march with "him." It was urged to him, "that it was now in his "own power to diſpoſe of himſelf; which he might "lawfully do; but that, when he was found in France, "he would no more have it in his power." He ſaid, "he was bound to aſk his diſmiſſion, and the Cardinal "was bound to give it: and when he had done his part, "he was very confident the Cardinal would not break "his word with him; but if he ſhould, he would get "nothing by it; for he knew his men would follow him "whitherſoever he went; and therefore deſired his uncle "to ſatisfy himſelf; and to aſſure the King and Don "Juan, that he would, within ſix weeks, return; and if "he might have quarters aſſigned him, his regiment "ſhould

" ſhould be there within few days after him." It was in vain to preſs him farther, and the Marquis telling Don Juan, that he believed he would keep his word, he was contented to part kindly with him; and had a much better eſteem of him than of the other officers, who came to him, and brought over their men without any ceremony.

Muſkery marched away with the reſt of the garriſon; and as ſoon as he was in France, rode to Paris; where the Cardinal then was; who received him with extraordinary grace; but when he aſked his diſmiſſion, and urged his capitulation, the Cardinal, by all imaginable careſſes, and promiſes of a penſion, endeavoured to divert him from the inclination; told him, " that this " was only to ſerve the Spaniard, and not his own King; " who had no employment for him: that if he would " ſtay in their ſervice till the King had need of him, he " would take care to ſend him and his regiment in a " better condition to his Majeſty, than they were now " in." When he could neither by promiſes nor reproaches divert him from quitting their ſervice, he gave him a paſs only for himſelf; and expreſsly refuſed to diſmiſs the regiment; averring, " that he was not bound " to it, becauſe there could be no pretence that they " could ſerve the King; who had no uſe of them, nor " wherewithal to pay them."

Muſkery took what he could get, his own paſs; and made haſte to the place where his regiment was; and after he had given them ſuch directions as he thought neceſſary, he came away only with two or three ſervants to Bruſſels; and deſired Don Juan to aſſign him convenient quarters for his regiment; which he very willingly did; and he no ſooner gave notice to them whither they ſhould come, but they behaved themſelves ſo, that, by

Muſkery brings his regim nt over to the Spaniards.

fixes and ſevens, his whole regiment, officers and ſoldiers, to the number of very near eight hundred, came to the place aſſigned them; and brought their arms with them; which the Spaniard was amazed at; and ever after very much valued him, and took as much care for the preſervation of that regiment, as of any that was in their ſervice.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer's conferences with Don Alonzo.

When the Marquis propoſed any thing that concerned the King, during the time he was in the army, Don Juan ſtill writ to Don Alonzo to confer with the Chancellor of the Exchequer about it; who found Don Alonzo in all reſpects ſo untractable, and ſo abſolutely governed by the Iriſh Jeſuit, who filled his head with the hopes of the Levellers, that, after he had received the money that was aſſigned to the King, he returned to Bruges, as the Marquis did from the army, when the buſineſs of Condé was over.

It was well enough known, at leaſt generally believed, from the time that the ſecret confidence begun between Cromwell and the Cardinal, and long before Lockhart appeared there as ambaſſador, that the Cardinal had not only promiſed, "that the King ſhould receive no aſſiſt-"ance from thence; but that nobody who related to "his ſervice, or againſt whom any exception ſhould be "taken, ſhould be permitted to reſide in France;" and that, as the King had already been driven thence; ſo when the time ſhould be ripe, the Duke of York would be likewiſe neceſſitated to leave that kingdom. And now, upon the King's coming into Flanders, and upon the coming over of the ſix thouſand Engliſh for the ſervice of France, and the publication of the treaty with Cromwell, the French did not much deſire to keep that article ſecret which provided againſt the King's reſiding in that kingdom, and for the excluſion

ſion of the Duke of York, and many other perſons, by name, who attended upon the King, and ſome who had charges in the army. And the Cardinal, and the Queen, with ſome ſeeming regret, communicated it to the Duke, as a thing they could not refuſe, and infinitely lamented, with many profeſſions of kindneſs and everlaſting reſpect; and all this in confidence, and that he might know it ſome time before it was to be executed by his departure.

The Cardinal gives notice to the Duke of York, that he muſt leave the French ſervice.

Amongſt thoſe who by that ſecret article were to leave the French ſervice, the Earl of Briſtol was one; whoſe name was, as was generally believed, put into the article by the Cardinal, rather than by Cromwell. For the Earl, having received very great obligations from the Cardinal, thought his intereſt greater in the Queen than in truth it was, (according to his natural cuſtom of deceiving himſelf), and ſo, in the Cardinal's diſgrace and retirement, had ſhewed himſelf leſs inclined to his return than he ought to have been; which the Cardinal never forgave; yet treated him with the ſame familiarity as before, (which the Earl took for pure friendſhip), until the time came for the publiſhing this treaty, when the Earl was Lieutenant General of the army in Italy. Then he ſent for him; and bewailed the condition that France was in, "which obliged them to receive commands from "Cromwell, which were very uneaſy to them;" then told him, "that he could ſtay no longer in their ſervice, "and that they muſt be compelled to diſmiſs the Duke "of York himſelf;" but made infinite profeſſions of kindneſs, and "that they would part with him, as with "a man that had done them great ſervice." The Earl, who could always much better bear ill accidents than prevent them, believed that all proceeded from the malice of Cromwell; and quickly had the image of a bet-

The Earl of Briſtol ordered alſo to leave France.

ter fortune in his fancy than that he was to quit; and ſo ſetting his heart upon the getting as good a ſupply of money from them as he could, and the Cardinal deſiring to part fairly with him, he received ſuch a preſent, as enabled him to remove with a handſome equipage in ſervants and horſes. So he came directly for Bruges to the King; to whom he had made himſelf in ſome degree gracious before his Majeſty left Paris. But his buſineſs there was only to preſent his duty to his Majeſty; where after he had ſtayed two or three days, he made his journey to the army to offer his ſervice to Don Juan, without ſo much as deſiring any recommendation from the King.

Comes to Bruges to the King.

There was nothing more known, than that the Spaniard had all imaginable prejudice and hatred againſt the Earl, both for the little kindneſs he had ſhewed towards them in England, whilſt he was Secretary of State, of which Don Alonzo was a faithful remembrancer, and for the more than ordinary animoſity he had expreſſed againſt them from the time that he had been in the French ſervice; which angered them the more, becauſe he had been born in Spain. He had then likewiſe rendered himſelf particularly odious to Flanders; where he was proclaimed, and deteſted in all the rhymes and ſongs of the country, for the ſavage outrages his forces had committed by fire and plunder, two years before, when he made a winter incurſion with his troops into that country, and committed greater waſte than ever the French themſelves had done, when the forces were commanded by them. Upon all which, his friends diſſuaded him at Bruges from going to the Spaniſh army, where he would receive very cold treatment. But he ſmiled at the advertiſement; and told them, "that "all the time he was in France, he was out of his "ſphere;

"ſphere; and that his own genius always diſpoſed him "to Spain; where he was now reſolved to make his "fortune." And with this confidence he left Bruges, and went to the army, when it had newly taken Condé; where he found his reception ſuch, both from Don Juan and the Marquis of Carracena, as he had reaſon to expect; which did not at all deject him.

He was preſent when Don Juan eat, and when he uſed to diſcourſe of all things at large; and moſt willingly of ſcholaſtic points, if his confeſſor, or any other learned perſon, was preſent. The Earl always interpoſed in thoſe diſcourſes with an admirable acuteneſs, which, beſides his exactneſs in the Spaniſh language, made his parts wondered at by every body; and Don Juan begun to be very much pleaſed with his company; and the more, becauſe he was much given to ſpeculations in aſtrology; in which he found the Earl ſo much more converſant than any man he had met with, that within a week after he had firſt ſeen him, he deſired the Earl to calculate his nativity. In a word, his preſence grew to be very acceptable to Don Juan; which when the Marquis of Carracena diſcerned, he likewiſe treated him with more reſpect; in which he found likewiſe his account: for the Earl having been Lieutenant General of the French army under Prince Thomas, in conjunction with the Duke of Modena, againſt Milan, the very year before, when the Marquis of Carracena was governor there, he could both diſcourſe the ſeveral tranſactions there with the Marquis, and knew how to take fit occaſions, both in his preſence and abſence, to magnify his conduct in ſignal actions; which the Marquis was very glad to ſee, and hear, that he did very frequently. And Don Alonzo being ſent for to the army to conſult ſome affair, though he had all imaginable deteſtation of the Earl,

Ingratiates himſelf with Don Juan, notwithſtanding the great prejudice the Spaniards had againſt him.

and

and had prepared as much prejudice towards him in Don Juan and the Marquis, when he found him in ſo much favour with both, he treated him likewiſe with more regard; and was well content to hear himſelf commended by him for underſtanding the affairs of England; which he deſired Don Juan and the Marquis ſhould believe him to do. So that before he had been a month in Flanders, he had perfectly reconciled himſelf to the Court, and to the army; and ſuppreſſed and diverted all the prejudice that had been againſt him; and Don Juan invited him to ſpend the winter with him at Bruſſels.

There was another accident likewiſe fell out at this time, as if it had been produced by his own ſtars. The French had yet a garriſon at a place called St. Ghiſlain; which, being within few leagues of Bruſſels, infeſted the whole country very much, and even put them into mutiny againſt the Court, that they would think of any other expedition before they had reduced that garriſon; which was ſo ſtrong that they had once attempted it, and were obliged to deſiſt. Half the garriſon were Iriſh, under the command of Schomberg, an officer of the firſt rank. Some of the officers were nearly allied to Sir George Lane, who was ſecretary to the Marquis of Ormond, and had written to him to know, "whether the "giving up that place would be a ſervice to the King? "and if it would, they would undertake it." The Marquis ſent his ſecretary to inform the Earl of Briſtol of it; who looked upon it as an opportunity ſent from heaven to raiſe his fortune with the Spaniard. He communicated it to Don Juan, as a matter in his own diſpoſal, and to be conducted by perſons who had a dependence upon him, but yet who intended it only as a ſervice to the King. So now he became entruſted between the

He is inſtrumental in recovering St. Ghiſlain to the Spaniards.

King

King and Don Juan; which he had from the beginning contrived to be; Don Juan being very glad to find he had ſo much intereſt in the King, and the King well pleaſed that he had ſuch credit with Don Juan, of whoſe aſſiſtance in the next winter he thought he ſhould have much uſe; for all attempts upon England muſt be in the winter. In a word, this affair of St. Ghiſlain was very acceptable to the Spaniards; their campaign being ended without any other conſiderable action than the taking of Condé. They foreſaw a very ſad year would ſucceed, if they ſhould enter into the field, where they were ſure the French would be early, and leave St. Ghiſlain behind them; and they ſhould run more hazard if they begun with the ſiege of that place; and therefore they authorized the Earl to promiſe great rewards in money, and penſions, to thoſe officers and ſoldiers who would contribute to the reduction of it. The matter was ſo well carried, that Don Juan aſſembling his army together a little before Chriſtmas, in a very great froſt, and coming before the place, though Schomberg diſcovered the conſpiracy, and apprehended two or three of the officers, yet the ſoldiers, which were upon the guards in ſome out-forts, declaring themſelves at the ſame time, and receiving the Spaniards, he was compelled to make conditions, and to give up the place, that he might have liberty to march away with the reſt.

This ſervice was of very great importance to the Spaniard, and of no leſs detriment to the French, and conſequently gave great reputation to the Earl; who then came to the King at Bruges, and ſaid all that he thought fit of Don Juan to the King, and, amongſt the reſt, "that Don Juan adviſed his Majeſty to ſend ſome diſ-"creet perſon to Madrid, to ſolicit his affairs there; but "that

"that he did not think the perſon he had deſigned to "ſend thither" (who was Sir Harry de Vic, that had been long reſident in Bruſſels) "would be acceptable "there." This was only to introduce another perſon, who was dear to him, Sir Henry Bennet, who had been formerly in his office when he was Secretary of State, and bred by him; and was now ſecretary to the Duke of York; but upon the factions that were in that family was ſo uneaſy in his place, that he deſired to be in any other poſt; and was about this time come to the King, as a forerunner to inform him of the Duke of York's purpoſe to be ſpeedily with him, being within few days to take his leave of the Court of France. Bennet had been long a perſon very acceptable to the King; and therefore his Majeſty readily conſented, that he ſhould go to Madrid inſtead of de Vic: ſo he returned with the Earl to Bruſſels, that he might be preſented, and made known to Don Juan; from whom the Earl doubted not to procure particular recommendation.

He obtains of the King that Sir H. Bennet ſhould be ſent envoy to Madrid.

The time was now come that the Duke of York found it neceſſary to leave Paris, and ſo came to the King to Bruges; where there were then all the viſible hopes of the Crown of England together, and all the royal iſſue of the late King, the Princeſs Henrietta only excepted; for, beſides the King and his two brothers, the Dukes of York and Glouceſter, the Princeſs Royal of Orange made that her way from Paris into the Low Countries, and ſtayed there ſome days with her brothers.

The Duke of York leaves Paris, and comes to the King at Bruges.

It was at this time that the King made the Chancellor of the Exchequer Lord Chancellor of England, Sir Edward Herbert, who was the laſt Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, being lately dead at Paris. Now the King put

The Chancellor of the Exchequer made Lord Chancellor.

put the Seal, which he had till then kept himſelf, into the hands of the Chancellor; which he received very unwillingly: but the King firſt employed the Marquis of Ormond, with whom his Majeſty knew he had an entire friendſhip, to diſpoſe him to receive it; which when he could not do, (he giving him many reaſons, beſides his own unfitneſs, why there was no need of ſuch an officer, or indeed any uſe of the Great Seal till the King ſhould come into England; and, "that his Ma-"jeſty found ſome eaſe in being without ſuch an officer, "that he was not troubled with thoſe ſuits, which he "would be, if the Seal were in the hands of a proper "officer to be uſed, ſince every body would be then "importuning the King for the grant of offices, ho-"nours, and lands, which would give him great vexa-"tion to refuſe, and do him as great miſchief by grant-"ing." The which when the Marquis told the King), his Majeſty himſelf went to the Chancellor's lodging, and took notice of what the Marquis had told him; and ſaid, "he would deal truly and freely with him; "that the principal reaſon which he had alleged againſt "receiving the Seal, was the greateſt reaſon that diſ-"poſed him to confer it upon him." Thereupon he pulled letters out of his pocket, which he received lately from Paris for the grant of ſeveral reverſions in England of offices, and of lands; one whereof was of the Queen's houſe and lands of Oatlands, to the ſame man who had purchaſed it from the State; who would willingly have paid a good ſum of money to that perſon who was to procure ſuch a confirmation of his title; the draught whereof was prepared at London, upon confidence that it would have the Seal preſently put to it; which being in the King's own hand, none need, as they thought, to be privy to the ſecret. His Majeſty told

told him alſo of many other importunities, with which he was every day diſquieted; and "that he ſaw no other "remedy to give himſelf eaſe, than to put the Seal out "of his own keeping, into ſuch hands as would not be "importuned, and would help him to deny." And thereupon he conjured the Chancellor to receive that truſt, with many gracious promiſes of his favour and protection. Whereupon the Earl of Briſtol, and Secretary Nicholas, uſing likewiſe their perſuaſions, he ſubmitted to the King's pleaſure; who delivered the Seal to him in the Council, in the Chriſtmas time in the year 1657; which particular is only fit to be mentioned, becauſe many great affairs, and ſome alterations accompanied, though not attended upon it.

After ſo long and ſo dark a retirement in Cologne, the King's very coming into Flanders raiſed the ſpirits of his friends in England. And when they were aſſured that there was a treaty ſigned between his Majeſty and the King of Spain, they made no doubt of an army ſufficient to begin the buſineſs, and then that the general affections of the kingdom would finiſh it. The King, who had hitherto reſtrained his friends from expoſing themſelves to unneceſſary dangers, thought it now fit to encourage them to put themſelves into ſuch a poſture, that they might be ready to join with him when he appeared; which he hoped the Spaniard would enable him to do in the depth of winter. Several meſſengers were ſent from England to aſſure him, "that there "was ſo univerſal a readineſs there, that they could "hardly be perſuaded to ſtay to expect the King, but "they would begin the work themſelves:" yet they complained much of the backwardneſs of thoſe who were moſt truſted by the King, and they again as much inveighed againſt the raſhneſs and precipitation of the other, "that "they

Tranſactions of the King's friends in England.

" they would ruin themſelves, and all people who ſhould " join with them."

The King was much perplexed to diſcover this diſtemper amongſt thoſe, who, if they were united, would find the work very hard; and though he preferred in his own opinion the judgment of thoſe that were moſt wary, yet it concerned him to prevent the other from appearing in an unſeaſonable engagement; and therefore he ſent to them, and conjured them " to attempt no- " thing, till he ſent a perſon to them, who, if they were " ready, ſhould have authority enough to perſuade the " reſt to a conjunction with them, and ſhould him- " ſelf be fit to conduct them in any reaſonable enter- " priſe."

The Marquis of Ormond had frankly offered to the King, " that he would privately go into England, and " confer with thoſe who were moſt forward; and if he " found, that their counſels were diſcreetly laid, he " would encourage them, and unite all the reſt to them; " and if matters were not ripe, he would compoſe them " to be quiet;" and there was no man in England affected to the King's ſervice, who would not be readily adviſed by him. The Chancellor would by no means conſent to his journey, as an unreaſonable adventure upon an improbable deſign, ſeeing no ground to imagine they could do any thing. But the Marquis exceedingly undervalued any imagination of danger; and it cannot be conceived, with what ſecurity all men ventured every day, in the height of Cromwell's jealouſy and vigilance, to go into England, and to ſtay a month in London, and return again. The King conſenting to the journey, the chief care was, that the Marquis's abſence from Bruges might not create jealouſy, and diſcourſe, " whither he ſhould be gone." Therefore it was

Which was the occaſion of the Marquis of Ormond's going into England.

for

for ſome time diſcourſed, "that the Marquis of Or-
"mond was to go into Germany to the Duke of New-
"burgh," (who was known to have affection for the King,) and, "that he ſhould from thence bring with
"him two regiments for the ſervice of his Majeſty."

Theſe diſcourſes being generally made and believed, the Marquis took his leave publicly of the King, with his ſervants fit for ſuch a journey, who continued the journey towards Germany; ſo that the letters from Cologne to all places gave an account of the Marquis of Ormond's being there; whilſt he himſelf, with one only ſervant, and O'Neile, (who had encouraged him very much to that undertaking), took the way of Holland; and hired a bark at Schevelin; in which they embarked, and were ſafely landed in Eſſex; from whence, without any trouble, they got to London, whilſt the Parliament was ſtill ſitting. When he was there, he found means to ſpeak with moſt of thoſe of any condition upon whoſe advice and intereſt the King moſt depended, and againſt whoſe poſitive advice his Majeſty would not ſuffer any thing to be attempted. That which troubled him moſt was to diſcover a jealouſy, or rather an animoſity between many of thoſe who equally wiſhed the King's reſtoration, to that degree, that they would neither confer nor correſpond with each other. They who had the moſt experience, and were of the greateſt reputation with thoſe who would appear when any thing was to be done, but would not expoſe themſelves in meetings or correſpondencies before, complained very much of "the raſhneſs of the other, who
"believed any officer of the army that pretended diſ-
"content, and would preſently deſire them to commu-
"nicate with ſuch perſons; which becauſe they refuſed,
"(as they had reaſon), the others loaded them with re-
"proaches,

The temper he found the King's friends in.

" proaches, as having loſt all affection and zeal for his " Majeſty's ſervice:" they proteſted, " that they could " not diſcover or believe that there was any ſuch prepa- " rations in readineſs, that it could be counſellable to " appear in arms againſt a government ſo fortified and " eſtabliſhed, as the Protector's ſeemed to be: that it " was probable the Parliament might not comply with " Cromwell's deſires; and then there was ſuch a diſ- " covery of malice between ſeveral perſons of potent " condition, that many advantages might be offered to " the King's party: if they would have the patience to " attend the event, and till thoſe factions ſhould be en- " gaged in blood, they might be ſure to advance the " King's intereſt in diſpoſing of themſelves; but if they " ſhould engage, before ſuch a time, in any inſurrec- " tion, or by ſeizing ſome inſignificant town, all diſſent- " ing parties would be reconciled, till the King's friends " ſhould all be ruined, though they might afterwards " return to their old animoſities." In a word, though they appeared very wary, they declared ſuch a reſigna- tion to the King's pleaſure, " that, if the Marquis were " ſatisfied, upon his conference with other men, that " the time was ripe for their appearance in arms, they " would preſently receive his orders; and do what he " ſhould require, how unſucceſsfully ſoever."

On the other ſide, there were many younger men, who, having had no part in the former war, were impatient to ſhew their courage and affection to the King. And thoſe men, being acquainted with many of the old officers of the late King's army, who ſaw many of their old ſoldiers now in Cromwell's army, and found them to talk after their old manner, concluded that they would all appear for the King, as ſoon as they ſhould ſee his colours flying. Theſe men talking together, would often diſ-

courſe, how eaſy a thing it would be, with two troops of horſe, to beat up ſuch a quarter, or ſeize ſuch a guard; and then thoſe men conſulted how to get thoſe troops, and found men who had liſted ſo many, which would be ready upon call. There were always in theſe meetings ſome citizens, who undertook for the affection of the city; and ſome of theſe made little doubt of ſeizing upon the Tower. And truly the putting many gentlemen's ſons as apprentices into the city, ſince the beginning of the troubles, had made a great alteration, at leaſt in the general talk of that people. It was upon this kind of materials, that many honeſt men did build their hopes, and upon ſome aſſurances they had from officers of the army, who were as little to be depended upon.

There was another particular, which had principally contributed to this diſtemper, which paſſing from hand to hand had made men impatient to be in arms; which was an opinion, that the King was even ready to land with ſuch an army as would be able to do his buſineſs. This had been diſperſed by ſome who had been ſent expreſſes into Flanders; who, though they always lay concealed during the time they waited for their diſpatches from the King, yet found ſome friends and acquaintance about the Court, or in their way, who thought they did the King good ſervice in making his Majeſty be thought to be in a good condition; and ſo filled thoſe people with ſuch diſcourſes, as would make them moſt welcome when they returned.

When the Marquis had taken the full ſurvey of all that was to be depended upon, he conjured the warmer people to be quiet, and not to think of any action till they ſhould be infallibly ſure of the King's being landed, and confirmed the other in their warineſs; and being

being informed that Cromwell knew of his being there, and made many ſearches for him, he thought it time to return. And ſo about the time that the Parliament was diſſolved, he was conducted by Dr. Quatermaine, the King's Phyſician, through Suſſex; and there embarked, and ſafely tranſported into France; from whence he came into Flanders.

The Marquis returns out of England.

This gave the occaſion to Cromwell to make that diſcourſe before-mentioned to the Mayor and Aldermen of London, of the Lord Marquis of Ormond's having been three weeks in the city; of which he had received perfect intelligence from a hand that was not then in the leaſt degree ſuſpected, nor was then wicked enough to put him into Cromwell's hand; which he could eaſily have done; of which more ſhall be ſaid hereafter. But when the Protector was well aſſured that the Marquis was out of his reach, which vexed and grieved him exceedingly, he cauſed all perſons, who he knew had, or he thought might have ſpoken with him, to be apprehended. All priſons, as well in the country as the city, were filled with thoſe who had been of the King's party, or he believed would be; and he thought this a neceſſary ſeaſon to terrify his enemies, of all conditions, within the kingdom, with ſpectacles which might mortify them.

Cromwell apprehends ſeveral perſons.

In the preparations which had been made towards an inſurrection, many perſons in the country, as well as in the city, had received commiſſions for regiments of horſe and foot; and, amongſt the reſt, one Mr. Stapley, a gentleman of a good extraction, and a good fortune in the county of Suſſex; whoſe mother had been ſiſter to the Earl of Norwich, but his father had been in the number of the blackeſt offenders, and one of the King's judges. This ſon of his, who now poſſeſſed his eſtate,

Mr. Stapley's engagement for the King.

had taken great pains to mingle in the company of thoſe who were known to have affection for the King; and, upon all occaſions, made profeſſions of a deſire, for the expiation of his father's crime, to venture his own life and his fortune for his Majeſty's reſtoration; and not only his fortune, but his intereſt was conſiderable in that maritime county: ſo that many thought fit to cheriſh thoſe inclinations in him, and to encourage him to hope, that his fidelity might deſerve to enjoy that eſtate, which the treaſon of his father had forfeited.

Mr. Mordaunt is active for the King.

There was a young gentleman, John Mordaunt, the younger ſon, and brother, of the Earls of Peterborough; who, having been too young to be engaged in the late war, during which time he had his education in France and Italy, was now of age, of parts, and great vigour of mind, and newly married to a young beautiful lady of a very loyal ſpirit, and notable vivacity of wit and humour, who concurred with him in all honourable dedications of himſelf. He reſolved to embrace all opportunities to ſerve the King, and to diſpoſe thoſe upon whom he had influence to take the ſame reſolution; and being allied to the Marquis of Ormond, he did by him inform his Majeſty of his reſolution, and his readineſs to receive any commands from him. This was many months before the Marquis's journey into England.

Mr. Stapley was well known to Mr. Mordaunt, who had repreſented his affections to the King, and how uſeful he might be towards the poſſeſſing ſome place in Suſſex, and his undertaking that he would do ſo, by a letter to the King under Mr. Stapley's own hand: and thereupon Mr. Mordaunt deſired, that his Majeſty would ſend a commiſſion for the command of a regiment of horſe to him; which he would provide, and cauſe to be ready againſt

againſt the ſeaſon he ſhould be required to appear: which commiſſion, with many others, was ſent to Mr. Mordaunt; and he delivered it to Mr. Stapley; who was exceedingly pleaſed with it, renewed all his vows and proteſtations, and it is ſtill believed that he really meant all he pretended. But he had truſted ſome ſervant, who betrayed him; and being thereupon ſent for by Cromwell, his father's faſt old friend, was by him ſo cajoled by promiſes and by threats, that he was not able to withſtand him; but believing that he knew already all that he aſked him, he concealed nothing that he knew himſelf; informed him of thoſe of the ſame country who were to join with him; of whom ſome had likewiſe received commiſſions, as well as himſelf; and in the end he confeſſed, "that he had received his commiſſion "from Mr. Mordaunt's own hand." Before this diſcovery Mr. Mordaunt had been ſent for by Cromwell, and very ſtrictly examined, whether he had ſeen the Marquis of Ormond during his late being in London; which, though he had done often, he very confidently and poſitively denied, being well aſſured that it could not be proved, and that the Marquis himſelf was in ſafety: upon which confident denial, he was diſmiſſed to return to his own lodging. But upon this diſcovery by Stapley, he was within two days after ſent for again, and committed cloſe priſoner to the Tower; and new men were every day ſent for, and committed in all quarters of the kingdom; and within ſome time after, a high court of juſtice was erected for the trial of the priſoners, the crimes of none being yet diſcovered; which put all thoſe who knew how liable they themſelves were, under a terrible conſternation.

Mr. Stapley diſcovers what he knew of the plot.

Mr. Mordaunt ſeized on, and committed to the Tower.

Before this high court of juſtice, of which John Liſle, who gave his vote in the King's blood, and con-

tinued an entire confident and inſtrument of Cromwell's, was Preſident; there were firſt brought to be tried, John Mordaunt; Sir Harry Slingſby, a gentleman of a very ancient family, and of a very ample fortune in Yorkſhire; and Dr. Hewet, an eminent preacher in London, and very orthodox, to whoſe church thoſe of the King's party frequently reſorted, and few but thoſe. Theſe three were totally unacquainted with each other; and though every one of them knew enough againſt himſelf, they could not accuſe one another, if they had been inclined to it. The firſt and the laſt could not doubt but that there would be evidence enough againſt them; and they had found means to correſpond ſo much together, as to reſolve that neither of them would plead to the impeachment, but demur to the juriſdiction of the court, and deſire to have counſel aſſigned to argue againſt it in point of law; they being both ſufficiently inſtructed, how to urge law enough to make it evident that neither of them could be legally tried by that court, and that it was erected contrary to law. The firſt that was brought to trial was Mr. Mordaunt. After his arraignment, by which he found that the delivery of the commiſſion to Stapley would be principally inſiſted on, and which he knew might too eaſily be proved, he, according to former reſolution, refuſed to plead not-guilty; but inſiſted, "that by the law of the "land he ought not to be tried by that court;" for which he gave more reaſons than they could anſwer; and then deſired, "that his counſel might have liberty to "argue the point in law;" which of courſe uſed to be granted in all legal courts. But he was told, "that he "was better to bethink himſelf; that they were well "ſatisfied in the legality of their court, and would not "ſuffer the juriſdiction of it to be diſputed; that the

Mr. Mordaunt; Sir H. Slingſby; and Dr. Hewet, tried before a high Court of Juſtice.

"law

" law of England had provided a ſentence for ſuch ob-
" ſtinate perſons as refuſed to be tried by it; which
" was, that they ſhould be condemned as mutes; which
" would be his caſe, if he continued refractory:" ſo he was carried back to the Tower, to conſider better what he would do the next day. Sir Harry Slingſby was called next. He knowing nothing of, or for the other reſolution, pleaded not-guilty; and ſo was ſent to the priſon to be tried in his turn. Dr. Hewet, whoſe greateſt crime was collecting and ſending money to the King, beſides having given money to ſome officers, refuſed to plead, as Mr. Mordaunt had done, and demanded that his counſel might be heard; and received the ſame anſwer, and admonition, that the other had done; and was remitted again to priſon.

Thoſe courts ſeldom conſiſted of fewer than twenty judges; amongſt whom there were uſually ſome, who, out of pity, or for money, were inclined to do good offices to the priſoners who came before them; at leaſt to communicate ſuch ſecrets to them, as might inform them what would be moſt preſſed againſt them. Mr. Mordaunt's lady had, by giving money, procured ſome in the number to be very propitious to her huſband: and in the evening of that day the trial had been begun, ſhe received two very important advices from them. The one, " that ſhe ſhould prevail with her huſband to
" plead; then his friends might do him ſome ſervice:
" whereas, if he inſiſted upon the point of law, he
" would infallibly ſuffer, and no man durſt ſpeak for
" him." The other, " that they had no ſufficient proof
" to condemn him upon any particular with which he
" ſtood charged, but only for the delivery of the com-
" miſſion to Stapley; and that there was to that point,
" beſides Stapley, one Colonel Mallory, whoſe teſti-

The means by which Mr. Mordaunt eſcaped ſentence.

"mony was more valued than the other's." This Mallory had the reputation of an honeſt man, and loved Mr. Mordaunt very well, and was one of thoſe who were principally truſted in the buſineſs of Suſſex, and had been apprehended about the ſame time that Stapley was; and finding, upon his firſt examination, by the queſtions adminiſtered to him by Thurlow, that all was diſcovered, he unwarily confeſſed all that he knew concerning Mr. Mordaunt; having been himſelf the perſon principally employed between him and Stapley. He was brought in cuſtody from the Tower, to give in evidence againſt Mr. Mordaunt, with an intention in the court, after he had done that good ſervice, to proceed as ſtrictly againſt himſelf, though they promiſed him indemnity.

The lady, having clear information of this whole matter, could not find any way that night to advertiſe her huſband, that he ſhould no more inſiſt upon the want of juriſdiction in the court. For there was no poſſibility of ſpeaking with, or ſending to him, during the time of his trial. Therefore ſhe laid aſide the thought of that buſineſs till the morning, and paſſed the night in contriving how Mallory might be prevailed with to make an eſcape; and was ſo dexterous, and ſo fortunate, that a friend of hers diſpoſed the money ſhe gave him ſo effectually, that the next morning, when Mallory was brought to the hall to be ready to give in his evidence, he found ſome means to withdraw from his guard, and when he was in the crowd he eaſily got away.

She had as good fortune likewiſe to have a little note ſhe writ concerning the other advice, put into her huſband's hand, as he paſſed to the bar; which having peruſed, he departed from his former reſolution; and after he had modeſtly urged the ſame again which he had

had done the day before, to ſpend time, and the Preſident, in much choler, anſwering as he had done, he ſubmitted to his trial; and behaved himſelf with courage; and eaſily evaded the greateſt part of the evidence they had againſt him; nor could they find proof, what preſumption ſoever there might be, that he had ſpoken with the Marquis of Ormond; and he evaded many other particulars of his correſpondence with the King, with notable addreſs. That of the commiſſion of Stapley was reſerved to the laſt; and the commiſſion being produced, and both the hand and the ſignet generally known, by reaſon of ſo many of the like, which had fallen into their hands at Worceſter, and by many other accidents, Mr. Stapley was called to declare where he had it; and ſeeing himſelf confronted by Mr. Mordaunt, though he did, after many queſtions and reproaches from the counſel that proſecuted, at laſt confeſs that he did receive it from Mr. Mordaunt; yet he did it in ſo diſorderly and confuſed a manner, that it appeared he had much rather not have ſaid it; and anſwered the queſtions Mr. Mordaunt aſked him with that confuſion, that his evidence could not be ſatisfactory to any impartial judges. Then Mallory was called for; but by no ſearch could be found; and they could not, by their own rules, defer their ſentence. And it ſo fell out, by one of the judges withdrawing upon a ſudden fit of the ſtone, that the court was divided, one half for the condemning him, and the other half that he was not guilty; whereupon the determination depended upon the ſingle vote of the Preſident; who made ſome excuſes for the juſtice he was about to do, and acknowledged many obligations to the mother of the priſoner, and, in contemplation thereof, pronounced him innocent for ought appeared to the court. There was not in

Cromwell's

Cromwell's time the like inſtance; and ſcarce any other man eſcaped the judgment, that was tried before any high court of juſtice. And he was ſo offended at it, that, contrary to all the forms uſed by themſelves, he cauſed him to be kept for ſome months after in the Tower, and would willingly have brought him to be tried again. For, within a day or two after, Mallory was retaken, and they had likewiſe corrupted a Frenchman, who had long ſerved him, and was the only ſervant whom he had made choice of (ſince he was to be allowed but one) to attend him in the priſon: and he had diſcovered enough to have taken away his life ſeveral ways. But the ſcandal was ſo great, and the caſe ſo unheard of, that any man, diſcharged upon a public trial, ſhould be again proceeded againſt upon new evidence for the ſame offence, that Cromwell himſelf thought not fit to undergo the reproach of it, but was in the end prevailed with to ſet him at liberty. And he was very few days at liberty, before he embarked himſelf as frankly in the King's ſervice as before, and with better ſucceſs.

Sir Harry Slingſby condemned;

Sir Harry Slingſby and poor Dr. Hewet had worſe fortune; and their blood was the more thirſted after for the other's indemnity; and the court was too ſeverely reprehended, to commit the ſame fault again. The former had lain two years in priſon in Hull, and was brought now up to the Tower, for fear they might not diſcover enough of any new plot, to make ſo many formidable examples, as the preſent conjuncture required. They had againſt him evidence enough, (beſides his incorrigible fidelity to the Crown from the firſt aſſaulting that he had contrived, and contracted with ſome officers of Hull, about the time that the Earl of Rocheſter had been in Yorkſhire two years before, for the delivery of

of one of the block-houſes to him for the King's ſervice: nor did he care to defend himſelf againſt the accuſation; but rather acknowledged and juſtified his affection, and owned his loyalty to the King, with very little compliment or ceremony to the preſent power. The other, Dr. Hewet, receiving no information of Mr. Mordaunt's declining the way formerly reſolved upon, (which it was not poſſible to convey to him in that inſtant, nobody being ſuffered to ſpeak with him), and being brought to the bar as ſoon as the other was removed from it, perſiſted in the ſame reſolution, and ſpoke only againſt the illegality of the court; which, upon better information, and before the judgment was pronounced againſt him, he deſired to retract, and would have put himſelf upon his trial: but they then refuſed to admit him; and ſo ſentence of death was pronounced againſt them both; which they both underwent with great Chriſtian courage.

and Doctor Hewet, refuſing ſtill to plead:

They are both executed.

Sir Harry Slingſby, as is ſaid before, was in the firſt rank of the gentlemen of Yorkſhire; and was returned to ſerve as a member in the Parliament that continued ſo many years; where he ſate till the troubles begun; and having no relation to or dependence upon the Court, he was ſwayed only by his conſcience to deteſt the violent and undutiful behaviour of that Parliament. He was a gentleman of a good underſtanding, but of a very melancholic nature, and of very few words: and when he could ſtay no longer with a good conſcience in their councils, in which he never concurred, he went into his country, and joined with the firſt who took up arms for the King. And when the war was ended, he remained ſtill in his own houſe, prepared and diſpoſed to run the fortune of the Crown in any other attempt: and having a good fortune and a general reputation, had

An account of Sir Harry Slingſby.

had a greater influence upon the people, than they who talked more and louder; and was known to be irreconcileable to the new government; and therefore was cut off, notwithſtanding very great interceſſion to preſerve him. For he was uncle to the Lord Falconbridge; who engaged his wife and all his new allies to intercede for him, without effect. When he was brought to die, he ſpent very little time in diſcourſe; but told them, "he "was to die for being an honeſt man, of which he was "very glad."

And of Dr. Hewet.

Dr. Hewet was born a gentleman, and bred a ſcholar, and was a divine before the beginning of the troubles. He lived in Oxford, and in the army, till the end of the war, and continued afterwards to preach with great applauſe in a little church in London: where, by the affection of the pariſh, he was admitted, ſince he was enough known to lie notoriouſly under the brand of malignity. When the Lord Falconbridge married Cromwell's daughter (who had uſed ſecretly to frequent his church) after the ceremony of the time, he was made choice of to marry them according to the order of the Church; which engaged both that lord and lady to uſe their utmoſt credit with the Protector to preſerve his life; but he was inexorable, and deſirous that the churchmen, upon whom he looked as his mortal enemies, ſhould ſee what they were to truſt to, if they ſtood in need of his mercy.

It was then believed that, if he had pleaded, he might have been quitted, ſince in truth he never had been with the King at Cologne or Bruges; with which he was charged in his indictment; and they had blood enough in their power to pour out; for, beſides the two before mentioned, to whom they granted the favour to be beheaded, there were three others, Colonel Aſhton, Stacy, and

and Betteley, condemned by the ſame court; who were treated with more ſeverity; and were hanged, drawn, and quartered, with the utmoſt rigour, in ſeveral great ſtreets in the city, to make the deeper impreſſion upon the people, the two laſt being citizens. But all men appeared ſo nauſeated with blood, and ſo tired with thoſe abominable ſpectacles, that Cromwell thought it beſt to pardon the reſt who were condemned, or rather to reprieve them; amongſt whom Mallory was one; who was not at liberty till the King's return; and was more troubled for the weakneſs he had been guilty of, than they were againſt whom he had treſpaſſed.

Colonel Aſhton, and Stacy, and Betteley, citizens, condemned and executed.

Though the King, and all who were faithful to him, were exceedingly afflicted with this bloody proceeding, yet Cromwell did not ſeem to be the more confirmed in his tyranny. It is true, the King's party was the more diſpirited; but Cromwell found another kind of enemy much more dangerous than they, and that knew better how to deal with him in his own way. They who were raiſed by him, and who had raiſed him, even almoſt the whole body of ſectaries, Anabaptiſts, Independents, Quakers, declared an implacable hatred againſt him; and whilſt they contrived how to raiſe a power to contend with him, they likewiſe entered into ſeveral conſpiracies to aſſaſſinate him; which he exceedingly apprehended. They ſent an addreſs to the King by one of their party, a young gentleman of an honourable extraction, and great parts, by whom they made many extravagant propoſitions, and ſeemed to depend very much upon the death of Cromwell, and thereupon to compute their own power to ſerve the King; who gave ſuch an anſwer only to them, as might diſpoſe them to hope for his favour, if he received ſervice from them; and to believe that he did not intend to perſecute or trouble any

Cromwell found new enemies among the ſectaries.

An addreſs ſent by the Anabaptiſts to the King.

men

men for their opinions, if their actions were peaceable; which they pretended to affect.

Since the spirit, humour, and language of that people, and, in truth, of that time, cannot be better described and represented, than by that petition and address, which was never published, and of which there remains no copy in any hand that I know of, but only the original, which was presented to the King, (it being too dangerous a thing for any man who remained in England, to have any such transcript in his custody), it will not be amiss in this place to insert the petition and address in the very words in which it was presented to his Majesty, with the letter that accompanied it from the gentleman mentioned before, who was an Anabaptist of special trust among them, and who came not with the petition, but expected the King's pleasure upon the receipt of it; it being sent by an officer who had served the King in an eminent command, and was now gracious amongst those sectaries without swerving in the least degree from his former principles and integrity: for that people always pretended a just esteem and value of all men who had faithfully adhered to the King, and lived soberly and virtuously. The address was in these words:

The address itself.

To his most Excellent Majesty, Charles the Second, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging.

"The humble address of the subscribers, in the "behalf of themselves, and many thousands "more, your Majesty's most humble and faith-"ful subjects.

"May it please your Majesty,

"When we sit down and recount the wonderful and "unheard of dispensations of God amongst us, when we "call

" call to our remembrances the tragical actions and " tranſactions of theſe late times, when we ſeriouſly " conſider the dark and myſterious effects of Provi- " dence, the unexpected diſappointment of counſels, the " ſtrange and ſtrong convulſions of ſtate, the various and " violent motions and commotions of the people, the " many changings, turnings, and overturnings of gover- " nors and governments, which, in the revolutions of a " few years, have been produced in this land of mira- " cles, we cannot but be even ſwallowed up in aſtoniſh- " ment, and are conſtrained to command an unwilling " ſilence upon our ſometimes mutinous and over-en- " quiring hearts, reſolving all into the good will and " pleaſure of that all-diſpoſing One, whoſe wiſdom is " unſearchable, and whoſe ways are paſt finding out.

" But although it is, and we hope ever will be, far " from us, either peeviſhly or preſumptuouſly to kick " againſt the irreſiſtible decrees of heaven, or vainly to " attempt, by any faint and infirm deſigns of ours, to " give an interruption to that over-ruling divine hand, " which ſteers and guides, governs and determines the " affairs of the whole world; yet we cannot but judge it " a duty highly incumbent upon us, to endeavour, as " much as in us lies, to repair the breaches of our dear " country. And, ſince it is our lot (we may ſay our " unhappineſs) to be embarked in a ſhipwrecked com- " monwealth, (which, like a poor weather-beaten pin- " nace, has, for ſo long a time, been toſſed upon the " waves and billows of faction, ſplit upon the rocks of " violence, and is now almoſt quite devoured in the " quickſands of ambition), what can we do more wor- " thy of Engliſhmen, as we are by nation, or of Chriſ- " tians, as we are by profeſſion, than every one of us to " put our hand to an oar, and try if it be the will of our

" God,

" God, that ſuch weak inſtruments as we, may be, in " any meaſure, helpful to bring it at laſt into the ſafe " and quiet harbour of juſtice and righteouſneſs?

" To this undertaking, though too great for us, we " are apt to think ourſelves ſo much the more ſtrongly " engaged, by how much the more we are ſenſible, that " as our ſins have been the greateſt cauſes, ſo our many " follies and imprudences have not been the leaſt means " of giving both birth and growth to thoſe many mi- " ſeries and calamities, which we, together with three " once moſt flouriſhing kingdoms, do at this day ſadly " groan under.

" It is not, the Lord knows, it is not pleaſing unto " us, nor can we believe it will be grateful to your Ma- " jeſty, that we ſhould recur to the beginnings, riſe, and " root of the late unhappy differences betwixt your " royal Father and the Parliament. In ſuch a diſcourſe " as this, we may ſeem, perhaps, rather to go about to " make the wounds bleed afreſh, than to endeavour the " curing of them: yet foraſmuch as we do profeſs, that " we come not with corroſives but with balſams, and " that our deſire is not to hurt but heal, not to pour " vinegar but oil into the wounds, we hope your Ma- " jeſty will give us leave to open them gently, that we " may apply remedies the more aptly, and diſcover our " own paſt errors the more clearly.

" In what poſture the affairs of theſe nations ſtood, " before the noiſe of drums and trumpets diſturbed the " ſweet harmony that was amongſt us, is not unknown " to your Majeſty: that we were bleſt with a long " peace, and, together with it, with riches, wealth, plen- " ty, and abundance of all things, the lovely compa- " nions and beautiful products of peace, muſt ever be " acknowledged with thankfulneſs to God, the author

" of

" of it, and with a grateful veneration of the memory of " thoſe Princes, your father and grandfather, by the " propitious influence of whoſe care and wiſdom we thus " flouriſhed. But, as it is obſerved in natural bodies, " idleneſs and fulneſs of diet do for the moſt part lay the " foundation of thoſe maladies, and ſecretly nouriſh " thoſe diſeaſes, which can hardly be expelled by the " aſſiſtance of the moſt ſkilful phyſician, and ſeldom " without the uſe of the moſt loathſome medicines, nay " ſometimes not without the hazardous trial of the moſt " dangerous experiments; ſo did we find it, by ſad ex- " perience, to be in this great body politic. It cannot " be denied, but the whole commonwealth was faint, the " whole nation ſick, the whole body out of order, every " member thereof feeble, and every part thereof lan- " guiſhing. And in this ſo general and univerſal a diſ- " temper, that there ſhould be no weakneſs nor in- " firmity, no unſoundneſs in the head, cannot well be " imagined. We are unwilling to enumerate particu- " lars, the mention whereof would but renew old griefs; " but, in general, we may ſay, and we think it will gain " the eaſy aſſent of all men, that there were many errors, " many defects, many exceſſes, many irregularities, " many illegal and eccentrical proceedings, (ſome of " which were in matters of the higheſt and greateſt " concernments), manifeſtly appearing as blots and ſtains " upon the otherwiſe good government of the late King. " That theſe proceeded from the pravity of his own diſ- " poſition, or from principles of tyranny radicated and " implanted in his own nature, we do not ſee how it can " be aſſerted, without apparent injury to the truth; it " being confeſſed, even by his moſt peeviſh enemies, " that he was a gentleman, as of the moſt ſtrong and " perfect intellectuals, ſo of the beſt and pureſt morals,

" of any prince that ever ſwayed the Engliſh ſceptre. " This the then Parliament being ſenſible of, and de- " ſirous, out of a zeal they had to the honour of their " Sovereign, to diſperſe and diſpel thoſe black clouds " that were contracted about him, that he might ſhine " the more glorious in the beauty of his own luſtre, " thought themſelves engaged in duty to endeavour to " redeem and reſcue him from the violent and ſtrong " impulſes of his evil counſellors; who did captivate " him at their pleaſures to their own corrupt luſts, and " did every day thruſt him into actions prejudicial to " himſelf, and deſtructive to the common good and " ſafety of the people.

" Upon this account, and to this, and no other end, " were we at firſt invited to take up arms; and though " we have too great cauſe to conclude from what we " have ſince ſeen acted, that, under thoſe plauſible and " gilded pretences of liberty and reformation, there were " ſecretly managed the helliſh deſigns of wicked, vile, " and ambitious perſons, (whom though then, and for a " long time after, concealed, Providence, and the ſeries " of things, have ſince diſcovered to us), yet we bleſs " God, that we went out in the ſimplicity of our ſouls, " aiming at nothing more but what was publicly owned " in the face of the ſun; and that we were ſo far from " entertaining any thoughts of caſting off our allegiance " to his Majeſty, or extirpating his family, that we had " not the leaſt intentions of ſo much as abridging him. " of any of his juſt prerogatives, but only of reſtraining " thoſe exceſſes of government for the future, which " were nothing but the excreſcences of a wanton power, " and were more truly to be accounted the burdens, " than ornaments, of his royal diadem.

" Theſe things, Sir, we are bold to make recital of to

" your

" your Majeſty; not that we ſuppoſe your Majeſty to " be ignorant of them, or that we take delight to derive " the pedigree of our own and the nation's misfortunes; " but, like poor wildered travellers, perceiving that we " have loſt our way, we are neceſſitated, though with " tired and irkſome ſteps, thus to walk the ſame ground " over again, that we may diſcover where it was that we " firſt turned aſide, and may inſtitute a more proſperous " courſe in the progreſs of our journey. Thus far we " can ſay we have gone right, keeping the road of ho- " neſty and ſincerity, and having as yet done nothing " but what we think we are able to juſtify, not by thoſe " weak and beggarly arguments, drawn either from ſuc- " ceſs, which is the ſame to the juſt and to the unjuſt, " or from the ſilence and ſatisfaction of a becalmed con- " ſcience, which is more often the effect of blindneſs " than virtue, but from the ſure, ſafe, ſound, and un- " erring maxims of law, juſtice, reaſon, and righteouſ- " neſs.

" In all the reſt of our motions ever ſince to this very " day, we muſt confeſs, we have been wandering, de- " viating, and roving up and down, this way and that " way, through all the dangerous, uncouth, and untrod- " den paths of fanatic and enthuſiaſtic notions, till now " at laſt, but too late, we find ourſelves intricated and " involved in ſo many windings, labyrinths, and me- " anders of knavery, that nothing but a divine clue of " thread handed to us from heaven, can be ſufficient to " extricate us, and reſtore us. We know not, we know " not, whether we have juſter matter of ſhame or ſorrow " adminiſtered to us, when we take a reflex view of our " paſt actions, and conſider into the commiſſion of " what crimes, impieties, wickedneſſes, and unheard of " villainies, we have been led, cheated, cozened, and be-

" trayed, by that grand impoſtor, that loathſome hypo-
" crite, that deteſtable traitor, that prodigy of nature,
" that *opprobrium* of mankind, that landſcape of iniquity,
" that ſink of ſin, and that compendium of baſeneſs,
" who now calls himſelf our Protector. What have we
" done, nay, what have we not done, which either hell-
" iſh policy was able to contrive, or brutiſh power to
" execute? We have trampled under foot all authorities;
" we have laid violent hands upon our own Sovereign;
" we have raviſhed our Parliaments; we have deflowered
" the virgin liberty of our nation; we have put a yoke,
" an heavy yoke of iron, upon the necks of our own
" countrymen; we have thrown down the walls and bul-
" warks of the people's ſafety; we have broken often-
" repeated oaths, vows, engagements, covenants, pro-
" teſtations; we have betrayed our truſts; we have vio-
" lated our faiths; we have lifted up our hands to hea-
" ven deceitfully; and that theſe our ſins might want no
" aggravation to make them exceeding ſinful, we have
" added hypocriſy to them all; and have not only, like
" the audacious ſtrumpet, wiped our mouths, and boaſted
" *that we have done no evil*; but in the midſt of all our
" abominations (ſuch as are too bad to be named
" amongſt the worſt of heathens) we have not wanted
" impudence enough to ſay, Let the Lord be glorified:
" let Jeſus Chriſt be exalted: let his kingdom be ad-
" vanced: let the Goſpel be propagated: let the ſaints
" be dignified: let righteouſneſs be eſtabliſhed: *Pudet*
" *hæc opprobria nobis aut dici potuiſſe, aut non potuiſſe*
" *refelli.*

" Will not the holy One of Iſrael viſit? will not the
" righteous One puniſh? will not he, who is the true
" and faithful One, be avenged for ſuch things as theſe?
" will he not, nay has he not already, come forth as a

" ſwift

" ſwift witneſs againſt us? has he not whet his ſword?
" has he not bent his bow? has he not prepared his qui-
" ver? has he not already begun to ſhoot his arrows at
" us? Who is ſo blind as not to ſee that the hand of the
" Almighty is upon us, and that his anger waxes hotter
" and hotter againſt us? How have our hopes been
" blaſted? how have our expectations been diſap-
" pointed? how have our ends been fruſtrated? All thoſe
" pleaſant gourds, under which we were ſometimes ſo-
" lacing and careſſing ourſelves, how are they periſhed
" in a moment? how are they withered in a night? how
" are they vaniſhed, and come to nothing? Righteous is
" the Lord, and righteous are all his judgments. We
" have ſown the wind, and we have reaped a whirlwind;
" we have ſown faction, and we have reaped confuſion;
" we have ſown folly, and we have reaped deceit: when
" we looked for liberty, behold ſlavery; when we ex-
" pected righteouſneſs, behold oppreſſion; when we
" ſought for juſtice, behold a cry, a great and a lament-
" able cry throughout the whole nation.

" Every man's hand is upon his loins, every one com-
" plaining, ſighing, mourning, lamenting, and ſaying, I
" am pained, I am pained, pain and anguiſh, and ſor-
" row, and perplexity of ſpirit, has taken hold upon me,
" like the pains of a woman in travail. Surely we may
" take up the lamentation of the prophet concerning
" this the land of our nativity. How does England ſit
" ſolitary? how is ſhe become as a widow? ſhe, that
" was great amongſt the nations, and princeſs among the
" provinces, how is ſhe now become tributary? She
" weepeth ſore in the night; her tears are on her cheeks;
" amongſt all her lovers ſhe hath none to comfort her;
" all her friends have dealt treacherouſly with her, they
" are become her enemies; ſhe lifteth up her voice in

" the ſtreets, ſhe crieth aloud in the gates of the city,
" in the places of chief concourſe, ſhe ſitteth, and thus
" we hear her wailing and bemoaning her condition; Is
" it nothing to you, all ye that paſs by? behold, and
" ſee if there be any ſorrow like unto my ſorrow, which
" is done unto me, wherewith the Lord hath afflicted
" me in the day of his fierce anger. The yoke of my
" tranſgreſſions is bound by his hands, they are wreathed,
" and come up upon my neck; he hath made my
" ſtrength to fall, the Lord hath delivered me into their
" hands from whom I am not able to riſe up. The
" Lord hath trodden under foot all my mighty men in
" the midſt of me; he hath called an aſſembly to cruſh
" my young men; he hath trodden me as in a wine-
" preſs; all that paſs by clap their hands at me, they
" hiſs and wag their heads at me, ſaying, Is this the na-
" tion that men call the perfection of beauty? the joy
" of the whole earth? All mine enemies have opened
" their mouths againſt me; they hiſs and gnaſh their
" teeth; they ſay, We have ſwallowed her up; certainly
" this is the day that we looked for, we have found, we
" have ſeen it.

" How are our bowels troubled? how are our hearts
" ſaddened? how are our ſouls afflicted, whilſt we hear
" the groans, whilſt we ſee the deſolation of our dear
" country? It pitieth us, it pitieth us, that Sion ſhould
" lie any longer in the duſt. But, alas! what ſhall we
" do for her in this day of her great calamity? We were
" ſometimes wiſe to pull down, but we now want art to
" build; we were ingenious to pluck up, but we have
" no ſkill to plant; we were ſtrong to deſtroy, but we
" are weak to reſtore: whither ſhall we go for help? or
" to whom ſhall we addreſs ourſelves for relief? If we
" ſay, We will have recourſe to Parliaments, and they
" ſhall

" ſhall ſave us; behold, they are broken reeds, reeds
" ſhaken with the wind. They cannot ſave themſelves.
" If we turn to the army, and ſay, They are bone of our
" bone, and fleſh of our fleſh, it may be they will at laſt
" have pity upon us, and deliver us; behold, they are
" become as a rod of iron to bruiſe us, rather than a
" ſtaff of ſtrength to ſupport us. If we go to him who
" had treacherouſly uſurped, and does tyrannically ex-
" erciſe an unjuſt power over us, and ſay to him, Free us
" from this yoke, for it oppreſſeth us, and from theſe
" burdens, for they are heavier than either we are, or our
" fathers ever were able to bear; behold, in the pride
" and haughtineſs of his ſpirit, he anſwers us, You are
" factious, you are factious; if your burdens are heavy,
" I will make them yet heavier; if I have hitherto chaſ-
" tized you with whips, I will henceforward chaſtize you
" with ſcorpions.

" Thus do we fly, like partridges hunted, from hill
" to hill, and from mountain to mountain, but can find
" no reſt; we look this way, and that way, but there is
" none to ſave, none to deliver. At laſt we begun to
" whiſper, and but to whiſper only, among ourſelves,
" ſaying one to another, Why ſhould we not return to
" our firſt huſband? Surely it will be better with us
" then, than it is now. At the firſt ſtarting of this
" queſtion amongſt us, many doubts, many fears, many
" jealouſies, many ſuſpicions did ariſe within us. We
" were conſcious to ourſelves, that we had dealt un-
" kindly with him, that we had treacherouſly forſaken
" him, that we had defiled ourſelves with other lovers,
" and that our filthineſs was ſtill upon our ſkirts: there-
" fore were we apt to conclude, if we do not return unto
" him, how can he receive us? or if he does receive us,
" how can he love us? how can he pardon the injuries

" we have done unto him? how can he forget the un-
" kindneſs we have ſhewn unto him in the day of his
" diſtreſs?

" We muſt confeſs (for we come not to deceive your
" Majeſty, but to ſpeak the truth in ſimplicity) that
" theſe cowardly apprehenſions did, for a while, make
" ſome ſtrong impreſſions upon us; and had almoſt
" frighted us out of our newly conceived thoughts of
" duty and loyalty. But it was not long before they
" vaniſhed, and gave place to the more noble and heroic
" conſiderations of common good, public ſafety, the
" honour, peace, welfare, and proſperity of theſe na-
" tions; all which we are perſuaded, and do find, though
" by too late experience, are as inſeparably and as natu-
" rally bound up in your Majeſty, as heat in fire, or
" light in the ſun. Contemning therefore and diſdain-
" ing the mean and low thoughts of our own private
" ſafety, (which we have no cauſe to deſpair of, having
" to deal with ſo good and ſo gracious a Prince), we
" durſt not allow of any longer debate about matters of
" perſonal concernment; but did think ourſelves en-
" gaged in duty, honour, and conſcience, to make this
" our humble addreſs unto your Majeſty, and to leave
" ourſelves at the feet of your mercy: yet, leſt we
" ſhould ſeem to be altogether negligent of that firſt
" good, though ſince diſhonoured, cauſe, which God
" has ſo eminently owned us in, and to be unmindful of
" the ſecurity of thoſe, who, together with ourſelves,
" being carried away with the deluſive and hypocritical
" pretences of wicked and ungodly men, have ignorant-
" ly, not maliciouſly, been drawn into a concurrence
" with thoſe actions which may render them juſtly ob-
" noxious to your Majeſty's indignation, we have pre-
" ſumed in all humility to offer unto your Majeſty theſe

" few

" few propoſitions hereunto annexed; to which if your " Majeſty ſhall be pleaſed graciouſly to condeſcend, we " do ſolemnly proteſt in the preſence of Almighty God, " before whoſe tribunal we know we muſt one day ap- " pear, that we will hazard our lives, and all that is dear " unto us, for the reſtoring and reeſtabliſhing your Ma- " jeſty in the throne of your father; and that we will " never be wanting in a ready and willing compliance to " your Majeſty's commands to approve ourſelves

" Your Majeſty's

" moſt humble, moſt faithful,

" and moſt devoted ſubjects and ſervants,

" *W. Howard.*	*John Wildman.*
" *Ralph Jennings.*	*John Aumigeu.*
" *Edw. Penkaruan.*	*Randolph Hedworth.*
" *John Hedworth.*	*Thomas*
" *John Sturgion.*	*Rich. Reynolds.*

" The earneſt deſires of the ſubſcribers, in all humility " preſented to your Majeſty in theſe following " propoſals, in order to an happy, ſpeedy, and " well grounded peace in theſe your Majeſty's do- " minions. Their propoſitions annexed to it.

1. " Foraſmuch as the Parliament, called and con- " vened by the authority of his late Majeſty your " royal father, in the year 1640, was never legally diſ- " ſolved, but did continue their ſitting until the year " 1648, at which time the army, violently and treaſon- " ably breaking in upon them, did, and has ever ſince " given a continued interruption to their ſeſſion, by " taking away the whole Houſe of Lords, and ſecluding " the greateſt part of the Houſe of Commons, it is there- " fore humbly deſired that (to the end we may be

" eſta-

" eſtabliſhed upon the ancient baſis and foundation of " law) your Majeſty would be pleaſed, by public procla- " mations, as ſoon as it ſhall be judged ſeaſonable, to " invite all thoſe perſons, as well Lords as Commons, " who were then ſitting, to return to their places; and " that your Majeſty would own them (ſo convened and " met together) to be the true and lawful Parliament of " England.

2. " That your Majeſty would concur with the Par- " liament in the ratification and confirmation of all " thoſe things granted and agreed unto by the late " King your father, at the laſt and fatal treaty in the " Iſle of Wight; as alſo in the making and repealing of " all ſuch laws, acts, and ſtatutes, as by the Parliament " ſhall be judged expedient and neceſſary to be made, " and repealed, for the better ſecuring of the juſt and " natural rights and liberties of the people, and for the " obviating and preventing all dangerous and deſtruc- " tive exceſſes of government for the future.

3. " Foraſmuch as it cannot be denied, but that our " Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, by his death and re- " ſurrection, has purchaſed the liberties of his own " people, and is thereby become their ſole Lord and " King, to whom, and to whom only, they owe obedi- " ence in things ſpiritual; we do therefore humbly be- " ſeech your Majeſty, that you would engage your " royal word never to erect, nor ſuffer to be erected, " any ſuch tyrannical, Popiſh, and Antichriſtian hierar- " chy, (Epiſcopal, Preſbyterian, or by what name ſo- " ever it be called), as ſhall aſſume a power over, or " impoſe a yoke upon, the conſciences of others; but " that every one of your Majeſty's ſubjects may here- " after be left at liberty to worſhip God in ſuch a way, " form, and manner, as ſhall appear to them to be

" agreeable

" agreeable to the mind and will of Chriſt, revealed in " his word, according to that proportion or meaſure of " faith and knowledge which they have received.

4. " Foraſmuch as the exaction of tithes is a burden " under which the whole nation groans in general, and " the people of God in particular, we would therefore " crave leave humbly to offer it to your Majeſty's " conſideration, that, if it be poſſible, ſome other way " may be found out for the maintenance of that which " is called the national miniſtry; and that thoſe of the " ſeparated and congregated churches may not (as " hitherto they have been, and ſtill are) be compelled " to contribute thereunto.

5. " Foraſmuch as in theſe times of licence, confu- " ſion, and diſorder, many honeſt, godly, and religious " perſons, by the crafty devices and cunning pretences " of wicked men, have been ignorantly and blindly led, " either into the commiſſion of, or compliance with, " many vile, illegal, and abominable actions, whereof " they are now aſhamed; we do therefore moſt humbly " implore your Majeſty, that an act of amneſty and " oblivion may be granted for the pardoning, acquit- " ting, and diſcharging all your Majeſty's long de- " ceived and deluded ſubjects, from the guilt and im- " putation of all crimes, treaſons, and offences whatſo- " ever, committed or done by them, or any of them, " either againſt your Majeſty's father, or yourſelf, ſince " the beginning of theſe unhappy wars, excepting only " ſuch who do adhere to that ugly tyrant who calls " himſelf Protector, or who, in juſtification of his or " any other intereſt, ſhall, after the publication of this " act of grace, continue and perſevere in their diſloyalty " to your Majeſty."

The gentleman who brought this addreſs, and theſe wild

wild propoſitions, brought likewiſe with him a particular letter to the King from the gentleman that is before deſcribed; upon whoſe temper, ingenuity, and intereſt, the meſſenger principally depended, having had much acquaintance and converſation with him; who, though he was an Anabaptiſt, made himſelf merry with the extravagancy and madneſs of his companions; and told this gentleman, "that, though the firſt addreſs "could not be prepared but with thoſe demands, which "might ſatisfy the whole party, and comprehend all "that was deſired by any of them, yet if the King "gave them ſuch an encouragement, as might diſpoſe "them to ſend ſome of the wiſeſt of them to attend "his Majeſty, he would be able, upon conference "with them, to make them his inſtruments to reduce "the reſt to more moderate deſires, when they ſhould "diſcern, that they might have more protection and "ſecurity from the King, than from any other power "that would aſſume the government." The letter was as followeth.

"May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

The letter to the King ſent with the addreſs. "Time, the great diſcoverer of all things, has at laſt "unmaſked the diſguiſed deſigns of this myſterious "age, and made that obvious to the dull ſenſe of fools, "which was before viſible enough to the quick-ſighted "prudence of wiſe men, *viz.* that liberty, religion, and "reformation, the wonted engines of politicians, are but "deceitful baits, by which the eaſily deluded multitude "are tempted to a greedy purſuit of their own ruin. In "the unhappy number of theſe fools, I muſt confeſs "myſelf to have been one; who have nothing more "now to boaſt of, but only that, as I was not the firſt "was cheated, ſo I was not the laſt was undeceived;

"having

" having long ſince, by peeping a little (now and then, " as I had opportunity) under the vizard of the impoſ- " tor, got ſuch glimpſes, though but imperfect ones, of " his ugly face, concealed under the painted pretences " of ſanctity, as made me conclude, that the ſeries of " affairs, and the revolution of a few years, would con- " vince this blinded generation of their errors; and " make them affrightedly to ſtart from him, as a pro- " digious piece of deformity, whom they adored and " reverenced as the beautiful image of a deity.

" Nor did this my expectation fail me: God, who " glories in no attribute more than to be acknowledged " the ſearcher of the inward parts, could no longer en- " dure the bold affronts of this audacious hypocrite; " but, to the aſtoniſhment and confuſion of all his ido- " latrous worſhippers, has, by the unſearchable wiſdom " of his deep-laid counſels, lighted ſuch a candle into " the dark dungeon of his ſoul, that there is none ſo " blind who does not plainly read treachery, tyranny, " perfidiouſneſs, diſſimulation, atheiſm, hypocriſy, and " all manner of villainy, written in large characters on " his heart; nor is there any one remaining, who dares " open his mouth in juſtification of him, for fear of in- " curring the deſerved character of being a profeſſed ad- " vocate for all wickedneſs, and a ſworn enemy to all " virtue.

" This was no ſooner brought forth, but preſently I " conceived hopes of being able, in a ſhort time, to put " in practice thoſe thoughts of loyalty to your Ma- " jeſty, which had long had entertainment in my " breaſt, but till now were forced to ſeek concealment " under a ſeeming conformity to the iniquity of the " times. A fit opportunity of giving birth to theſe

" deſigns

" deſigns was happily adminiſtered by the following " occaſion.

" Great was the rage, and juſt the indignation of the " people, when they firſt found the authority of their " Parliament ſwallowed up in the new name of a Pro- " tector; greater was their fury, and upon better " grounds, when they obſerved, that under the ſilent, " modeſt, and flattering title of this Protector, was ſe- " cretly aſſumed a power more abſolute, more arbitrary, " more unlimited, than ever was pretended to by any " King. The pulpits ſtraightways ſound with decla- " mations, the ſtreets are filled with paſquils and libels, " every one expreſſes a deteſtation of this innovation by " public invectives, and all the nation, with one accord, " ſeems at once to be inſpired with one and the ſame " reſolution of endeavouring valiantly to redeem that li- " berty, by arms and force, which was treacherouſly " ſtolen from them by deceit and fraud.

" When they had for a while exerciſed themſelves in " tumultuary diſcourſes, (the firſt effects of popular " diſcontents), at length they begin to contrive by " what means to free themſelves from the yoke that is " upon them. In order hereunto, ſeveral of the chiefeſt " of the malecontents enter into conſultations amongſt " themſelves; to which they were pleaſed to invite and " admit me. Being taken into their councils, and made " privy to their debates, I thought it my work to ac- " quaint myſelf fully with the tempers, inclinations, " diſpoſitions, and principles of them; which (though " all meeting and concentring in an irreconcileable " hatred and animoſity againſt the uſurper) I find ſo " various in their ends, and ſo contrary in the means " conducing to thoſe ends, that they do naturally fall " under

" under the diſtinction of different parties. Some, drunk
" with enthuſiaſms, and beſotted with fanatic notions,
" do allow of none to have a ſhare in government beſides
" the ſaints; and theſe are called Chriſtian Royaliſts,
" or Fifth-Monarchy-Men. Others violently oppoſing
" this, as deſtructive to the liberty of the free-born peo-
" ple, ſtrongly contend to have the nation governed
" by a continual ſucceſſion of Parliaments, conſiſting of
" equal repreſentatives; and theſe ſtyle themſelves Com-
" monwealth's-Men. A third party there is, who find-
" ing, by the obſervation of theſe times, that Parlia-
" ments are better phyſic than food, ſeem to incline
" moſt to monarchy, if laid under ſuch reſtrictions as
" might free the people from the fear of tyranny; and
" theſe are contented to ſuffer under the opprobrious
" name of Levellers: to theſe did I particularly apply
" myſelf; and after ſome few days' conference with
" them in private by themſelves apart, I was ſo happy
" in my endeavours, as to prevail with ſome of them to
" lay aſide thoſe vain and idle prejudices, grounded
" rather upon paſſion than judgment, and return, as
" their duty engaged them, to their obedience to your
" Majeſty. Having proceeded thus far, and gained as
" many of the chief of them whom I knew to be leaders
" of the reſt, as could ſafely be entruſted with a buſineſs
" of this nature, (the ſucceſs whereof does principally
" depend upon the ſecret management of it), I thought
" I had nothing more now to do, but only to confirm
" and eſtabliſh them, as well as I could, in their infant
" allegiance, by engaging them ſo far in an humble
" addreſs unto your Majeſty, that they might not
" know how to make either a ſafe or honourable re-
" treat.

" I muſt leave it to the ingenuity of this worthy gen-
" tleman,

" tleman, by whoſe hands it is conveyed, to make " anſwer to any ſuch objections as may perhaps be " made by your Majeſty, either as to the matter or " manner of it. This only I would put your Majeſty " in mind of, that they are but young proſelytes, and " are to be driven *lento pede*, left, being urged at firſt " too violently, they ſhould reſiſt the more refractorily.

" As to the quality of the perſons, I cannot ſay they " are either of great families, or great eſtates. But this " I am confident of, that, whether it be by their own vir- " tue, or by the misfortune of the times, I will not deter- " mine, they are ſuch who may be more ſerviceable to " your Majeſty in this conjuncture, than thoſe whoſe " names ſwell much bigger than theirs with the addition " of great titles. I durſt not undertake to perſuade your " Majeſty to any thing, being ignorant by what maxims " your counſels are governed; but this I ſhall crave " leave to ſay, that I have often obſerved, that a deſpe- " rate game at cheſs has been recovered after the loſs of " the nobility, only by playing the pawns well; and " that the ſubſcribers may not be of the ſame uſe to " your Majeſty, if well managed, I cannot deſpair, eſpe- " cially at ſuch a time as this, when there is ſcarce any " thing but pawns left upon the board, and thoſe few " others that are left may juſtly be complained of in " the words of Tacitus, *præſentia et tuta, quam vetera, " et periculoſa, malunt omnes.*

" I have many things more to offer unto your Ma- " jeſty, but fearing I have already given too bold a trou- " ble, I ſhall defer the mention of them at preſent; in- " tending, as ſoon as I hear how your Majeſty reſents this " overture, to wait upon your Majeſty in perſon, and then " to communicate that *viva voce*, which I cannot bring " within the narrow compaſs of an addreſs of this nature.

" In

" In the mean time, if our ſervices ſhall be judged uſeful " to your Majeſty, I ſhall humbly deſire ſome ſpeedy " courſe may be taken for the advance of two thouſand " pound, as well for the anſwering the expectation of " thoſe whom I have already engaged, as for the defray- " ing of ſeveral other neceſſary expences, which do, and " will every day inevitably come upon us in the proſe- " cution of our deſign.

" What more is expedient to be done by your Ma- " jeſty, in order to the encouragement and ſatisfaction " of thoſe gentlemen who already are, or hereafter may " be, brought over to the aſſiſtance of your Majeſty's " cauſe and intereſt, I ſhall commit to the care of this " honourable perſon; who being no ſtranger to the " complexion and conſtitution of thoſe with whom I " have to deal, is able ſufficiently to inform your Ma- " jeſty by what ways and means they may be laid " under the ſtrongeſt obligations to your Majeſty's ſer- " vice.

" For my own part, as I do now aim at nothing " more, than only to give your Majeſty a ſmall eſſay of " my zeal for, and abſolute devotion to, your Majeſty, " ſo I have nothing more to beg of your Majeſty, but " that you would be pleaſed to account me,

" May it pleaſe your Majeſty, &c."

The King believed that theſe diſtempers might, in ſome conjuncture, be of uſe to him; and therefore returned the general anſwer that is mentioned before; and, " that he would be willing to confer with ſome " perſons of that party, truſted by the reſt, if they " would come over to him;" his Majeſty being then at Bruges. Upon which that young gentleman came over thither to him, and remained ſome days there

concealed. He was a perſon of very extraordinary parts, ſharpneſs of wit, readineſs and volubility of tongue, but an Anabaptiſt. He had been bred in the Univerſity of Cambridge, and afterwards in the Inns of Court; but being too young to have known the religion or the government of the precedent time, and his father having been engaged from the beginning againſt the King, he had ſucked in the opinions that were moſt prevalent, and had been a ſoldier in Cromwell's life-guard of horſe, when he was thought to be moſt reſolved to eſtabliſh a republic. But when that maſk was pulled off, he deteſted him with that rage, that he was of the combination with thoſe who reſolved to deſtroy him by what way ſoever; and was very intimate with Syndercome. He had a great confidence of the ſtrength and power of that party; and confeſſed that their demands were extravagant, and ſuch as the King could not grant; which, after they were once engaged in blood, he doubted not they would recede from, by the credit the wiſer men had amongſt them. He returned into England very well ſatisfied with the King; and did afterwards correſpond very faithfully with his profeſſions; but left the King without any hope of other benefit from that party, than by their increaſing the faction and animoſity againſt Cromwell: for it was manifeſt they expected a good ſum of preſent money from the King; which could not be in his power to ſupply.

While theſe things were tranſacting, the King found every day, that the Spaniards ſo much deſpaired of his cauſe, that they had no mind to give him any aſſiſtance with which he might make an attempt upon England; and that, if they had been never ſo well diſpoſed, they were not able to do it: and therefore he reſolved that he would not, in a country that was ſo great a ſcene of

war, live unactive and unconcerned: so his Majesty sent to Don Juan, "that he would accompany him in "the field the next campaign, without expecting any "ceremony, or putting him to any trouble." But the Spaniards sent him a formal message, and employed the Earl of Bristol to excuse them from consenting, or admitting his proposition, and to dissuade his Majesty from affecting so unreasonably exposing his person. They said, "that they could not answer it to his Ca- "tholic Majesty, if they should permit his Majesty, "when his two brothers were already in the army, and "known to affect danger so much as they did, likewise "to engage his own royal person; which they posi- "tively protested against." And when they afterwards saw, that it was not in their power to restrain him from such adventures, whilst he remained at Bruges, which was now become a frontier by the neighbourhood of Mardike, and particularly that, under pretence of visiting the Duke of York, who lay then at Dunkirk to make some attempt in the winter upon that fort, his Majesty having notice, what night they intended to assault it, went some days before to Dunkirk, and was present in that action, and so near that many were killed about him, and the Marquis of Ormond, who was next to him, had his horse killed under him: they were willing his Majesty should remove to Brussels; which they would never before consent to; and which was in many respects most grateful to him. And so, towards the spring, and before the armies were in motion, he left Bruges, where he had received, both from the bishop and the magistrates, all possible respect, there being at that time a Spaniard, Mark Ogniate, Burgomaster, who, being born of an English mother, had all imaginable duty for the King, and being a man of excellent parts,

The King sent to Don Juan, "that "he would "accom- "pany him into the "field;" which is refuted.

The King present in the attempt upon Mardike.

The King leaves Bruges; and removes to Brussels in the end of Feb. 1658.

and very dexterous in buſineſs, was very ſerviceable to his Majeſty; which he ever afterwards acknowledged; and about the end of February, in the year, by that account, 1658, he went to Bruſſels, and never after returned to Bruges to reſide there.

His Majeſty was no ſooner come thither, but Don Alonzo renewed his advices, and importunity, that he would make a conjunction with the Levellers. He had formerly prevailed with him to admit their agent, one Sexby, to confer with him; which his Majeſty willingly conſented to, preſuming that Sexby might be privy to the addreſs that had been made to him by the ſame party; which he was not, though they that ſent the addreſs well knew of his employment to the Spaniard, and had no mind to truſt him to the King, at leaſt not ſo ſoon. The man, for an illiterate perſon, ſpoke very well, and properly; and uſed thoſe words very well, the true meaning and ſignification whereof he could not underſtand. He had been, in the beginning, a common ſoldier of Cromwell's troops, and was afterwards one of thoſe agitators who were made uſe of to control the Parliament; and had ſo great an intereſt in Cromwell, that he was frequently his bedfellow; a familiarity he often admitted thoſe to, whom he employed in any great truſt, and with whom he could not ſo freely converſe, as in thoſe hours. He was very perfect in the hiſtory of Cromwell's diſſimulations, and would deſcribe his artifices to the life, and did very well underſtand the temper of the army, and very much undervalue the credit and intereſt of the King's party; and made ſuch demands to the King, as if it were in his power, and his alone, to reſtore him; in which Don Alonzo concurred ſo totally, that, when he ſaw that the King would not be adviſed by him, he ſent his friend Sexby

An account of Sexby and his negociation.

into

into Spain to conclude there; and, upon the matter, wholly withdrew himſelf from ſo much as viſiting the King. And there need not be any other character or deſcription of the ſtupidity of that Spaniard, than that ſuch a fellow, with the help of an Iriſh prieſt, ſhould be able to cozen him, and make him to cozen his maſter of ten thouſand piſtoles; for he received not leſs than that in Flanders, whatever elſe he got by his journey to Madrid; which did not uſe to be of ſmall expence to that Court.

Nothing that was yet to come could be more manifeſt, than it was to all diſcerning men, that the firſt deſign the French army would undertake, when they ſhould begin their campaign, muſt be the ſiege of Dunkirk; without taking which, Mardike would do them little good: beſides, their contract with Cromwell was no ſecret; yet the Spaniards totally neglected making proviſions to defend it; being perſuaded by ſome intelligence they always purchaſed at a great rate, to deceive themſelves, that the French would begin the campaign with beſieging Cambray. In the beginning of the year, the Marquis de Leyde, Governor of Dunkirk, and the beſt officer they had, in all reſpects, came to Bruſſels, having ſent ſeveral expreſſes thither to no purpoſe to ſolicit for ſupplies. He told them, "that "his intelligence was infallible, that Marſhal Turenne "was ready to march, and that the French King him- "ſelf would be in the field to countenance the ſiege of "Dunkirk, which he could not defend, if he were "not ſupplied with men, ammunition, and victual;" of all which he ſtood in great need, and of neither of which he could get ſupply; they telling him, "that he "would not be beſieged; that they were ſure the "French meant to attempt Cambray;" which they

The Marquis de Leyde came to Bruſſels to ſolicit for ſupplies for Dunkirk, but in vain.

provided the beſt they could, and bid him be confident, "that, if he were attacked, they would relieve him with "their army, and fight a battle before he ſhould be in "danger." Being able to procure no other anſwer, he returned, and came to take his leave of the King as he went out of the town, and complained very much to his Majeſty of their counſels, and deluding themſelves with falſe intelligence. He ſaid, "he was going to defend a "town without men, without ammunition, and without "victual, againſt a very ſtrong and triumphant army; "that, if he could have obtained ſupplies in any reaſon-"able degree, he ſhould have been able to have enter-"tained them ſome time; but in the condition he was "in, he could only loſe his life there; which he was re-"ſolved to do:" and ſpoke as if he were very willing to do it; and was as good as his word.

Dunkirk beſieged by the French army.

Within three or four days after his return, the French army appeared before Dunkirk; and then the Spaniard believed it; and made what haſte they could to draw their army together, which was very much diſperſed, ſo that, before they were upon their march, the French had perfected their circumvallation, and rendered it impoſſible to put any ſuccours into the town. Now they found it neceſſary indeed to hazard a battle, which they had promiſed to do, when they intended nothing leſs. When the Spaniards had taken a full view of the poſture the enemy was in, and were thereupon to chooſe their own ground, upon which they would be found, Don Juan, and the Marquis of Carracena, who agreed in nothing elſe, reſolved how the army ſhould be ranged; which the Prince of Condé diſſuaded them from; and told them very exactly what the Marſhal Turenne would do in that caſe; "and that he would ſtill maintain the "ſiege, and give them likewiſe battle upon the advan-

The Prince of Condé's advice to the Spaniards not hearkened to.

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" tage of the ground; whereas, if they would place " their army near another part of the line, they ſhould " eaſily have communication with the town, and compel " the French to fight with more equal hazards."

It might very reaſonably be ſaid of the Prince of Condé and Marſhal Turenne, what a good Roman hiſtorian ſaid heretofore of Jugurtha and Marius; that " *in iiſdem caſtris didicere, quæ poſtea in contrarios fecere*; " they had in the ſame armies learned that diſcipline, " and thoſe ſtratagems, which they afterwards practiſed " againſt each other in enemy armies;" and it was a wonderful and a pleaſant thing to ſee and obſerve in attacks or in marches, with what foreſight either of them would declare what the other would do: as the Prince of Condé, when the armies marched near, and the Spaniards would not alter their former lazy pace, nor their reſt at noon, would in choler tell them, " if " we do not make great haſte to poſſeſs ſuch a paſs," (which they never thought of,) " Marſhal Turenne will " take it, though it be much farther from him;" and would then, when they conſidered not what he ſaid, advance with his own troops to poſſeſs the place, even when the French were come in view; and by ſuch ſeaſonable foreſights ſaved the Spaniſh army from many diſtreſſes. And Marſhal Turenne had the ſame caution, and governed himſelf according as the Prince of Condé was in the rear or van of the army; and, upon the matter, only conſidered where he was, and ordered his marches accordingly; of which there was a very memorable inſtance two years before, when the Spaniſh army had beſieged Arras, and when the Duke of York was preſent with Marſhal Turenne. The Spaniards had made themſelves ſo very ſtrong, that when the French army came thither, they found that they could not

compel them to fight, and that the town muſt be loſt if they did not force the line. Marſhal Turenne, accompanied with the Duke of York, who would never be abſent upon thoſe occaſions, and ſome of the principal officers, ſpent two or three days in viewing the line round, and obſerving and informing himſelf of all that was to be known, and riding ſo near the line very frequently, that ſome of his company were killed within much leſs than muſquet ſhot. In the end, he called ſome of the principal officers, and ſaid, "he would, that "day at noon, aſſault the line," at a place which he ſhewed to them; which the officers wondered at; and ſaid, "it was the ſtrongeſt part of the line; and that "they had obſerved to him, that the whole line on the "other ſide was very much weaker:" to which the Marſhal replied, "You do not know who keeps that "line; we ſhall do no good there; Monſieur le Prince "never ſleeps, and that is his poſt; but I will tell you, "what will fall out on the other ſide;" for he had himſelf marched in the Spaniſh army, and very well underſtood the cuſtoms of it. He told them then, "that it would be very long, before the ſoldiers upon "the line, or the adjacent guard, would believe that "the French were in earneſt, and that they would in "truth at that time of day aſſault them; but would "think, that they meant only to give them an alarm; "which they were never warm in receiving: that when "the Spaniards were convinced that the French were "in earneſt, in which time he ſhould be got near their "line, they would ſend to the Count of Fuenſaldagna, "who at that time of day was uſually aſleep, and his "ſervants would not be perſuaded to waken him in a "moment. He would then ſend for his horſe, and ride "up to the line; which when he ſaw, he would with

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" ſome haſte repair to the Archduke's tent; who was " likewiſe at his Sieſto, and when he was awake, they " would conſult what was to be done; by which time," the Marſhal ſaid, " they ſhould have done:" and they did enter the line accordingly, and found by the priſoners, that every thing had fallen out as he had foretold. So the ſiege was raiſed, the Spaniards fled without making any reſiſtance, left their cannon, bag and baggage, behind them: only the Prince of Condé was in ſo good order upon the firſt alarm, that when he heard of the confuſion they were in, he drew off with his cannon, and loſt nothing that belonged to him, and marched with all his men to a place of ſafety.

The battle of Dunkirk.

Notwithſtanding the advice which the Prince of Condé had given, Don Juan was poſitive in his firſt reſolution. The Prince, not without great indignation, conſented; and drew up his troops in the place they deſired; and quickly ſaw all come to paſs that he had foretold. The country was moſt incloſed, ſo that the horſe could not fight but in ſmall bodies. The Engliſh foot under Lockhart charged the Spaniſh foot, and, after a good reſiſtance, broke and routed them; after which there was not much more reſiſtance on that ſide, the Spaniſh horſe doing no better than their foot. Our King's foot were placed by themſelves upon a little riſing ground, and were charged by the French horſe after the Spaniſh foot were beaten. Some of them, and the greater part, marched off by the favour of the incloſures, there not being above two hundred taken priſoners. The Dukes of York and Glouceſter charged ſeveral times on horſeback; and in the end, having gotten ſome troops to go with them, charged the Engliſh, (whom, though enemies, they were glad to ſee behave themſelves ſo well), and with great difficulty, and ſome

blows

blows of muſquets, got ſafe off. But there was a rumour ſpread in the French army, that the Duke of York was taken priſoner by the Engliſh, ſome men undertaking to ſay that they ſaw him in their hands: whereupon many of the French officers and gentlemen reſolved to ſet him at liberty, and rode up to the body of Engliſh, and looked upon all their priſoners, and found they were miſinformed; which if they had not been, they would undoubtedly, at any hazard, or danger, have enlarged him; ſo great an affection that nation owned to have for his Highneſs.

The day being thus loſt with a greater rout and confuſion than loſs of men, Don Juan and the Marquis of Carracena, who behaved themſelves in their own perſons with courage enough, were contented to think better of the Prince of Condé's advice, by which they preſerved the beſt part of the army, and retired to Ypres and Furnes, and the Duke of York to Newport, that they might defend the reſt when Dunkirk ſhould be taken; which was the preſent buſineſs of Marſhal Turenne; who found the Marquis de Leyde reſolved to defend it, notwithſtanding the defeat of the army: and therefore he betook himſelf again to that work, as ſoon as the Spaniſh army was retired into faſtneſs. The Marquis de Leyde, when he ſaw there was no more hope of relief from Don Juan, which whilſt he expected, he was wary in the hazard of his men, was now reſolved to try what he could do for himſelf: ſo with as ſtrong a party as he could make, he made a deſperate ſally upon the enemy; who, though he diſordered them, were quickly ſo ſeconded, that they drove him back into the town with great loſs, after himſelf had received a wound, of which he died within three days after. And then the officers ſent to treat, which he would not conſent to whilſt he lived.

Don Juan after the loſs of the battle retires to Ypres.

The Marquis de Leyde falls upon the enemy; is repulſed, and ſlain.

lived. The Marquis was a much greater loſs than the town; which the maſter of the field may be always maſter of in two months' time at moſt. But in truth the death of the Marquis was an irreparable damage, he being a very wiſe man, of great experience, great wiſdom, and great piety, after his way; inſomuch as he had an intention to have taken orders in the Church; to which he was moſt devoted.

Thoſe in the town had fair conditions to march to St. Omers, that they might not join with the relics of their army. The French King, being by this time come to the camp with the Cardinal, entered the town, and took poſſeſſion of it himſelf; which as ſoon as he had done, he delivered it into the hands of Lockhart, whom Cromwell had made governor of it. Thus the treaty was performed between them; and that King went preſently to Calais, and from thence ſent the Duke of Crequy, together with Mancini, nephew to the Cardinal, to London to viſit Cromwell; who likewiſe ſent his ſon in law, the Lord Falconbridge, to Calais, to congratulate with that King for their joint proſperity. And mutual profeſſions were then renewed between them, with new obligations "never to make peace without each other's conſent."

The town of Dunkirk ſurrendered, and the French King delivers it to the Engliſh.

When Don Juan had firſt removed from Bruſſels, and the army marched into the field, the King had renewed his deſire that he might likewiſe go with them, but was refuſed with the ſame poſitiveneſs he had been before. His Majeſty thereupon reſolved that he would not ſtay alone in Bruſſels, whilſt all the world was in action; but thought of ſome more private place, where he might take the ſummer air, and refreſh himſelf during that ſeaſon. He was the more confirmed in this upon the news of the defeat of the army near Dunkirk,

and

The King retires to Hochſtraten in Auguſt.

and the loſs of that place. So he removed to a village called Hochſtraten; where there were very good houſes, capable to have received a greater train than belonged to his Court. Thither the King went about the month of Auguſt; the village lying upon the ſkirts of the States' dominions in Brabant, and within five or ſix miles of Breda, ſometimes he made journeys, *incognito*, to ſee places where he had not been before.

There a man might have obſerved the great difference of the condition, which the ſubjects in the States' dominions, even in the ſight and view of the other, enjoy above what their neighbours of the Spaniſh territories are acquainted with. Hochſtraten is an open village belonging to the Count of that name, and hath enjoyed very ample privileges, the owner thereof being one of the greateſt nobles in the duchy of Brabant. It is pleaſantly ſeated, many very good houſes, and the manor large of extent, and of great revenue. But by reaſon that it is always a horſe-quarter in the winter ſeaſon, who uſe great licence, it is ſo poor, that thoſe good houſes have only walls; ſo that the people had not furniture to ſupply thoſe rooms which were for the accommodation of thoſe who attended the King, though they were ſure to be very well paid, and therefore uſed all the means they could to procure it. But there appeared poverty in the faces and looks of the people, good grounds without any ſtock, and, in a word, nothing that looked well but the houſes, and thoſe empty within: on the other ſide of a line that is drawn, (for a man may ſet one foot in the dominion that is reſerved to the King of Spain, and the other in that which is aſſigned to the Hollander), the houſes, though not ſtanding ſo thick, nor ſo beautiful without, clean, neat; and well furniſhed within; very good linen, and ſome plate in every houſe;

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the people jolly, well clothed, and with looks very well pleaſed; all the grounds and land fully ſtocked with all kind of cattle, and, as if it were the land of Goſhen, the appearance of nothing but wealth and fertility, encompaſſed with extreme barrenneſs, and unconceivable poverty. And they on the Holland ſide, that lies equally open and undefended, can ſee the Spaniſh troops exerciſe all licence upon their poor neighbours of Hochſtraten; and yet the moſt diſſolute among them dare not ſtep into their quarters to take a hen, or commit the leaſt trepaſs: ſo ſtrictly the articles of the peace are obſerved.

Whilſt the King ſpent his time in this manner, about the middle of September, the Duke of York, who remained ſtill with the troops at Newport to defend that place, as Don Juan, and the reſt, remained about Furnes and Bruges, ſent an expreſs to the King to let him know, "that the letters from England, and ſome paſ- "ſengers, reported confidently that Cromwell was dead;" which, there having been no news of his ſickneſs, was not at firſt eaſily believed. But every day brought confirmation of it: ſo that his Majeſty thought fit to give over his country life, and returned again to Bruſſels, that he might be ready to make uſe of any advantage, which, in that conjuncture, upon ſo great an alteration, he might reaſonably expect.

The King has notice that Cromwell was dead.

The King returns to Bruſſels upon it.

It had been obſerved in England, that, though from the diſſolution of the laſt Parliament, all things ſeemed to ſucceed, at home and abroad, to the Protector's wiſh, and his power and greatneſs to be better eſtabliſhed than ever it had been, yet he never had the ſame ſerenity of mind he had been uſed to, after he had refuſed the crown; but was out of countenance, and chagrin, as if he were conſcious of not having been true to himſelf; and

Cromwell's affairs ſome time before his death.

and much more apprehenſive of danger to his perſon than he had uſed to be. Inſomuch as he was not eaſy of acceſs, nor ſo much ſeen abroad; and ſeemed to be in ſome diſorder, when his eyes found any ſtranger in the room; upon whom they were ſtill fixed. When he intended to go to Hampton Court, which was his principal delight and diverſion, it was never known, till he was in the coach, which way he would go; and he was ſtill hemmed in by his guards both before and behind; and the coach in which he went was always thronged as full as it could be, with his ſervants; who were armed; and he ſeldom returned the ſame way he went; and rarely lodged two nights together in one chamber, but had many furniſhed and prepared, to which his own key conveyed him and thoſe he would have with him, when he had a mind to go to bed: which made his fears the more taken notice of, and public, becauſe he had never been accuſtomed to thoſe precautions.

Syndercome's deſign againſt him a good while before this.

It is very true, he knew of many combinations to aſſaſſinate him, by thoſe who, he believed, wiſhed the King no good. And a good while before this, when he had diſcovered the deſign of Syndercome, who was a very ſtout man, and one who had been much in his favour, and who had twice or thrice, by wonderful and unexpected accidents, been diſappointed in the minute he made ſure to kill him, and had cauſed him to be apprehended, his behaviour was ſo reſolute in his examination and trial, as if he thought he ſhould ſtill be able to do it; and it was manifeſt that he had many more aſſociates, who were undiſcovered and as reſolute as himſelf; and though he had got him condemned to die, the fellow's carriage and words were ſuch, as if he knew well how to avoid the judgment; which made Cromwell believe, that a party in the army would attempt his reſcue; where-

whereupon he gave ſtrict charge, " that he ſhould be " carefully looked to in the Tower, and three or four of " the guard always with him day and night."

At the day appointed for his execution, thoſe troops Cromwell was moſt confident of, were placed upon the Tower-hill, where the gallows were erected. But when the guard called Syndercome to ariſe in the morning, they found him dead in his bed; which gave trouble exceedingly to Cromwell; for beſides that he hoped, that, at his death, to avoid the utmoſt rigour of it, he would have confeſſed many of his confederates, he now found himſelf under the reproach of having cauſed him to be poiſoned, as not daring to bring him to public juſtice: nor could he ſuppreſs that ſcandal. It appeared upon examination, that the night before, when he was going to bed in the preſence of his guard, his ſiſter came to take her leave of him; and upon her going away, he put off his clothes, and leaped into his bed, and ſaid, " this was the laſt bed he ſhould ever go into." His body was drawn by a horſe to the gallows where he ſhould have hanged, and buried under it, with a ſtake driven through him, as is uſual in the caſe of ſelf-murderers: yet this accident perplexed Cromwell very much; and though he was without the particular diſcovery which he expected, he made a general diſcovery by it, that he himſelf was more odious in his army than he believed he had been.

He ſeemed to be much afflicted at the death of his friend the Earl of Warwick; with whom he had a faſt friendſhip; though neither their humours, nor their natures, were like. And the heir of that houſe, who had married his youngeſt daughter, died about the ſame time; ſo that all his relation to, or confidence in, that family was at an end; the other branches of it abhorring

The death of the Earl of Warwick, and of the Earl's grandſon.

his

his alliance. His domeſtic delights were leſſened every day: he plainly diſcovered that his ſon-Falconbridge's heart was ſet upon an intereſt deſtructive to his, and grew to hate him perfectly. But that which chiefly broke his peace, was the death of his daughter Claypole; who had been always his greateſt joy, and who, in her ſickneſs, which was of a nature the phyſicians knew not how to deal with, had ſeveral conferences with him, which exceedingly perplexed him. Though nobody was near enough to hear the particulars, yet her often mentioning, in the pains ſhe endured, the blood her father had ſpilt, made people conclude, that ſhe had preſented his worſt actions to his conſideration. And though he never made the leaſt ſhew of remorſe for any of thoſe actions, it is very certain, that either what ſhe ſaid, or her death, affected him wonderfully.

The death of Cromwell's daughter Claypole.

Whatever it was, about the middle of Auguſt, he was ſeized on by a common tertian ague, from which, he believed, a little eaſe and divertiſement at Hampton Court would have freed him. But the fits grew ſtronger, and his ſpirits much abated: ſo that he returned again to Whitehall, when his phyſicians began to think him in danger, though the preachers, who prayed always about him, and told God Almighty what great things he had done for him, and how much more need he had ſtill of his ſervice, declared as from God, that he ſhould recover: and he himſelf was of the ſame mind, and did not think he ſhould die, till even the time that his ſpirits failed him. Then he declared to them, "that he "did appoint his ſon to ſucceed him, his eldeſt ſon "Richard;" and ſo expired upon the third day of September 1658, a day he thought always very propitious to him, and on which he had twice triumphed for two of his greateſt victories. And this now was a day very

Cromwell ſeized on by an ague in Auguſt.

He appoints his ſon Richard his ſucceſſor; and expires Sept. 3.

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memorable for the greateſt ſtorm of wind that had been ever known, for ſome hours before and after his death, which overthrew trees, houſes, and made great wrecks at ſea; and the tempeſt was ſo univerſal, that the effects of it were terrible both in France and Flanders, where all people trembled at it; for, beſides the wrecks all along the ſea-coaſt, many boats were caſt away in the very rivers; and within few days after, the circumſtance of his death, that accompanied that ſtorm, was univerſally known. The terrible ſtorm on the ſame day.

He was one of thoſe men, *quos vituperare ne inimici quidem poſſunt, niſi ut ſimul laudent*; whom his very enemies could not condemn without commending him at the ſame time: for he could never have done half that miſchief without great parts of courage, induſtry, and judgment. He muſt have had a wonderful underſtanding in the natures and humours of men, and as great a dexterity in applying them; who, from a private and obſcure birth, (though of a good family), without intereſt or eſtate, alliance or friendſhip, could raiſe himſelf to ſuch a height, and compound and knead ſuch oppoſite and contradictory tempers, humours, and intereſts into a conſiſtence, that contributed to his deſigns, and to their own deſtruction; whilſt himſelf grew inſenſibly powerful enough to cut off thoſe by whom he had climbed, in the inſtant that they projected to demoliſh their own building. What was ſaid of Cinna may very juſtly be ſaid of him, *auſum eum, quæ nemo auderet bonus; perfeciſſe, quæ a nullo, niſi fortiſſimo, perfici poſſent:* he attempted thoſe things which no good man durſt have ventured on; and achieved thoſe in which none but a valiant and great man could have ſucceeded. Without doubt, no man with more wickedneſs ever attempted any thing, or brought to paſs what he deſired His character.

more wickedly, more in the face and contempt of religion, and moral honeſty; yet wickedneſs as great as his could never have accompliſhed thoſe deſigns, without the aſſiſtance of a great ſpirit, an admirable circumſpection and ſagacity, and a moſt magnanimous reſolution.

When he appeared firſt in the Parliament, he ſeemed to have a perſon in no degree gracious, no ornament of diſcourſe, none of thoſe talents which uſe to conciliate the affections of the ſtander by: yet as he grew into place and authority, his parts ſeemed to be raiſed, as if he had had concealed faculties, till he had occaſion to uſe them; and when he was to act the part of a great man, he did it without any indecency, notwithſtanding the want of cuſtom.

After he was confirmed and inveſted Protector by the humble Petition and Advice, he conſulted with very few upon any action of importance, nor communicated any enterpriſe he reſolved upon, with more than thoſe who were to have principal parts in the execution of it; nor with them ſooner than was abſolutely neceſſary. What he once reſolved, in which he was not raſh, he would not be diſſuaded from, nor endure any contradiction of his power and authority; but extorted obedience from them who were not willing to yield it.

One time, when he had laid ſome very extraordinary tax upon the city, one Cony, an eminent fanatic, and one who had heretofore ſerved him very notably, poſitively refuſed to pay his part; and loudly diſſuaded others from ſubmitting to it, "as an impoſition notoriouſly againſt the law, and the property of the ſubject, which all honeſt men were bound to defend." Cromwell ſent for him, and cajoled him with the memory

mory of "the old kindneſs, and friendſhip, that had "been between them; and that of all men he did not "expect this oppoſition from him, in a matter that was "ſo neceſſary for the good of the commonwealth." It had been always his fortune to meet with the moſt rude and obſtinate behaviour from thoſe who had formerly been abſolutely governed by him; and they commonly put him in mind of ſome expreſſions and ſayings of his own, in caſes of the like nature: ſo this man remembered him, how great an enemy he had expreſſed himſelf to ſuch grievances, and had declared, "that all who "ſubmitted to them, and paid illegal taxes, were more "to blame, and greater enemies to their country, than "they who had impoſed them; and that the tyranny "of princes could never be grievous, but by the tame-"neſs and ſtupidity of the people." When Cromwell ſaw that he could not convert him, he told him, "that "he had a will as ſtubborn as his, and he would try "which of them two ſhould be maſter." Thereupon, with ſome expreſſions of reproach and contempt, he committed the man to priſon; whoſe courage was nothing abated by it; but as ſoon as the term came, he brought his Habeas Corpus in the King's Bench, which they then called the Upper Bench. Maynard, who was of council with the priſoner, demanded his liberty with great confidence, both upon the illegality of the commitment, and the illegality of the impoſition, as being laid without any lawful authority. The judges could not maintain or defend either, and enough declared what their ſentence would be; and therefore the Protector's attorney required a farther day, to anſwer what had been urged. Before that day, Maynard was committed to the Tower, for preſuming to queſtion or make doubt of his authority; and the judges were ſent for, and ſeverely

reprehended for ſuffering that licence; when they, with all humility, mentioned the law and Magna Charta, Cromwell told them, with terms of contempt and deriſion, "their Magna F—— ſhould not control his actions; which he knew were for the ſafety of the commonwealth." He aſked them, "who made them "judges? whether they had any authority to ſit there, "but what he gave them? and if his authority were at "an end, they knew well enough what would become "of themſelves; and therefore adviſed them to be more "tender of that which could only preſerve them;" and ſo diſmiſſed them with caution, "that they ſhould not "ſuffer the lawyers to prate what it would not become "them to hear."

Thus he ſubdued a ſpirit that had been often troubleſome to the moſt ſovereign power, and made Weſtminſter Hall as obedient, and ſubſervient to his commands, as any of the reſt of his quarters. In all other matters, which did not concern the life of his juriſdiction, he ſeemed to have great reverence for the law, rarely interpoſing between party and party. As he proceeded with this kind of indignation and haughtineſs with thoſe who were refractory, and durſt contend with his greatneſs, ſo towards all who complied with his good pleaſure, and courted his protection, he uſed great civility, generoſity, and bounty.

To reduce three nations, which perfectly hated him, to an entire obedience to all his dictates; to awe and govern thoſe nations by an army that was indevoted to him, and wiſhed his ruin, was an inſtance of a very prodigious addreſs. But his greatneſs at home was but a ſhadow of the glory he had abroad. It was hard to diſcover, which feared him moſt, France, Spain, or the Low Countries, where his friendſhip was current at

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the value he put upon it. As they did all ſacrifice their honour and their intereſt to his pleaſure, ſo there is nothing he could have demanded, that either of them would have denied him. To manifeſt which, there needs only two inſtances. The firſt is, when thoſe of the valley of Lucerne had unwarily riſen in arms againſt the Duke of Savoy, which gave occaſion to the Pope, and the neighbour princes of Italy, to call and ſolicit for their extirpation, and their Prince poſitively reſolved upon it, Cromwell ſent his agent to the Duke of Savoy, a prince with whom he had no correſpondence, or commerce, and ſo engaged the Cardinal, and even terrified the Pope himſelf, without ſo much as doing any grace to the Engliſh Roman Catholics, (nothing being more uſual than his ſaying, "that his ſhips "in the Mediterranean ſhould viſit Civita Vecchia; "and that the ſound of his cannon ſhould be heard in "Rome,") that the Duke of Savoy thought it neceſſary to reſtore all that he had taken from them, and did renew all thoſe privileges they had formerly enjoyed, and newly forfeited.

Two inſtances of his intereſt among foreign princes.

The other inſtance of his authority was yet greater, and more incredible. In the city of Niſmes, which is one of the faireſt in the province of Languedoc, and where thoſe of the religion do moſt abound, there was a great faction at that ſeaſon when the conſuls (who are the chief magiſtrates) were to be choſen. Thoſe of the reformed religion had the confidence to ſet up one of themſelves for that magiſtracy; which they of the Roman religion reſolved to oppoſe with all their power. The diſſenſion between them made ſo much noiſe, that the intendant of the province, who is the ſupreme miniſter in all civil affairs throughout the whole province, went thither to prevent any diſorder

that might happen. When the day of election came, thoſe of the religion poſſeſſed themſelves with many armed men of the town-houſe, where the election was to be made. The magiſtrates ſent to know what their meaning was; to which they anſwered, "they were "there to give their voices for the choice of the new "conſuls, and to be ſure that the election ſhould be "fairly made." The biſhop of the city, the intendant of the province, with all the officers of the church, and the preſent magiſtrates of the town, went together in their robes to be preſent at the election, without any ſuſpicion that there would be any force uſed. When they came near the gate of the town-houſe, which was ſhut, and they ſuppoſed would be opened when they came, they within poured out a volley of muſquet-ſhot upon them, by which the dean of the church, and two or three of the magiſtrates of the town, were killed upon the place, and very many others wounded; whereof ſome died ſhortly after. In this confuſion, the magiſtrates put themſelves into as good a poſture to defend themſelves as they could, without any purpoſe of offending the other, till they ſhould be better provided; in order to which they ſent an expreſs to the Court with a plain relation of the whole matter of fact, "and that there appeared to be no man-"ner of combination with thoſe of the religion in other "places of the province; but that it was an inſolence "in thoſe of the place, upon the preſumption of their "great numbers, which were little inferior to thoſe of "the Catholics." The Court was glad of the occaſion, and reſolved that this provocation, in which other places were not involved, and which nobody could excuſe, ſhould warrant all kind of ſeverity in that city, even to the pulling down their temples, and expelling many

many of them for ever out of the city; which, with the execution and forfeiture of many of the principal perſons, would be a general mortification to all of the religion in France; with whom they were heartily offended; and a part of the army was forthwith ordered to march towards Niſmes, to ſee this executed with the utmoſt rigour.

Thoſe of the religion in the town were quickly ſenſible into what condition they had brought themſelves; and ſent, with all poſſible ſubmiſſion, to the magiſtrates to excuſe themſelves, and to impute what had been done to the raſhneſs of particular men, who had no order for what they did. The magiſtrates anſwered, "that they were glad they were ſenſible of their miſ-"carriage; but they could ſay nothing upon the ſub-"ject, till the King's pleaſure ſhould be known; to "whom they had ſent a full relation of all that had "paſſed." The others very well knew what the King's pleaſure would be, and forthwith ſent an expreſs, one Moulins, who had lived many years in that place, and in Montpelier, to Cromwell to deſire his protection and interpoſition. The expreſs made ſo much haſte, and found ſo good a reception the firſt hour he came, that Cromwell, after he had received the whole account, bade him "refreſh himſelf after ſo long a journey, and "he would take ſuch care of his buſineſs, that by "the time he came to Paris he ſhould find it diſ-"patched;" and, that night, ſent away another meſſenger to his ambaſſador Lockhart; who, by the time Moulins came thither, had ſo far prevailed with the Cardinal, that orders were ſent to ſtop the troops, which were upon their march towards Niſmes; and, within few days after, Moulins returned with a full pardon

and amneſty from the King, under the Great Seal of France, ſo fully confirmed with all circumſtances, that there was never farther mention made of it, but all things paſſed as if there had never been any ſuch thing. So that nobody can wonder, that his memory remains ſtill in thoſe parts, and with thoſe people, in great veneration.

He would never ſuffer himſelf to be denied any thing he ever aſked of the Cardinal, alleging, "that "the people would not be otherwiſe ſatisfied;" which the Cardinal bore very heavily, and complained of to thoſe with whom he would be free. One day he viſited Madam Turenne, and when he took his leave of her, ſhe, according to her cuſtom, beſought him to continue gracious to the churches. Whereupon the Cardinal told her, "that he knew not how to behave himſelf; if he adviſed the King to puniſh and ſuppreſs "their inſolence, Cromwell threatened him to join with "the Spaniard; and if he ſhewed any favour to them, "at Rome they accounted him an heretic."

The concluſion of his character.

To conclude his character, Cromwell was not ſo far a man of blood, as to follow Machiavel's method; which preſcribes, upon a total alteration of government, as a thing abſolutely neceſſary, to cut off all the heads of thoſe, and extirpate their families, who are friends to the old one. It was confidently reported, that, in the Council of Officers, it was more than once propoſed, "that there might be a general maſſacre of all the royal "party, as the only expedient to ſecure the govern-"ment," but that Cromwell would never conſent to it; it may be, out of too great a contempt of his enemies. In a word, as he was guilty of many crimes againſt which damnation is denounced, and for which hell-fire

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is prepared, ſo he had ſome good qualities which have cauſed the memory of ſome men in all ages to be celebrated; and he will be looked upon by poſterity as a brave wicked man.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

REBELLION, &c.

BOOK XVI.

ZECH. xi. 4, 5, 6.

Thus ſaith the Lord my God, Feed the flock of the ſlaughter;
Whoſe poſſeſſors ſlay them, and hold themſelves not guilty: and they that ſell them ſay, Bleſſed be the Lord; for I am rich: and their own ſhepherds pity them not.
But lo, I will deliver the men every one into his neighbour's hand, and into the hand of his king.

CONTRARY to all expectation both at home and abroad, this earthquake was attended with no ſignal alteration. It was believed that Lambert would be in the head of the army, and that Monk in Scotland would never ſubmit to be under him. Beſides the expectation the King had from the general affection of the kingdom, he had fair promiſes from men of intereſt in it, and of command in the army, who profeſſed to prepare for ſuch a conjuncture as this; and that the diſorder ariſing from Cromwell's death might diſpoſe Lockhart to depend upon the beſt title, ſeemed a reaſonable expectation: The beginning of Richard's government.

tion: but nothing of this fell out. Never monarch, after he had inherited a crown by many deſcents, died in more ſilence, nor with leſs alteration; and there was the ſame, or a greater calm in the kingdom than had been before.

The next morning after the death of Oliver, Richard his ſon is proclaimed his lawful ſucceſſor; the army congratulate their new General, and renew their vows of fidelity to him; the navy doth the like; the city appears more unanimous for his ſervice, than they were for his father's; and moſt counties in England, by addreſſes under their hands, teſtified their obedience to their new Sovereign without any heſitation. The dead is interred in the ſepulchre of the kings, and with the obſequies due to ſuch. His ſon inherits all his greatneſs, and all his glory, without the public hate, that viſibly attended the other. Foreign princes addreſſed their condolences to him, and deſired to renew their alliances; and nothing was heard in England but the voice of joy, and large encomiums of their new Protector: ſo that the King's condition never appeared ſo hopeleſs, ſo deſperate; for a more favourable conjuncture his friends could never expect than this, which now ſeemed to blaſt all their hopes, and confirm their utmoſt deſpair.

It is probable that this melancholic proſpect might have continued long, if this child of fortune could have ſate ſtill, and been contented to have enjoyed his own felicity. But his Council thought it neceſſary that he ſhould call a Parliament, to confirm what they had already given him, and to diſpel all clouds which might ariſe. And there ſeemed to be the more reaſon for it, becauſe the laſt alliance which Oliver had made with the Crown of Sweden, and of which he was fonder than of all the reſt, did oblige him in the ſpring to ſend a ſtrong

ſtrong fleet into the Sound, to aſſiſt that King againſt Denmark; at leaſt to induce Denmark, by way of mediation, to accept of ſuch conditions as the other would be willing to give him. This could hardly be done without ſome aſſiſtance of Parliament; and therefore the new Protector ſent out his writs to call a Parliament, to meet together on the twenty-ſeventh day of January; till which day, for near five months, he remained as great a prince as ever his father had been. He followed the model that was left him; and ſent out his writs to call thoſe as Peers who had conſtituted the other Houſe in the former Parliament; and ſo both Lords and Commons met at the day aſſigned.

He calls a Parliament to meet Jan. 27, 1659.

It meets on that day.

Richard came to the Parliament in the ſame ſtate that Oliver his father had done; and ſent the Gentleman Uſher of the Black Rod to the Commons, that they ſhould attend him in the other Houſe; where, firſt by himſelf, and then by the Keeper of his Great Seal, Nathaniel Fiennes, he recommended to them the proſecution of the war with Spain, and the aſſiſtance of the King of Sweden in the Sound. He had ſo good fortune at the beginning, that all the Commons ſigned an Engagement not to alter the preſent government. But they were no ſooner incloſed within thoſe walls, than there appeared the old republican ſpirit, though more wary than it had uſed to be. It begun with enquiring into the accounts, how the money had been ſpent, and into the offices of Exciſe and Cuſtoms, and what was become of all that revenue. When they were called upon to ſettle the act of recognition, to confirm Richard, and his authority in the ſtate, they would firſt inform themſelves of their own authority, and how far the government was already ſettled, and what part was fit to be aſſigned to the other Houſe; which they would by no means

The buſineſs recommended to them by the Protector.

Differences riſe in the Houſe of Commons about the accounts of money, and about the other Houſe, &c.

means allow to be a part of the government already eſtabliſhed, which they had promiſed not to alter. Upon this argument they exerciſed themſelves with great licence, as well upon the creator of thoſe Peers, and the power of the late Protector, as upon his creatures the Peers; of whoſe dignity they were not tender, but handled them according to the quality they had been of, not that which they were now grown to. They put the Houſe in mind, "how grievous it had been to the "kingdom, that the Biſhops had ſate in the Houſe of "Peers, becauſe they were looked upon as ſo many "votes for the King; which was a reaſon much ſtronger "againſt theſe perſons; who were all the work of the "Protector's own hand, and therefore could not but be "entirely addicted and devoted to his intereſt." They concluded, "that they could not, with good con-"ſciences, and without the guilt of perjury, ever con-"ſent, that that other Houſe ſhould have any part in "the government, ſince they had all taken the Engage-"ment, that there ſhould be no more any Houſe of "Peers, and ſince the office of Protector had been and "might ſtill continue without it."

Notwithſtanding all this confidence, which diſturbed the method intended to be proceeded in, this violent party could not prevail, but it was carried by the major part of the Houſe, "that they would meet, and confer with "the other Houſe, as a part of the Parliament, during "this preſent Parliament; and likewiſe, that ſuch other "perſons, as had a right to come to that other Houſe, "and had not forfeited it by their breach of truſt," (by which they meant thoſe lords who had been always againſt the King,) "ſhould not be reſtrained from com-"ing thither:" yet the temper of the Houſe of Commons could hardly be judged by all this. Some things

It was carried, that the other Houſe ſhould be allowed.

were

were done, which looked like condeſcenſion to the royal party; but more for the countenance of the Preſbyterians: and whatſoever contradicted thoſe who were for a republic, was looked upon as favourable to the Protector.

The ſtirring theſe ſeveral humours, and the drowſy temper of Richard raiſed another ſpirit in the army. A new Council of Officers met together by their own authority, and admitted Lambert, though no member of the army, to conſult with them; they neither liked Protector, nor Parliament, but conſulted what government to ſettle, that might be better than either: yet they would not incenſe them both together, nor appear to have any diſinclination to Richard, who had many of his neareſt friends amongſt them. They therefore prepared an addreſs to him; in which they complained of "the great arrears of pay that were due to the "army, by which they were in great ſtraits: that "they, who had borne the brunt of the war, and un- "dergone all the difficulties and dangers of it, were now "undervalued, derided, and laid aſide: that the good "old cauſe was ill ſpoken of, and traduced by Malig- "nants and diſaffected perſons; who grew every day "more inſolent, and their numbers increaſed, by the "reſort out of Flanders, and other places; and they "had ſeveral ſecret meetings in the city of London: "that the names of all thoſe who had ſate upon the "late King as his judges, were lately printed, and ſcat- "tered abroad, as if they were deſigned to deſtruction: "and that many ſuits were commenced at common "law againſt honeſt men, for what they had tranſacted "in the war as ſoldiers: that thoſe famous acts which "had been performed in the long Parliament, and by "the late Protector, were cenſured, railed at, and vili- "fied.

A new Council of Officers met, who conſult about the government.

Their addreſs to Richard April 6, 1659.

" fied. By all which," they ſaid, " it was very manifeſt, " that the good old cauſe was declined; which they " were reſolved to aſſert. And therefore they be- " ſought his Highneſs to repreſent thoſe their com- " plaints to the Parliament, and to require proper and " ſpeedy remedies."

This addreſs was delivered from the army by Fleetwood to Richard, on April 6th, 1659; which was no ſooner known, than Tichburn and Ireton, two aldermen of London, and principal commanders of that militia, drew up likewiſe a remonſtrance, and ſent it to the Council of Officers; in which they declared their reſolutions with the army to ſtick to the good old cauſe, and that they were reſolved to accompany them, in whatſoever they ſhould do for what they called the nation's good.

The city militia ſecond them.

The Parliament was quickly alarmed with theſe cabals of the army and the city; which Richard was as much terrified with as they. In order to the ſuppreſſion thereof, the Parliament voted, " that there ſhould be " no meeting, or general Council of Officers, without " the Protector's conſent, and by his order: and, that " no perſon ſhould have commands by ſea or land, in " either of the three nations, who did not immediately " ſubſcribe, that he would not diſturb the free meeting " of Parliaments, or of any members in either Houſe of " Parliament; nor obſtruct their freedom in debates " and counſels." Theſe votes, or to this effect, were ſent to Richard, and by him preſently to Wallingford Houſe, where the Council of Officers then ſate.

Votes of the Parliament upon it.

Theſe officers were men who reſolved to execute as well as order; they knew well that they were gone much too far, if they went no farther: and therefore they no ſooner received theſe votes, but they ſent Fleet-

wood

wood and Defborough to Richard (the firft had married his fifter; the other was his uncle; both raifed by Cromwell) to advife him forthwith to diffolve the Parliament. They were two upon whofe affection, in regard of the nearnefs of their alliance, and their obligation to and dependence upon his father, he had as much reafon to be confident, as on any men's in the nation. Fleetwood ufed no arguments but of confcience, "to prevent the nation's being engaged in blood; "which," he faid, "would inevitably fall out, if the "Parliament were not prefently diffolved." Defborough, a fellow of a rough and rude temper, treated him only with threats and menaces; told him, "it was impoffible "for him to keep both the Parliament and the army "his friends;" wifhed him "to chooſe which he would "prefer: if he diffolved the Parliament out of hand, he "had the army at his devotion; if he refufed that, he "believed the army would quickly pull him out of "Whitehall." The officers advife him to diffolve the Parliament.

The poor man had not fpirit enough to difcern what was beft for him; and yet he was not without friends to counfel him, if he had been capable to receive counfel. Befides many members of the Parliament, of courage and intereft, who repaired to him with aſſurance, "that the Parliament would continue firm to him, and "deſtroy the ringleaders of this ſeditious crew, if he "would adhere to the Parliament; but if he were prevailed upon to diſſolve it, he would be left without a "friend; and they who had compelled him to do ſo "imprudent an action would contemn him when he "had done it:" ſome officers of the army likewiſe, of equal courage and intereſt with any of the reſt, perſuaded him "to reject the deſire of thoſe who called themſelves "the Council of the Army, and to think of puniſhing Advice to Richard to the contrary. And of ſome officers of the army.

"their preſumption." Ingoldſby, Whaley, and Goffe, three colonels of the army, and, the two former, men of ſignal courage, offered to ſtand by him; and one of them offered to kill Lambert, (whom they looked upon as the author of this conſpiracy), if he would give him a warrant to that purpoſe.

Richard continued irreſolute, now inclined one way, then another. But in the end, Deſborough and his companions prevailed with him, before they parted, to ſign a commiſſion, which they had cauſed to be prepared, to Nathaniel Fiennes, his Keeper of the Seal, to diſſolve the Parliament the next morning; of which the Parliament having notice, they reſolved not to go up. So that when Fiennes ſent for them to the other Houſe, the Commons ſhut the door of their Houſe, and would not ſuffer the Gentleman Uſher of the Black Rod to come in, but adjourned themſelves for three days, till the five and twentieth of April, imagining that they ſhould by that time convert the Protector from deſtroying himſelf. But the poor creature was ſo hared by the Council of Officers, that he preſently cauſed a proclamation to be iſſued out, by which he did declare the Parliament to be diſſolved. And from that minute nobody reſorted to him, nor was the name of the Protector afterwards heard of but in deriſion; the Council of Officers appointing guards to attend at Weſtminſter, which kept out thoſe members, who, in purſuance of their adjournment, would have entered into the Houſe upon the day appointed. Thus, by extreme puſillanimity, the ſon ſuffered himſelf to be ſtripped, in one moment, of all the greatneſs and power, which the father had acquired in ſo many years, with wonderful courage, induſtry, and reſolution.

He is prevailed with to diſſolve the Parliament.

He iſſues out a proclamation to that purpoſe; whereupon his Protectorſhip was at an end.

When the Council of Officers had, with this ſtrange ſucceſs,

ſucceſs, having no authority but what they gave one another, rid themſelves of a ſuperior; or, as the phraſe then was, removed the *ſingle perſon*; they knew that they could not long hold the government in their own hands, if, before any thing elſe, they did not remove Ingoldſby, Whaley, Goffe, and thoſe other officers, who had diſſuaded Richard from ſubmitting to their advice, from having any command in the army; which they therefore did; and replaced Lambert, and all the reſt who had been caſhiered by Oliver, into their own charges again. So that the army was become republican to their wiſh; and, that the government might return to be purely ſuch, they publiſhed a Declaration upon the ſixth of May, wherein, after a large preamble in commendation of the good old cauſe, and accuſing themſelves, "for having been inſtrumental in declining from "it; whence all the ills, the commonwealth had ſuſ- "tained, had proceeded, and the vindication whereof "they were reſolved to purſue for the future;" they remembered, "that the long Parliament, conſiſting of "thoſe members who had continued to ſit till the "twentieth of April 1653," (which was the day that Cromwell, with the aſſiſtance of theſe very officers, had pulled them out of the Houſe, and diſmiſſed them.) "had been eminent aſſertors of that cauſe, and had a "ſpecial preſence of God with them, and were ſignally "bleſſed in that work." They ſaid, "that the deſires "of many good people concurring with them, they did, "by that Declaration, according to their duty, invite "thoſe members to return to the diſcharge of their "truſt, as they had done before that day;" and promiſed, "that they would be ready, in their places, to "yield them their utmoſt aſſiſtance, that they might "ſit, and conſult in ſafety, for the ſettling and ſecuring

The Council of Officers reſtore Lambert, &c. to the army, and remove many of Cromwell's friends.

They iſſue a declaration to reſtore the long Parliament, May 6.

"the peace and quiet of the commonwealth, for "which they had now ſo good an opportunity." And this Declaration, within very few days, they ſeconded with what they called *The humble Petition and Addreſs of the Officers of the Army to the Parliament*; which contained ſeveral advices, or rather poſitive directions how they were to govern.

This reſtoring the Rump Parliament was the only way in which they could moſt agree, though it was not ſuitable to what ſome of them deſired: they well foreſaw, that they might give an opportunity to more people to come together than would be for their benefit; for that all the ſurviving members of that Parliament would pretend a title to ſit there: and therefore they did not only carefully limit the convention to ſuch members who had continued to ſit from January 1648 to April 1653, but cauſed a guard likewiſe to attend, to hinder and keep the other members from entering into the Houſe. When Lenthal, the old Speaker, with forty or fifty of thoſe old members ſpecified in the Declaration, took their places in the Houſe, and ſome of the old excluded members likewiſe got in, and entered into debate with them upon the matters propoſed, the Houſe was adjourned till the next day: and then better care was taken, by appointing ſuch perſons, who well knew all the members, to inform the guards, who were, and who were not, to go into the Houſe. By this means that cabal only was ſuffered to enter which had firſt formed the commonwealth, and foſtered it for near five years after it was born. So that the return of the government into theſe men's hands again, ſeemed to be the moſt diſmal change that could happen, and to pull up all the hopes of the King by the roots.

Some of the old excluded members went into the Houſe with them, but were excluded again.

We muſt, for the better obſervation and diſtinction of

of the ſeveral changes in the government, call this congregation of men, who were now repoſſeſſed of it, by the ſtyle they called themſelves, the Parliament; how far ſoever they were from being one. They reſolved in the firſt place to vindicate and eſtabliſh their own authority; which they could not think to be firm, whilſt there was ſtill a Protector, or the name of a Protector, in being, and reſiding in Whitehall. They appointed therefore a committee to go to Richard Cromwell, and, that he might have hope they would be his good maſters, firſt to enquire into the ſtate of his debts, and then to demand of him, whether he acquieſced in the preſent government? He, already humbled to that poverty of ſpirit they could wiſh, gave the committee a paper, "in which, he ſaid, was contained the ſtate "of his debts, and how contracted;" which amounted to twenty-nine thouſand ſix hundred and forty pounds.

The Parliament ſent to Richard to know whether he acquieſced, and ſubmitted to their authority.

To the other queſtion, his anſwer was likewiſe in writing; "that he truſted, his carriage and behaviour "had manifeſted his acquieſcence in the will and good "pleaſure of God, and that he loved and valued the "peace of the commonwealth much above his private "concernment; deſiring by this, that a meaſure of his "future comportment might be taken; which, by the "bleſſing of God, ſhould be ſuch as ſhould bear the "ſame witneſs; he having, he hoped, in ſome degree "learned rather to reverence and ſubmit to the hand of "God, than be unquiet under it: that, as to the late "providence that had fallen out, however, in reſpect to "the particular engagement that lay upon him, he "could not be active in making a change in the go-"vernment of the nations, yet, through the goodneſs of "God, he could freely acquieſce in it being made; "and did hold himſelf obliged, as with other men

"he might expect protection from the present go-
"vernment, so to demean himself with all peaceableness
"under it, and to procure, to the uttermost of his power,
"that all in whom he had interest should do the same."

This satisfied them as to Richard; but they were not without apprehension that they should find a more refractory spirit in his brother Harry, who was Lieutenant of Ireland, and looked upon as a man of another air and temper. He had in his exercise of that government, by the frankness of his humour, and a general civility towards all, and very particularly obliging some, rendered himself gracious and popular to all sorts of people, and might have been able to have made some contests with the Parliament. But as soon as he received an order from them to attend them in person, he thought not fit to be wiser than his elder brother, and came over to them even sooner than they expected, and laid his commission at their feet; which they accepted, and put the government of that kingdom into the hands of Ludlow, and four other commissioners.

Henry Cromwell likewise submits, and resigns his commission of Lieutenant of Ireland.

The Parliament makes Ludlow, and four other commissioners, Governors of Ireland.

It may not prove ingrateful to the reader, in this place, to entertain him with a very pleasant story, that related to this miserable Richard, though it happened long afterwards; because there will be scarce again any occasion so much as to mention him, during the continuance of this relation. Shortly after the King's return, and the manifest joy that possessed the whole kingdom thereupon, this poor creature found it necessary to transport himself into France, more for fear of his debts than of the King; who thought it not necessary to enquire after a man so long forgotten. After he had lived some years in Paris untaken notice of, and indeed unknown, living in a most obscure condition and disguise, not owning his own name, nor having above one servant to attend

attend him, he thought it neceſſary, upon the firſt rumour and apprehenſion that there was like to be a war between England and France, to quit that kingdom, and to remove to ſome place that would be neutral to either party; and pitched upon Geneva. Making his way thither by Bourdeaux, and through the province of Languedoc, he paſſed through Pezenas, a very pleaſant town belonging to the Prince of Conti, who hath a fair palace there, and, being then Governor of Languedoc, made his reſidence in it.

In this place Richard made ſome ſtay, and walking abroad to entertain himſelf with the view of the ſituation, and of many things worth the ſeeing, he met with a perſon who well knew him, and was well known by him, the other having always been of his father's and of his party; ſo that they were glad enough to find themſelves together. The other told him, "that all ſtrangers who came to that town "uſed to wait upon the Prince of Conti, the Governor "of the province; who expected it, and always treated "ſtrangers, and particularly the Engliſh, with much ci-"vility: that he need not be known, but that he him-"ſelf would firſt go to the Prince and inform him, "that another Engliſh gentleman was paſſing through "that town towards Italy, who would be glad to have "the honour to kiſs his hands." The Prince received him with great civility and grace, according to his natural cuſtom, and, after few words, begun to diſcourſe of the affairs of England, and aſked many queſtions concerning the King, and whether all men were quiet, and ſubmitted obediently to him; which the other anſwered briefly, according to the truth. "Well," ſaid the Prince, "Oliver, though he was a traitor and a villain, was "a brave fellow, had great parts, great courage, and was

" worthy to command: but that Richard, that coxcomb, " *coquin, poltron*, was ſurely the baſeſt fellow alive. What " is become of that fool? how was it poſſible he could be " ſuch a ſot?" He anſwered, " that he was betrayed by " thoſe whom he moſt truſted, and who had been moſt " obliged by his father;" ſo being weary of his viſit, quickly took his leave, and the next morning left the town, out of fear that the Prince might know that he was the very fool and coxcomb he had mentioned ſo kindly. And within two days after, the Prince did come to know who it was whom he had treated ſo well, and whom before, by his behaviour, he had believed to be a man not very glad of the King's reſtoration.

Monk from Scotland declares his obedience to them.

So does the navy.

Monk from Scotland preſented his obedience to the Parliament, and the aſſurance of the fidelity of the army under his command, to all their determinations. The navy congratulated their return to the ſovereign power, and tendered their ſubmiſſion. The ambaſſadors who were in the town quickly received new credentials, and then had audience from them, as their good allies, making all the profeſſions to them, which they had formerly done to Oliver and Richard. The Parliament continued Lockhart as their ambaſſador in France, as a man who could beſt cajole the Cardinal, and knew well the intrigues of that Court. They ſent ambaſſadors to the Sound, to mediate a peace between thoſe two Crowns, being reſolved to decline all occaſions of expence abroad, that they might the better ſettle their government at home. To that purpoſe they were willing to put an end to the war with Spain, without parting with any thing that had been taken from it, which would not conſiſt with their honour. That they might throughly unite their friends of the army to them, they paſſed an act of indemnity to pardon all their former

They continued Lockhart ambaſſador in France.

They ſend ambaſſadors to mediate peace between the two northern Crowns.

They paſs an act of indemnity to the army.

tranſgreſſions

tranſgreſſions and tergiverſations, which had been the cauſe of the Parliament's former diſſolution, and of all the miſchief which had followed.

Now there appeared as great a calm as ever, and their government well ſettled, to the general content of the people of their party, who teſtified the ſame by their acclamations, and likewiſe by particular addreſſes. And, that they might be ſure to be liable to no more affronts, they would no more make a General, which might again introduce a ſingle perſon; the thought of which, or of any thing that might contribute towards it, they moſt heartily abhorred. And to make that impoſſible, as they thought, they appointed "the Speaker to execute "the office of General, in ſuch manner as they ſhould "direct; and that all commiſſions ſhould be granted by "him, and ſealed with their own ſeal;" all the ſeals uſed by the Cromwells being broken. And accordingly all the officers of the army and navy (for the Speaker was Admiral as well as General) delivered up their commiſſions, and took new ones in the form that was preſcribed. So that now they ſaw not how their empire could be ſhaken.

They appoint all commiſſions military to be ſigned by the Speaker.

But theſe men had not ſate long in their old places, when they called to mind how they had been uſed after they had been depoſed, the reproaches and the contempt they underwent from all kind of people; but above all, the ſcoffs and deriſion they ſuffered from the King's party, when they ſaw them reduced to the ſame level in power and authority with themſelves. And though the ſmart they felt from others vexed and angered them as much, yet they were content to ſuſpend their revenge towards them, that they might with leſs control exerciſe their tyranny over the poor broken Cavaliers. So they made a preſent order, "to baniſh all

"who

They banish all Cavaliers 20 miles from London.

"who had ever manifeſted any affection to the King, or "his father, twenty miles from London;" and revived all thoſe orders they had formerly made, and which Cromwell had aboliſhed or forborne to execute; by which many perſons were committed to priſons for offences they thought had been forgotten. And the conſequence of theſe proceedings awakened thoſe of another claſſis, to apprehenſions of what they might be made liable to. The ſoldiers were very merry at their new General; and thought it neceſſary he ſhould march with them upon the next adventure; and the officers thought they had deſerved more than an act of indemnity, for reſtoring them to ſuch a ſovereignty. In a word, as the Parliament remembered how they had been uſed, ſo all other people remembered how they had uſed them, and could not bring themſelves to look with reverence upon thoſe, whom, for above four years together, they had derided and contemned.

The King's party begins to move.

This univerſal temper raiſed the ſpirits again of the King's friends, who found very many of thoſe who had heretofore ſerved the Parliament, and been afterwards diſobliged both by Cromwell and the Rump Parliament, very deſirous to enter into amity with them, and to make a firm conjunction with them towards the King's reeſtabliſhment. Thoſe members of the long Parliament, who, after the treaty of the Iſle of Wight, were by violence kept from the Houſe, took it in great indignation, that they, upon whom the ſaid violence was practiſed afterwards, which they had firſt countenanced upon them, ſhould not reſtore them being now reſtored themſelves, and were ready to embrace any occaſion to diſturb their new governors; to which they were the more encouraged by the common diſcourſe of the ſoldiers; who declared, "that, if there were any "com-

" commotion in the kingdom, they would go no farther " to ſuppreſs it, than Lenthal ſhould lead them."

Mr. Mordaunt, who had ſo lately his head upon the block, was more active than any man; and was ſo well truſted by men of all conditions, upon the courage of his former behaviour, that he had in truth very full engagements from very good men in moſt quarters of the kingdom, " that if the King would aſſign them a day, " and promiſe to come to them after they were embo- " died, they would not fail to appear at the day." Whereupon, Mr. Mordaunt ventured himſelf to come in diſguiſe to the King to Bruſſels, to give him a clear account how his buſineſs ſtood, and what probability there was of ſucceſs, and likewiſe to complain of the want of forwardneſs in ſome of thoſe upon whom the King moſt relied, to encourage other men, and to deſire that his Majeſty would, by him, require them to concur with the reſt. It appeared, by the account he gave, that there were very few counties in England, where there was not a formed undertaking by the moſt powerful men of that county, to poſſeſs themſelves of ſome conſiderable place in it; and if any of them ſucceeded, the opportunity would be fairer for the King to venture his own perſon, than he yet had had, or than he was like to have, if he ſuffered thoſe who were now in the government, to be ſettled in it.

Mr. Mordaunt comes to Bruſſels to acquaint the King with the preparations.

That which was beſt digeſted, and, in reſpect of the undertakers, moſt like to ſucceed, was, firſt the ſurpriſal and poſſeſſing of Lynne, a maritime town, of great importance in reſpect of the ſituation, and likewiſe of the good affection of the gentlemen of the parts adjacent. This was undertaken by the Lord Willoughby of Parham, with the conſent and approbation of Sir Horatio Townſend: who, being a gentleman of the greateſt intereſt

A deſign of ſurpriſing Lynne by the Lord Willoughby of Parham and Sir Horatio Townſend.

tereſt and credit in that large county of Norfolk, was able to bring in a good body of men to poſſeſs it. The former had ſerved the Parliament, and was in great credit with the Preſbyterians, and ſo leſs liable to ſuſpicion; the latter had been under age till long after the end of the war, and ſo liable to no reproach or jealouſy, yet of very worthy principles, and of a noble fortune; which he engaged very frankly, to borrow money; and laid it out to provide arms and ammunition; and all the King's friends in thoſe parts were ready to obey thoſe perſons in whatſoever they undertook.

And a deſign upon Glouceſter by Maſſey.

Another deſign, which was looked upon as ripe too, was the ſurpriſal of Glouceſter, a town very advantageouſly ſituated upon the river of Severn, that would have great influence upon Briſtol and Worceſter; both which, perſons of the beſt intereſt undertook to ſecure, as ſoon as Glouceſter ſhould be poſſeſſed; which Major General Maſſey, who had been formerly Governor thereof, and defended it too well againſt the King, made no queſtion he ſhould be able to do, having been in the town *incognito*, and conferred with his friends there, and lain concealed in the adjacent places, till the day ſhould be appointed for the execution of it; of all which he ſent the King an account; nor did there appear much difficulty in the point, there being no garriſon in either of the places.

The gentlemen of Shropſhire ready.

The Lord Newport, Littleton, and other gentlemen of Shropſhire, were ready at the ſame time to ſecure Shrewſbury; and, for the making that communication

Sir George Booth undertakes Cheſter.

perfect, Sir George Booth, a perſon of one of the beſt fortunes and intereſt in Cheſhire, and, for the memory of his grandfather, of abſolute power with the Preſbyte-

Sir Thomas Middleton to join with him.

rians, promiſed to poſſeſs himſelf of the city and caſtle of Cheſter. And Sir Thomas Middleton, who had likewiſe

wiſe ſerved the Parliament, and was one of the beſt fortune and intereſt in North Wales, was ready to join with Sir George Booth; and both of them to unite entirely with the King's party in thoſe counties. In the Weſt, Arundel, Pollard, Greenvil, Trelawny, and the reſt of the King's friends in Cornwall and Devonſhire, hoped to poſſeſs Plymouth, but were ſure of Exeter. Other undertakings there were in the North, by men very ready to venture all they had.

In the Weſt, deſigns upon Plymouth and Exeter.

When the King received this account in groſs from a perſon ſo well inſtructed, whereof he had by retail received much from the perſons concerned, (for it was another circumſtance of the looſeneſs of the preſent government, that meſſengers went forward and backward with all ſecurity), and likewiſe found by Mr. Mordaunt, that all things were now gone ſo far that there was no retreat, and therefore that the reſolution was general, "that, though any diſcovery ſhould be made, and any "perſons impriſoned, the reſt would proceed as ſoon as "the day ſhould be appointed by the King," his Majeſty reſolved that he would adventure his own perſon, and would be ready *incognito* at Calais upon ſuch a day of the month; and that his brother the Duke of York ſhould be likewiſe there, or very near, to the end that from thence, upon the intelligence of the ſucceſs of that day, which was likewiſe then appointed, they might diſpoſe themſelves, one to one place, and the other to another.

There happened at this time the diſcovery of a vile treachery, which had done the King's affairs much harm; and, had it been longer concealed, would have done much more. From the death of Oliver, ſome of thoſe who were in the ſecreteſt part of his affairs diſcerned evidently, that their new Protector would never be able

A diſcovery of the treachery of Sir Richard Willis.

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to bear the burden; and ſo thought how they might do ſuch ſervice to the King, as might merit from him. One who had a part in the office of ſecrecy, Mr. Moreland, ſent an expreſs to the King, to inform him of many particulars of moment, and to give him ſome advices, what his Majeſty was to do; which was reaſonable and prudent to be done. He ſent him word what perſons might be induced to ſerve him, and what way he was to take to induce them to it, and what other perſons would never do it, what profeſſions ſoever they might make. He made offer of his ſervice to his Majeſty, and conſtantly to advertiſe him of whatſoever was neceſſary for him to know; and, as an inſtance of his fidelity and his uſefulneſs, he advertiſed the King of a perſon who was much truſted by his Majeſty, and conſtantly betrayed him; "that he had received a large "penſion from Cromwell, and that he continually gave "Thurlow intelligence of all that he knew; but that it "was with ſo great circumſpection, that he was never "ſeen in his preſence: that in his contract he had pro-"miſed to make ſuch diſcoveries, as ſhould prevent any "danger to the ſtate; but that he would never endan-"ger any man's life, nor be produced to give in evi-"dence againſt any: and that this very perſon had diſ-"covered the Marquis of Ormond's being in London "the laſt year, to Cromwell; but could not be induced "to diſcover where his lodging was; only undertook "his journey ſhould be ineffectual, and that he ſhould "quickly return; and then they might take him if they "could; to which he would not contribute." To conclude, his Majeſty was deſired to truſt this man no more, and to give his friends notice of it for their caution and indemnity.

The King, and they who were moſt truſted by him

in

in his ſecret tranſactions, believed not this information; but concluded that it was contrived to amuſe him, and to diſtract all his affairs by a jealouſy of thoſe who were entruſted in the conduct of them. The gentleman accuſed was Sir Richard Willis; who had from the beginning to the end of the war, except at Newark, given teſtimony of his duty and allegiance, and was univerſally thought to be ſuperior to all temptations of infidelity. He was a gentleman, and was very well bred, and of very good parts, a courage eminently known, and a very good officer, and in truth of ſo general a good reputation, that, if the King had profeſſed to have any doubt of his honeſty, his friends would have thought he had received ill infuſions without any ground; and he had given a very late teſtimony of his ſincerity by concealing the Marquis of Ormond, who had communicated more with him, than with any man in England, during his being there. On the other ſide, all the other informations and advices, that were ſent by the perſon who accuſed him, were very important, and could have no end but his Majeſty's ſervice; and the offices that gentleman offered to perform for the future were of that conſequence, that they could not be overvalued. This intelligence could not be ſent with a hope of getting money; for the preſent condition of him who ſent it was ſo good, that he expected no reward, till the King ſhould be enabled to give it; and he who was ſent in the errand was likewiſe a gentleman, who did not look for the charges of his journey: and how could it have been known to Cromwell, that that perſon had been truſted by the Marquis of Ormond, if he had not diſcovered it himſelf?

The King at firſt believes it not.

The character of the perſon accuſed.

In this perplexity, his Majeſty would not preſently depart from his confidence in the gentleman accuſed.

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As to all other particulars, he confeſſed himſelf much ſatisfied in the information he had received; acknowledged the great ſervice; and made all thoſe promiſes which were neceſſary in ſuch a caſe; only frankly declared, "that nothing could convince him of the infi-"delity of that gentleman, or make him withdraw his "truſt from him, but the evidence of his hand-writing; "which was well known." This meſſenger no ſooner returned to London, but another was diſpatched with all that manifeſtation of the truth of what had been before informed, that there remained no more room to doubt. A great number of his letters were ſent, whereof the character was well known; and the intelligence communicated was of ſuch things as were known to very few beſides that perſon himſelf.

The accuſer clearly proves the thing by letters, &c.

One thing was obſerved throughout the whole, that he ſeldom communicated any thing in which there was a neceſſity to name any man who was of the King's party, and had been always ſo reputed. But what was undertaken by any of the Preſbyterian party, or by any who had been againſt the King, was poured out to the life. Amongſt thoſe, he gave information of Maſſey's deſign upon Glouceſter, and of his being concealed in ſome place near the ſame. If at any time he named any who had been of the King's party, it was chiefly of them who were ſatisfied with what they had done, how little ſoever, and reſolved to adventure no more. Whereupon very many were impriſoned in ſeveral places, and great noiſe of want of ſecrecy or treachery in the King's councils; which reproach fell upon thoſe who were about the perſon of the King.

It was a new perplexity to the King, that he knew not by what means to communicate this treachery to his friends, leſt the diſcovery of it might likewiſe come to light;

light; which must ruin a person of merit, and disappoint his Majesty of that service, which must be of great moment. In this conjuncture, Mr. Mordaunt came to Bruſſels, and informed his Majesty of all those particulars relating to the posture his friends were in, which are mentioned before; and amongst the other orders he desired, one was, that some message might be sent to that knot of men, (whereof the accused person was one), "who, he said, were principally trusted by his "Majesty, and were all men of honour, but so wary and "incredulous, that others were more discouraged by "their coldness:" and therefore wished, "that they "might be quickened, and required to concur with the "most forward." Hereupon the King asked him, what he thought of such a one, naming Sir Richard Willis: Mr. Mordaunt answered, "it was of him they com-"plained principally; who, they thought, was the cause "of all the wariness in the rest; who looked upon him "not only as an excellent officer, but as a prudent and "discreet man; and therefore, for the most part, all de-"bates were referred to him; and he was so much given "to objections, and to raising difficulties, and making "things unpracticable, that most men had an unwil-"lingness to make any proposition to him." The King asked him, "whether he had any suspicion of his want "of honesty?" The other answered, "that he was so far "from any such suspicion, that, though he did not take "him to be his friend, by reason of the many disputes "and contradictions frequently between them, he would "put his life into his hand to morrow."

It was not thought reasonable, that Mr. Mordaunt should return into England with a confidence in this man; and therefore his Majesty freely told him all he knew, but not the way by which he knew it, or that he had

The King communicates the discovery to Mr. Mordaunt.

had his very letters in his own hand, which would quickly have diſcovered how he came by them; and the King charged him "no farther to communicate with "that perſon, and to give his friends ſuch caution, as "might not give a greater diſturbance to his affairs, by "raiſing new factions amongſt them, or provoke him "to do more miſchief, which it was in his power to do." But for all this there was another expedient found; for by the time Mr. Mordaunt returned to London, the perſon who gave the King the advertiſement, out of his own wiſdom, and knowledge of the ill conſequence of that truſt, cauſed papers to be poſted up in ſeveral places, by which all perſons were warned not to look upon Sir Richard Willis as faithful to the King, but as one who betrayed all that he was truſted with; which in the general had ſome effect, though many worthy men ſtill continued that intimacy with him, and communicated with him all they knew to be reſolved.

The diſcoverer publiſhes papers to forewarn the King's friends of this perſon.

It was towards the end of June that Mr. Mordaunt left Bruſſels, with a reſolution that there ſhould be a general rendezvous throughout England of all who would declare for the King, upon a day named, about the middle of July; there being commiſſions in every county directed to ſix or ſeven known men, with authority to them to chooſe one to command in chief in that county, till they ſhould make a conjunction with other forces, who had a ſuperior commiſſion from the King. And thoſe commiſſioners had in their hands plenty of commiſſions under the King's hand, for regiments and governments, to diſtribute to ſuch as they judged fit to receive them; which was the beſt model (how liable ſoever to exception) that, in ſo diſtracted a ſtate of affairs, could be adviſed.

The King, as is ſaid, reſolved at the day appointed to be

be at Calais; which reſolution was kept with ſo great ſecrecy at Bruſſels, that his Majeſty had left the town before it was ſuſpected; and when he was gone, it was as little known whither he was gone; there being as much care taken to have it concealed from being known in France, as in England. Therefore, as the King went out in the morning, ſo the Duke of York went out in the afternoon, another way: his Highneſs's motion being without any ſuſpicion, or notice, by reaſon of his command in the army. The King went attended by the Marquis of Ormond, the Earl of Briſtol, (who was the guide, being well acquainted with the frontiers on both ſides), and two or three ſervants, all *incognito*, and as companions; and ſo they found their way to Calais; where they ſtayed. The Duke of York, with four or five of his own menial ſervants, and the Lord Langdale, who deſired to attend his Highneſs, went to Boulogne; where he remained with equal privacy; and they correſponded with each other.

The King goes to Calais.

The Duke of York to Boulogne.

The affairs in England had no proſperous aſpect; every poſt brought news of many perſons of honour and quality committed to ſeveral priſons, throughout the kingdom, before the day appointed; which did not terrify the reſt. The day itſelf was accompanied with very unuſual weather at that ſeaſon of the year, being the middle of July. The night before, there had been an exceſſive rain, which continued all the next day, with ſo terrible a cold high wind, that the winter had ſeldom ſo great a ſtorm: ſo that the perſons over England, who were drawing to their appointed rendezvous, were much diſmayed, and met with many croſs accidents; ſome miſtook the place, and went ſome whither elſe, others went where they ſhould be, and were weary of expecting thoſe who ſhould have been there too.

The diſappointment of all the deſigns in England.

Maſſey ſeized on; but eſcapes.

In the beginning of the night, when Maſſey was going for Glouceſter, a troop of the army beſet the houſe where he was, and took him priſoner; and putting him before one of the troopers well guarded, they made haſte to carry him to a place where he might be ſecure. But that tempeſtuous night had ſo much of good fortune in it to him, that, in the darkeſt part of it, the troop marching down a very ſteep hill, with woods on both ſides, he, either by his activity, or the connivance of the ſoldier, who was upon the ſame horſe with him, found means, that, in the ſteepeſt of the deſcent, they both fell from the horſe, and he diſentangled himſelf from the embraces of the other, and, being ſtrong and nimble, got into the woods, and ſo eſcaped out of their hands, though his deſign was broken.

Of all the enterpriſes for the ſeizing upon ſtrong places, only one ſucceeded; which was that undertaken by Sir George Booth; all the reſt failed. The Lord Willoughby of Parham, and Sir Horatio Townſend, and moſt of their friends, were apprehended before the day, and made priſoners, moſt of them upon general ſuſpicions, as men able to do hurt. Only Sir George Booth, being a perſon of the beſt quality and fortune of that county, of thoſe who had never been of the King's party, came into Cheſter, with ſuch perſons as he thought fit to take with him, the night before: ſo that though the tempeſtuouſneſs of the night, and the next morning, had the ſame effect, as in other places, to break or diſorder the rendezvous, that was appointed within four or five miles of that city, yet Sir George being himſelf there with a good troop of horſe he brought with him, and finding others, though not in the number he looked for, he retired with thoſe he had into Cheſter, where his party was ſtrong enough: and

Sir George Booth ſeized Cheſter, and Sir Thomas Middleton joins with him.

Sir

Sir Thomas Middleton, having kept his rendezvous, came thither to him, and brought ſtrength enough with him to keep thoſe parts at their devotion, and to ſuppreſs all there who had inclination to oppoſe them.

Then they publiſhed their Declaration, rather againſt thoſe who called themſelves the Parliament, and uſurped the government by the power of the army, than owning directly the King's intereſt. They ſaid, "that, ſince "God had ſuffered the ſpirit of diviſion to continue in "this nation, which was left without any ſettled founda- "tion of religion, liberty, and property, the legiſlative "power uſurped at pleaſure, the army raiſed for its de- "fence miſled by their ſuperior officers, and no face of "government remaining, that was lawfully conſtituted; "therefore, they, being ſenſible of their duty, and utter "ruin, if theſe diſtractions ſhould continue, had taken "arms in vindication of the freedom of Parliaments, of "the known laws, liberty, and property, and of the "good people of this nation groaning under inſupport- "able taxes: that they cannot deſpair of the bleſſing of "God, nor of the cheerful concurrence of all good peo- "ple, and of the undeceived part of the army; whoſe "arrears and future advancement they would procure, "ſuffering no impoſition or force on any man's con- "ſcience." But though they mentioned nothing of his Majeſty in expreſs terms, they gave all countenance and reception, and all imaginable aſſurance to the King's party; who had directions from the King to concur, and to unite themſelves to them. Their Declaration.

What diſappointments ſoever there were in other places, the fame of this action of theſe two gentlemen raiſed the ſpirits of all men. They who were at liberty renewed their former deſigns; and they who could not promiſe themſelves places of refuge prepared themſelves

to march to Cheſter, if Sir George Booth did not draw nearer with his army; which in truth he meant to have done, if the appointments which had been made had been obſerved. But when he heard that all other places failed, and of the multitude of perſons impriſoned, upon whoſe aſſiſtance he moſt depended, he was in great apprehenſion that he had begun the work too ſoon; and though his numbers increaſed every day, he thought it beſt to keep the poſt he was in, till he knew what was like to be done elſewhere.

This fire was kindled in a place which the Parliament leaſt ſuſpected; and therefore they were the more alarmed at the news of it; and knew it would ſpread far, if it were not quickly quenched; and they had now too ſoon uſe of their army, in which they had not confidence. There were many officers whom they had much rather truſt than Lambert; but there was none they thought could do their buſineſs ſo well: ſo they made choice of him to march with ſuch troops as he liked, and with the greateſt expedition, to ſuppreſs this new rebellion, which they ſaw had many friends. They had formerly ſent for two regiments out of Ireland, which, they knew, were devoted to the republican intereſt, and thoſe they appointed Lambert to join with. He undertook the charge very willingly, being deſirous to renew his credit with the ſoldiers, who had loved to be under his command, becauſe, though he was ſtrict in diſcipline, he provided well for them, and was himſelf eſteemed brave upon any action. He cared not to take any thing with him that might hinder his march; which he reſolved ſhould be very ſwift, to prevent the increaſe of the enemy in numbers. And he did make incredible haſte; ſo that Sir George Booth found he was within leſs than a day's march, before he thought he could

The Parliament ſends Lambert againſt them.

could have been half the way. Sir George himſelf had not been acquainted with the war, and the officers who were with him were not of one mind or humour; yet all were deſirous to fight, (the natural infirmity of the nation, which could never endure the view of an enemy without engaging in a battle), and inſtead of retiring into the town, which they might have defended againſt a much greater army than Lambert had with him, longer than he could ſtay before it, they marched to meet him; and were, after a ſhort encounter, routed by him, and totally broken: ſo that, the next day, the gates of Cheſter were opened to Lambert; Sir George Booth himſelf making his flight in a diſguiſe; but he was taken upon the way, and ſent priſoner to the Tower.

Who routs Sir George Booth and takes Cheſter.

Lambert proſecuted the advantage he had got, and marched into North Wales, whither Sir Thomas Middleton was retired with his troops to a ſtrong caſtle of his own; and he thought neither the man, nor the place, were to be left behind him. It was to no purpoſe for one man to oppoſe the whole kingdom, where all other perſons appeared ſubdued. And therefore, after a day or two making ſhew of reſiſtance, Middleton accepted ſuch conditions as he could obtain, and ſuffered his goodly houſe, for the ſtrength of the ſituation, to be pulled down.

Sir Thomas Middleton delivers up his caſtle.

This ſucceſs put an end to all endeavours of force in England; and the army had nothing to do but to make all perſons priſoners whoſe looks they did not like; ſo that all priſons in England were filled; whilſt the Parliament, exalted with their conqueſt, conſulted what perſons they would execute, and how they ſhould confiſcate the reſt; by means whereof, they made no doubt they ſhould deſtroy all ſeeds of future inſurrections on the behalf of the King, many of the nobility being at

preſent in cuſtody. And they reſolved, if other evidence was wanting, that the very ſuſpecting them ſhould be ſufficient reaſon to continue them there.

When the King came to Calais, where he received accounts every day from England of what was tranſacted there, as he was much troubled with the news he received daily of the impriſonment of his friends, ſo he was revived with the fame of Sir George Booth's being poſſeſſed of Cheſter, and of the conjunction between him and Middleton. They were reported to be in a much better poſture than in truth they were; and the expectation of ſome appearance of troops in Lincolnſhire and Yorkſhire, and ſome other counties, ſtood fair; whereupon the King reſolved to go himſelf to ſome other part of France, from whence he might ſecurely tranſport himſelf into thoſe parts of England, where, with leaſt hazard, he might join himſelf with the troops which were in arms for him, and ſo went to the coaſt of Bretagne.

The King removes to the coaſt of Bretagne.

The Duke of York remained at Boulogne, to expect ſome appearance of arms in Kent and Eſſex; which was ſtill promiſed, as ſoon as the army ſhould be drawn farther from London. In this expectation, his Royal Highneſs found an opportunity to confer with his old friend Marſhal Turenne; who very frankly aſſigned him ſome troops; and likewiſe provided veſſels to tranſport them, if an opportunity had invited him to an engagement in any probable enterpriſe; and this with ſo much generoſity and ſecrecy, that the Cardinal, who was then upon the borders of Spain, ſhould have had no notice of the preparation, till it was too late to prevent the effect thereof. But it pleaſed God, that, whilſt his Highneſs was providing for his longed for expedition, and when the King, after his viſiting St. Maloes, was at Rochelle,

The Duke of York confers with Monſieur Turenne; who offers aſſiſtance.

Rochelle, in hope to find a conveniency for his tranſportation, the fatal news arrived in all parts of the defeat of Sir George Booth, and of the total and entire ſuppreſſion of all kind of oppoſition to the power of the Parliament; which ſeemed now to be in as abſolute poſſeſſion of the government of the three nations, as ever Cromwell had been.

The King receives news of Sir George Booth's defeat.

Struck with this diſmal relation, the King and his brother ſeemed to have nothing elſe to do, but to make what haſte they could out of France; where it was thought they could not now be found with ſafety. The Duke of York returned ſpeedily to Bruſſels; but the King, leſs dejected than might have been expected from the extreme deſpair of his condition, reſumed a reſolution he had formerly taken, to make a journey himſelf to the borders of Spain, to ſolicit more powerful ſupplies; the two chief miniſters of the two Crowns being there met at this time. And indeed his Majeſty preferred any peregrination before the neglect he was ſure to find at Bruſſels, and the dry looks of the Spaniards there; who were broken into ſo many factions amongſt themſelves, that the government was hardly in a ſtate to ſubſiſt; and the Marquis of Carracena and Don Alonzo had ſuch an influence upon the counſels at Madrid, that Don Juan received orders without delay to return to Spain, and to leave the government in the hands of the Marquis of Carracena; which Don Juan very unwillingly obeyed; and as ſoon as he could obtain a paſs to go through France, he left thoſe provinces, and made his journey through that kingdom towards Madrid. He was a perſon of a ſmall ſtature, but well made, and of great vivacity in his looks; his parts very good, both natural and acquired, in fancy and judgment. And if he had not been reſtrained by his education,

The Duke returns to Bruſſels.

The King reſolves to be at the meeting of the two favourites of the two Crowns.

Don Juan recalled to Spain.

education, and accuſtomed to the pride and forms of a Spaniſh breeding, which likewiſe diſpoſed him to lazineſs and taking his pleaſure, he was capable of any great employment, and would have diſcharged it well.

I ſaid before, the chief miniſters of the two Crowns were now met on the borders of the two kingdoms. For, this year, ſomething had happened abroad, that, as it was new, might ſeem to adminiſter new hopes to raiſe the King's ſpirits; however, it was a ſubject for men to exerciſe their thoughts on with variety of conjectures. The war had now continued between the two Crowns of France and Spain, for near the ſpace of thirty years, to the ſcandal and reproach of Chriſtianity, and in ſpite of all the interpoſition and mediation of moſt of the Princes of Europe; a war wantonly entered into, without the leaſt pretence of right and juſtice, to comply with the pride and humour of the two favourites of the Crowns, (beſides the natural animoſity, which will always be between the two nations), who would try the maſtery of their wit and invention, at the charge of their maſters' treaſure, and the blood of their ſubjects, againſt all the obligations of leagues and alliances; a war proſecuted only for war's ſake, with all the circumſtances of fire, ſword, and rapine, to the conſumption of millions of treaſure, and millions of lives of noble, worthy, and honeſt men, only to improve the ſkill, and myſtery, and ſcience of deſtruction. All which appeared the more unnatural and the more monſtrous, that this ſeemed to be effected and carried on by the power of a brother and ſiſter againſt each other, (for half the time had been ſpent in the regency of the Queen of France), when they both loved, and tendered each other's good and happineſs, as the beſt brother and ſiſter ought to do.

It

It was high time to put an end to this barbarous cruel war, which the Queen Mother had long and paſſionately deſired in vain. But now being more ſtruck in years, and troubled with the infirmities of age, and the young King being of years ripe to marry, and the Infanta of Spain being in that and all other reſpects the moſt competent match for him, which would be the beſt, and was the only expedient to procure a peace, her Majeſty reſolved to employ all her intereſt and authority to bring it to paſs; and knowing well, all her deſires could produce no effect, if ſhe had not the full concurrence of the Cardinal, ſhe propoſed it to him with all the warmth and all the concernment ſuch a ſubject required; conjuring him "by all the good offices ſhe "had performed towards him, that he would not only "conſent to it, but take it to heart, and put it into ſuch "a way of negociation, that it might arrive at the iſſue "ſhe deſired."

The Queen Mother of France deſigns to put an end to the war between the two Crowns by a treaty and marriage. She adviſes the Cardinal to concur in it.

The Cardinal uſed all the arguments he could, to diſſuade her Majeſty from deſiring it at this time; "that "it would not be for her Majeſty's ſervice; nor was he "able to bear the reproach, of being the inſtrument of "making a peace, at a time when Spain was reduced to "thoſe ſtraits, that it could no longer reſiſt the victorious arms of France; that they could not fail the "next ſummer of being poſſeſſed of Bruſſels itſelf, and "then they ſhould not be long without the reſt of the "Spaniſh Netherlands; and therefore, at this time, to "propoſe a peace, which muſt diſappoint them of ſo "ſure a conqueſt, would not only be very ingrateful to "the army, but incenſe all good Frenchmen againſt "him, and againſt her Majeſty herſelf."

His arguments againſt it.

The Queen was not diverted from her purpoſe by thoſe arguments; but propoſed it to the King, and procured

ſecuted it with the Cardinal, that, as himſelf confeſſed to his intimate friends, he was neceſſitated either to conſent to it, or to have an irreconcileable breach with her Majeſty; which his gratitude would not ſuffer him to chooſe; and thereupon he yielded; and Don Antonio Pimentel from Madrid, and Monſieur de Lyonne from France, ſo negociated this laſt winter in both Courts, both, *incognito*, making ſeveral journeys backward and forward, and with that effect, that, by the end of the winter, it was publiſhed, there would be a treaty between the two Crowns, and that, in the beginning of the ſummer of this year 1659, the two favourites, Cardinal Mazarine and Don Lewis de Haro, would meet, and make a treaty both for the peace, and the marriage.

But at laſt he yields to her purpoſe.

The treaty is tranſacted firſt *incognito* at Paris and Madrid.

The reaſons that moved the Cardinal to yield to this peace.

The Cardinal was the ſooner induced to this peace by the unſettled condition of England. The death of Cromwell, with whom he had concerted many things to come, had much perplexed him; yet the ſucceſſion of Richard, under the advice of the ſame perſons who were truſted by his father, pleaſed him well. But then the throwing him out with ſuch circumſtances, broke all his meaſures. He could not forget that the Parliament, that now governed, were the very ſame men who had eluded all his application, appeared ever more inclined to the Spaniſh ſide, and had, without any colour of provocation, and when he believed they ſtood fair towards France, taken the French fleet, when it could not but have relieved Dunkirk; by which that town was delivered up to the Spaniard. He knew well, that Spain did, at that inſtant, uſe all the underhand means they could to make a peace with them; and he did not believe, that the Parliament would affect the continuance of that war, at ſo vaſt a charge both at ſea and land; but that they would rather foment the diviſions in France,

France, and endeavour to unite the Prince of Condé and the Hugonots; which would make a concuſſion in that kingdom; and he ſhould then have cauſe to repent the having put Dunkirk into the hands of the Engliſh. Theſe reflections diſturbed him, and diſpoſed him at laſt to believe, that, over and above the benefit of gratifying the Queen, he ſhould beſt provide for the ſecurity of France, and of himſelf, by making a peace with Spain.

However, he was not ſo ſure of bringing it to paſs, as to provoke or neglect England. Therefore he renewed all the promiſes, he had formerly made to Oliver, again to Lockhart, (who was the ambaſſador now of the republic,) "that he would never make a peace without the "conſent and incluſion of England;" and very earneſtly deſired him, and writ to that purpoſe to the Parliament, that he might be at the treaty with him, that ſo they might ſtill conſult what would be beſt for their joint intereſt, from which he would never ſeparate; inſinuating to him, in broken and half ſentences, "that "though the treaty was neceſſary to ſatisfy the Queen, "there were ſo many difficulties in view, that he had little "hope of a peace:" and, in truth, many ſober men did not believe the treaty would ever produce a peace: for, beſides the great advantages which France had gotten, and that it could not be imagined that Spain would ever conſent to the relinquiſhing all thoſe important places to the French, which they had then in their hands by conqueſt, (the uſual effect of peace being a reſtitution of all places taken in the war; which France would never permit), there were two particulars which it was hard to find any expedient to compoſe, and which, notwithſtanding all the preparations made by de Lyonne and Pimentel, were entirely reſerved for the treaty

His promiſes to Lockhart touching his adhering to the Parliament.

Two particulars of difficulty in the treaty referred to the perſonal conference between the favourites.

treaty of the two favourites; both ſides having, with great obſtinacy, proteſted againſt the departing from the reſolution they had taken.

The firſt, the buſineſs of Portugal.

The two particulars were thoſe concerning Portugal, and the Prince of Condé. There could not be a greater engagement, than France had made to Portugal, never to deſert it, nor to make a peace without providing that that King ſhould quietly enjoy his government to him and his poſterity, without being in the leaſt degree ſubject to the yoke of Spain. And Spain was principally induced to buy a peace upon hard terms, that it might be at liberty to take revenge of Portugal; which they always reckoned they ſhould be able to do within one year, if they had no other enemy upon them; and they would never value any peace, if that were not entirely left to them, and diſclaimed by France.

The ſecond, that of the Prince of Condé.

On the other hand, the Prince of Condé had the King of Spain's word and obligation, by the moſt ſolemn treaty that could be entered into, that he would never conclude a peace without including him, and all who adhered to him, not only to a full reſtitution to their honours, offices, and eſtates, but with ſome farther recompence for the great ſervice he had done; which was very great indeed: and nobody believed, that the Cardinal would ever conſent to the reſtoration of that Prince, who had wrought him ſo many calamities, and brought him to the brink of deſtruction. With theſe ill preſages, great preparations were made for this treaty, and the time and the place were agreed on, when and where the two great favourites ſhould meet. Fuentarabia, a place in the Spaniſh dominions, very near the borders of France, the ſame place where Francis the Firſt was delivered, after his long impriſonment in Spain, was agreed upon for their interview;

Fuentarabia the place of interview.

interview; a little river near that place parting both the kingdoms; and a little building of boards over it brought the two favourites to meet, without either of their going out of his maſter's dominions.

The fame of this treaty, as ſoon as it was agreed to, had yielded variety, and new matter to the King to conſider. Both Crowns had made the contention and war that was between them, the only ground and reaſon, why they did not give him that aſſiſtance, which, in a caſe ſo nearly relating to themſelves, he might well expect; and both had made many profeſſions, that, when it ſhould pleaſe God to releaſe them from that war, they would manifeſt to the world, that they took the King's caſe to be their own: ſo that his Majeſty might very reaſonably promiſe himſelf ſome advantage and benefit from this peace, and the world could not but expect, that he would have ſome ambaſſador preſent to ſolicit on his behalf. There were ſo many difficulties to find a fit perſon, and ſo many greater to defray the expence of an ambaſſador, that his Majeſty had at firſt reſolved to find himſelf preſent in that treaty; which reſolution he kept very private, though he was ſhortly after confirmed in it by a letter from Sir Harry Bennet; by which he was informed, "that he ſpeaking "with Don Lewis about his journey to Fuentarabia, "and aſking him whether he would give him leave to "wait on him thither, Don Lewis anſwered, that he "ſhould do well to be preſent; and then aſked him, "why the King himſelf would not be there; and two "or three days after, he told him, that if the King, "with a very light train, came *incognito* thither, for "the place could not permit them to receive him in "ſtate, after the great difficulties of the treaty were "over,

The King reſolves to be preſent at it

" over, he would do all he could to induce the Cardinal " to concur in what might be of convenience to his " Majeſty." The King had before reſolved to have a very little train with him, ſuitable to the treaſure he had to defray his expences, and to make his whole journey *incognito*, and not to be known in any place through which he was to paſs. But he was troubled what he was to do with reference to France, through which he was neceſſarily to make his journey. How much *incognito* ſoever he meant to travel, it might be neceſſary againſt any accident to have a paſs; yet to aſk one, and be refuſed, would be worſe than going without one. Though he expected much leſs from the nature of the Cardinal, than from the ſincerity of Don Lewis de Haro, yet the former was able to do him much more good than the latter; and therefore care was to be taken that he might have no cauſe to find himſelf neglected, and that more depending upon Spain might not irreconcile France.

To extricate himſelf out of theſe perplexities, his Majeſty had written to the Queen his mother, to entreat her, " as of herſelf, to deſire the Cardinal's ad- " vice, whether it would not be fit for the King to " be preſent at the treaty; that ſhe might ſend his " Majeſty ſuch counſel as was proper: if he thought " well of it, ſhe might then propoſe ſuch paſſes, as " ſhould ſeem reaſonable to her." Her Majeſty accordingly took an opportunity to aſk the queſtion of the Cardinal; who, at the very motion, told her very warmly, " that it was by no means fit; and that it " would do the King much harm;" and afterwards, recollecting himſelf, he wiſhed the Queen " to let the " King know, that he ſhould rely upon him to take " care of what concerned him; which he would not " fail

Cardinal Mazarine adviſes againſt it.

"fail to do, as ſoon as he diſcerned that the treaty "would produce a peace." Her Majeſty acquieſced with this profeſſion, and ſent the King word, how kind the Cardinal was to him; but would by no means that his Majeſty ſhould think of undertaking ſuch a journey himſelf; nor did the Queen imagine that the King would ever think of it without a paſs, and the Cardinal's approbation.

When his Majeſty had received this account from his mother, he ſaw it was to no purpoſe to think of a paſs. And thus far, in the beginning of this laſt ſpring, before any deſign of riſing in England was ripened, his Majeſty had proceeded in his intention of being perſonally preſent at the conference between the two great miniſters. But now, when all his expectations from England for this year were defeated, and when he himſelf was already advanced far into France, he thought it more neceſſary than ever to take up his former reſolution. Being therefore by this time fully advertiſed, that the favourites had been met a conſiderable time, and were entered ſo far into the treaty, in the very entrance of which they had agreed to a ceſſation of arms, his Majeſty, attended by the ſame company he had then with him, the Marquis of Ormond, Daniel O'Neile, and two or three other ſervants, together with the Earl of Briſtol, (though Sir Harry Bennet had before informed the King, that Don Lewis de Haro had particularly deſired he would not bring that Earl with him; whoſe company yet, in reſpect of his language, the King believed would be very convenient to him), his Majeſty, I ſay, with this attendance, began his journey from that part of Bretagne where he then was ſtill *incognito*. He had indeed now more reaſon than ever to conceal himſelf in his journey, and really to ap-

The King begins his journey thither

head being ſtopped if he were diſcovered; and therefore was not to go about by Paris, or any of thoſe roads where he had been heretofore known, yet he allowed himſelf the more time, that he might in his compaſs ſee thoſe parts of France where he had never been before, and indeed give himſelf all the pleaſure and divertiſement, that ſuch a journey would admit of. To that purpoſe he appointed the Earl of Briſtol to be the guide; who knew moſt of France, at leaſt more than any body elſe did; and who always delighted to go out of the way; and Daniel O'Neile to take care that they always fared well in their lodgings; for which province no man was fitter. Thus they wheeled about by Lyons into Languedoc, and were ſo well pleaſed with the varieties in the journey, that they not enough remembered the end of it, taking their information of the progreſs in the treaty from the intelligence they met with in the way.

He goes by Lyons into Languedoc, and ſo onward.

When they came near Toulouſe, they found that the French Court was there, which they purpoſely deſigned to decline. However the King, going himſelf a nearer way, ſent the Marquis of Ormond thither, to inform himſelf of the true ſtate of the treaty, and to meet his Majeſty again at a place appointed, that was the direct way to Fuentarabia. The Marquis went alone without a ſervant, that he might be the leſs ſuſpected; and when he came to Toulouſe, he was informed from the common diſcourſe of the Court, that the treaty was upon the matter concluded, and that the Cardinal was expected there within leſs than a week.

An account of the cloſe of that treaty in reſpect of the difficulties con-

It was very true, all matters of difficulty were over in leſs time than was conceived poſſible, both parties equally deſiring the marriage, which could never be without the peace. The Cardinal, who had much the

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advantage over Don Lewis in all the faculties neceſſary for a treaty, excepting probity and punctuality in obſerving what he promiſed, had uſed all the arts imaginable to induce Don Lewis to yield both in the point of Portugal, and what related to the Prince of Condé, and his party. He enlarged upon "the deſperate eſtate in "which Flanders was: and that they could poſſeſs "themſelves entirely of it in one campaign; and there- "fore it might eaſily be concluded, that nothing but the "Queen's abſolute authority could in ſuch a conjunc- "ture have diſpoſed the King to a treaty; and, he "hoped, that ſhe ſhould not be ſo ill requited, as to be "obliged to break the treaty, or to oblige the King "her ſon to conſent to what was indiſpenſably againſt "his honour: that if he ſhould recede from the intereſt "of Portugal, no Prince or State would hereafter enter "into alliance with him: that though they were bound "to inſiſt to have Portugal included in the peace, yet "he would be contented that a long truce might be "made, and all acts of hoſtility forborne for a good "number of years, which, he ſaid, was neceſſary for "Spain, that they might recover the fatigue of the long "war they had ſuſtained, before they entered into a new "one: if they would not conſent to that, then that "Portugal ſhould be left out of the peace, and Spain at "liberty to proſecute the war, and France at the ſame "time to aſſiſt Portugal, which, he ſaid, in reſpect of "the diſtance, they ſhould never be able to adminiſter "in ſuch a proportion as would be able to preſerve it "from their conqueſt;" not without inſinuation, "that, "ſo they might not renounce the promiſe they had "made, they would not be over ſolicitous to perform "it. As to the Prince of Condé, that the Catholic "King was now to look upon France as the dominion

concerning Portugal and the Prince of Condé.

" of his ſon in law, and to be inherited by his grandſon, " and therefore he would conſider what peril it might " bring to both, if the Prince of Condé were reſtored to " his greatneſs in that kingdom, who only could diſturb " the peace of it, and whoſe ambition was ſo reſtleſs, " that they could no longer enjoy peace, than whilſt he " was not in a condition to interrupt it." The Cardinal told him, in confidence, of ſeveral indignities offered by the Prince of Condé to the perſon of the Queen, of which her brother ought to be very ſenſible, and which would abſolve him from any engagement he had entered into with that Prince; which he would never have done, if his Majeſty had been fully informed of thoſe rude tranſgreſſions. And therefore he beſought Don Lewis, " that the joy and triumph, which the King and " the Queen would be poſſeſſed of by this peace and " marriage, might not be clouded, and even rendered " diſconſolate, by their being bound to behold a man in " their preſence, who had ſo often, and with ſo much " damage and diſdain, affronted them both; but that " the peace of France might be ſecured by that Prince's " being for ever reſtrained from living in it; which being " provided for, whatſoever his Catholic Majeſty ſhould " require in ready money, or penſions, to enable the " Prince to live in his juſt ſplendor abroad, ſhould be " conſented to."

Don Lewis de Haro was a man of great temper, of a ſallow complexion, hypochondriac, and never weary of hearing; thought well of what he was to ſay; what he wanted in acuteneſs he made up in warineſs, and though he might omit the ſaying ſomewhat he had a good occaſion to ſay, he never ſaid any thing of which he had occaſion to repent. He had a good judgment and underſtanding, and as he was without any talent of rhetoric, ſo he

was

was very well able to defend himſelf from it. He told the Cardinal, "that he knew well his maſter's affairs needed "a peace with France; and that the accompliſhing "this marriage was the only way to attain it: that the "marriage was the beſt and the moſt honourable in "Chriſtendom, and ought to be equally deſired on both "ſides; that his Catholic Majeſty was ſenſible of his "own age, and the infirmities which attended it; and "deſired nothing more than that, before his death, he "might ſee this peace and this marriage finiſhed, and "made perfect; and that he was well content to purchaſe "the former at any price, but of his honour; which was "the only thing he preferred even before peace: that "for Portugal, the groundleſs rebellion there was ſo well "known to all the world, that he ſhould not go to his "grave in peace, if he ſhould do any thing which "might look like a countenance, or conceſſion to that "title, that was only founded upon treaſon and re-"bellion; or if he ſhould omit the doing any thing "that might, with God's bleſſing, of which he could "not doubt, reduce that kingdom to their duty, and his "obedience: that his reſolution was, as ſoon as this "peace ſhould be concluded, to apply all the force and "all the treaſure of his dominions, to the invaſion of "Portugal; which, he hoped, would be ſufficient "ſpeedily to ſubdue it; and was a great part of the "fruit he promiſed himſelf from this peace; and there-"fore he would never permit any thing to be concluded "in it, that might leave France at liberty to aſſiſt that "war: that the Catholic King had done all he could, "both by Don Antonio Pimentel and Monſieur de "Lyonne, that his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty might know "his unalterable reſolution in the point of Portugal, "and with reference to the Prince of Condé, before he

" conſented to treat; and that he would never depart " from what he had declared in either: that he had " made a treaty with the Prince of Condé; by which " he had engaged himſelf never to deſert his intereſt, " nor to make a peace without providing for his full " reſtitution and reparation, and of thoſe who had run " his fortune, and put themſelves under his protection: " that the Prince had performed all he had undertaken to " do, and had rendered very great ſervice to his Catho- " lic Majeſty; who would not only rather loſe Flanders, " but his crown likewiſe, than fail in any particular " which he was bound to make good to the Prince:" and therefore he deſired the Cardinal "to acquieſce in " both theſe particulars, from which he ſhould not " recede in a tittle; in others, he would not have the " ſame obſtinacy."

When the Cardinal found that all his art and crafty eloquence were loſt upon Don Lewis's want of politeneſs; and that he could not bend him in the leaſt degree in either of theſe important particulars, he reſolved they ſhould pay otherwiſe for their idol honour and punctuality; and after he had brought him to conſent to the detention of all the places they had taken, as well in Luxembourg, as Flanders, and all other provinces, by which they diſmembered all the Spaniſh dominions in thoſe parts, and kept themſelves nearer neighbours to the Hollanders, than the other deſired they ſhould be, he compelled them, though a thing very foreign to the treaty, to deliver the town of Juliers to the Duke of Newburgh, without the payment of any money for what they had laid out upon the fortifications; which they could otherwiſe claim. It is very true, that town did belong of right to the Duke of Newburgh, as part of the duchy of Juliers, which was deſcended to him.

him. But it is as true, that it was preſerved by Spain, from being poſſeſſed by the Hollanders many years before, and by treaty to remain in their hands, till they ſhould receive ſatisfaction for all their diſburſements. After which time, they erected the citadel there, and much mended the fortifications. And this dependence and expectation had kept that Prince faſt to all the Spaniſh intereſt in Germany: whereas, by the wreſting it now out of their hands, and frankly giving it up to the true owner, they got the entire devotion of the Duke of Newburgh to France, and ſo a new friend to ſtrengthen their alliance upon the Rhine, which was before inconvenient enough to Spain, by ſtopping the reſort of any German ſuccours into Flanders. And if at any time to come the French ſhall purchaſe Juliers from the Duke of Newburgh, as upon many accidents he may be induced to part with it, they will be poſſeſſed of the moſt advantageous poſt to facilitate their enterpriſes upon Liege, or Cologne, or to diſturb the Hollanders in Maeſtricht, or to ſeize upon Aquiſgrane, an imperial town; and, indeed, to diſturb the peace of Chriſtendom.

Of Portugal no other care was taken in the treaty, than that after the French King had pompouſly declared, "he would have given up all his conqueſts by "the war, provided the King of Spain would have con- "ſented that all things ſhould remain in Portugal as "they were at that preſent," (which propoſition, it was ſaid, his Catholic Majeſty had abſolutely refuſed,) now "the moſt Chriſtian King ſhould be allowed three "months' time, counting from the day of the ratifica- "tion of the treaty, wherein he might try to diſpoſe the "Portugueſe to ſatisfy his Catholic Majeſty. But after "thoſe three months ſhould be expired, if his good of-

" fices ſhould not produce the effect deſired, then nei-
" ther his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty nor his ſucceſſors
" ſhould give the Portugueſe any aid or aſſiſtance, pub-
" licly or ſecretly, directly or indirectly, by ſea or land,
" or in any other manner whatſoever." And this the ingenuity of the Cardinal thought could never be called renouncing of the King of Portugal's intereſt.

To the Prince of Condé all things were yielded which had been inſiſted on; and full recompence made to ſuch of his party as could not be reſtored to their offices; as Preſident Viole, and ſome others: yet Don Lewis would not ſign the treaty, till he had ſent an expreſs to the Prince of Condé, to inform him of all the particulars, and had received his full approbation. And even then, the King of Spain cauſed a great ſum of money to be paid to him, that he might diſcharge all the debts which he had contracted in Flanders, and reward his officers, who were to be diſbanded; a method France did not uſe at the ſame time to their proſelytes, but left Catalonia to their King's chaſtiſement, without any proviſion made for Don Joſepho de Margarita, and others, who had been the principal contrivers of thoſe diſturbances; and were left to eat the bread of France; where it is adminiſtered to them very ſparingly, without any hope of ever ſeeing their native country again, except they make their way thither by fomenting a new rebellion.

When all things were concluded, and the engroſſments preparing, the Cardinal came one morning into Don Lewis's chamber with a ſad countenance; and told him, " they had loſt all their pains, and the peace " could not be concluded." At which Don Lewis, in much diſturbance, aſked, " what the matter was?" The Cardinal very compoſedly anſwered, " that it muſt not " be;

" be; that they two were too good Catholics to do any " thing againſt the Pope's infallibility, which would be " called in queſtion by this peace; ſince his Holineſs " had declared, that there would be no peace made;" as indeed he had done, after he had, from the firſt hour of his pontificate, laboured it for many years, and found himſelf ſtill deluded by the Cardinal, who had yet promiſed him, that, when the ſeaſon was ripe for it, he ſhould have the ſole power to conclude it; ſo that when he heard that the two favourites were to meet, of which he had no notice, he ſaid in the Conſiſtory, "that " he was ſure that Cardinal Mazarine would not make a " peace." Don Lewis was glad that there was no other objection againſt it; and ſo all the company made themſelves merry at the Pope's charge.

When the Marquis of Ormond diſcovered by the information he received at Toulouſe, that the treaty was ſo near an end, he made all poſſible haſte to the place the King had appointed to meet at, that his Majeſty might loſe no more time. When he came thither, he found nobody; which he imputed to the uſual delays in their journey; and ſtayed one whole day in expectation of them; but then concluded that they were gone forward ſome other way, and ſo thought it his buſineſs to haſten to Fuentarabia, where he heard nothing of the King. Sir Harry Bennet was in great perplexity, and complained, very reaſonably, that the King neglected his own buſineſs in ſuch a conjuncture, the benefit whereof was loſt by his not coming. Don Lewis ſeemed to wonder, that the King had not come thither, whilſt the Cardinal and he were together. The treaty was now concluded; and though the Cardinal remained ſtill at his old quarters on the French ſide, under ſome indiſpoſition of the gout, yet he and Don Lewis were to meet

meet no more. But Don Lewis was the leſs troubled that the King had not come ſooner, becauſe he had found the Cardinal, as often as he had taken occaſion to ſpeak of the King, very cold, and reſerved; and he had magnified the power of the Parliament, and ſeemed to think his Majeſty's hopes deſperate; and adviſed Don Lewis "to be wary how he embarked himſelf in an af-" fair that had no foundation; and that it was rather time "for all Catholics to unite to the breaking the power "and intereſt of the heretical party, wherever it was, "than to ſtrengthen it by reſtoring the King, except "he would become Catholic." And it is believed by wiſe men, that, in that treaty, ſomewhat was agreed to the prejudice of the Proteſtant intereſt; and that, in a ſhort time, there would have been much done againſt it both in France and Germany, if the meaſures they had there taken had not been ſhortly broken; chiefly by the ſurpriſing revolution in England, (which happened the next year), and alſo by the death of the two great favourites of the two Crowns, Don Lewis de Haro and Cardinal Mazarine; who both died not very long after it; the Cardinal, probably, ſtruck with the wonder, if not the agony of that undreamed of proſperity of our King's affairs; as if he had taken it ill, and laid it to heart, that God Almighty would bring ſuch a work to paſs in Europe without his concurrence, and even againſt all his machinations.

During the whole time of the treaty, Lockhart had been at Bayonne, and frequently conſulted with the Cardinal, and was by him brought to Don Lewis twice or thrice, where they ſpoke of the mutual benefit that would redound to both, if a peace were ſettled between Spain and England. But the Cardinal treated Lockhart (who was in all other occaſions too hard for him)

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in ſuch a manner, that, till the peace was upon the matter concluded, he did really believe it would not be made, (as appeared by ſome of his letters from Bayonne, which fell into the King's hands), and to the laſt he was perſuaded, that England ſhould be comprehended in it, in terms to its ſatisfaction.

The King, the next day after he had ſent the Marquis of Ormond to Toulouſe, received information upon the way, that the treaty was abſolutely ended, and that Don Lewis was returned to Madrid; to which giving credit, he concluded, that it would be to no purpoſe to proſecute his journey to Fuentarabia; and therefore was eaſily perſuaded by the Earl of Briſtol to take the neareſt way to Madrid, by entering into Spain as ſoon as they could; preſuming that the Marquis of Ormond would quickly conclude whither they were gone, and follow his Majeſty. With this reſolution, and upon this intelligence, they continued their journey till they came to Saragoſſa, the metropolis of the kingdom of Arragon. Here they received advertiſement, that the treaty was not fully concluded, and that Don Lewis remained ſtill at Fuentarabia. This was a new perplexity: at laſt they reſolved, that the King, and the Earl of Briſtol, who had ſtill a mind to Madrid, ſhould ſtay at Saragoſſa, whilſt O'Neile ſhould go to Fuentarabia, and return with direction what courſe they were to ſteer. The King by miſtake went into Spain as far as to Saragoſſa.

Don Lewis and the Marquis of Ormond were in great confuſion with the apprehenſion that ſome ill accident had befallen the King, when Mr. O'Neile arrived, and informed them by what accident and miſintelligence the King had reſolved to go to Madrid, if he had not been better informed at Saragoſſa; where he now remained, till he ſhould receive farther advice. Don Lewis was in all the diſturbance imaginable, when

he

he heard the relation: he concluded that this was a trick of the Earl of Briſtol's; that he held ſome intelligence with Don Juan, and intended to carry the King to Madrid, whilſt he was abſent, with a purpoſe to affront him, and in hope to tranſact ſomewhat without his privity. They were now to ſave and to borrow all the money they could, to defray the expences which muſt be ſhortly made for the interview, marriage, and delivery of the Infanta, and all this muſt be ſpent upon the King of England's entry and entertainment in Madrid; for a King *incognito* was never heard of in Spain. The marriage was concluded, and now another young unmarried King muſt be received, and careſſed in that Court; which would occaſion much diſcourſe both in Spain and France. All theſe things his melancholy had made him revolve, nor did he conceal the trouble he endured, from the Marquis of Ormond and Sir Harry Bennet; who aſſured him, "that all that was "paſt was by mere miſtake, and without any purpoſe to "decline him, upon whoſe friendſhip alone the King "abſolutely depended;" and undertook poſitively, "that "as ſoon as his Majeſty ſhould be informed of his ad-"vice, he would make all the haſte thither he could, "without thought of doing any thing elſe:" which Don Lewis deſired might be effected as ſoon as was poſſible: ſo O'Neile returned to Saragoſſa, and his Majeſty, without delay, made his journey from thence to Fuentarabia, with as much expedition as he could uſe.

Thence returns to Fuentarabia.

His treatment there by Don Lewis de Haro.

The King was received according to the Spaniſh mode and generoſity, and treated with the ſame reſpect and reverence that could be ſhewed to his Catholic Majeſty himſelf, if he had been in that place. Don Lewis delivered all that could be ſaid from the King, his maſter; "how much he was troubled, that the

"condition

" condition of his affairs, and the neceſſity that was " upon him to make ſhortly a long journey, would not " permit him to invite his Majeſty to Madrid, and to " treat him in that manner that was ſuitable to his " grandeur: that having happily concluded the peace, " he had now nothing ſo much in his thoughts, as how " he might be able to give or procure ſuch aſſiſtance as " his Majeſty ſtood in need of; and that he ſhould ne- " ver be deſtitute of any thing, that his power and in- " tereſt could help him to." Don Lewis for himſelf made all thoſe profeſſions which could poſſibly be expected from him. He confeſſed, " that there was no " proviſion made in the treaty that the two Crowns " would jointly aſſiſt his Majeſty; but, that he believed " the Cardinal would be ready to perform all good of- " fices towards him; and that, for his own particular, " his Majeſty ſhould receive good teſtimony of the pro- " found veneration he had for him."

Don Lewis intimated a wiſh, that his Majeſty could yet have ſome conference with the Cardinal; who was, as is ſaid, ſtill within diſtance. Whereupon the King ſent the Marquis of Ormond to viſit him, and to let him know, that his Majeſty had a deſire to come to him, that he might have ſome conference with him, and receive his counſel and advice. But the Cardinal would by no means admit it; ſaid, " it would adminiſter " unſeaſonable jealouſy to the Parliament, without any " manner of benefit to the King." He made many large profeſſions, which he could do well, of his affection to the King; deſired, " he would have patience till " the marriage ſhould be over, which would be in the " next ſpring; and till then their Majeſties muſt re- " main in thoſe parts: but, as ſoon as that ſhould be " diſpatched, the whole Court would return to Paris; " and

The Cardinal would not ſee the King.

" and that he would not be long there, before he gave " the King ſome evidence of his kindneſs and reſpect." Other anſwer than this the Marquis could not obtain.

After his Majeſty had ſtayed as long as he thought convenient at Fuentarabia, (for he knew well that Don Lewis was to return to Madrid before the King of Spain could take any reſolution to begin, or order his own journey, and that he ſtayed there only to entertain his Majeſty), he diſcerned that he had nothing more to do than to return to Flanders; where, he was aſſured, his reception ſhould be better than it had been. So he declared his reſolution to begin his return on ſuch a day. In the ſhort time of his ſtay there, the Earl of Briſtol, according to his excellent talent, which ſeldom failed him in any exigent, from as great a prejudice as could attend any man, had wrought himſelf ſo much into the good graces of all the Spaniards, that Don Lewis was willing to take him with him to Madrid, and that he ſhould be received into the ſervice of his Catholic Majeſty, in ſuch a province as ſhould be worthy of him. So that his Majeſty had now a leſs train to return with, the Marquis of Ormond, Daniel O'Neile, and two or three ſervants.

Don Lewis, with a million of excuſes that their expences had been ſo great, as had waſted all their money, preſented his Majeſty with ſeven thouſand gold piſtoles, " to defray," as he ſaid, " the expences of his journey," with aſſurance, " that, when he came into Flanders, he " ſhould find all neceſſary orders for his better accom-
The King's return towards Flanders by Paris.
" modation, and carrying on his buſineſs." So his Majeſty begun his journey, and took Paris in his way to viſit the Queen his mother, with whom a good underſtanding was made upon removing all former miſtakes:
He came to Bruſſels about the end of December.
and, towards the end of December, he returned to Bruſſels

ſels in good health; where he found his two brothers, the Dukes of York and Glouceſter, impatiently expecting him.

The pleaſure and variety of his journey, and the very civil treatment he had received from Don Lewis, with the good diſpoſition he had left the Queen his mother in, had very much revived and refreſhed the King's ſpirit, and the joy for his return diſperſed the preſent clouds. But he had not been long at Bruſſels, before he diſcerned the ſame melancholy and deſpair in the countenances of moſt men, which he had left there: and though there had ſome changes happened in England, which might reaſonably encourage men to look for greater, they had ſo often been diſappointed in thoſe expectations, that it was a reproach to any man to think that any good could come from thence.

Upon this melancholic conjuncture, ſome about the King began to think of providing a religion, as well as other conveniences, that might be grateful to thoſe people and places, where and with whom they were like to reſide. The Proteſtant religion was found to be very unagreeable to their fortune, and they exerciſed their thoughts moſt how to get handſomely from it; and if it had not been for the King's own ſteadineſs, of which he gave great indications, men would have been more out of countenance to have owned the faith they were of; and many made little doubt, but that it would ſhortly be very manifeſt to the King, that his reſtoration depended wholly upon a conjunction of Catholic princes, who could never be united, but on the behalf of Catholic religion.

The beſt the King could now look for ſeemed to be a permiſſion to remain in Flanders, with a narrow aſſignation

The ill ſtate of his Majeſty's affairs there.

ſignation for his bread, which was a melancholic condition for a King; nor could that be depended upon; for there were ſecret approaches made, both from England and Spain, towards a peace; and the Spaniard had great reaſon to deſire it, that he might meet with no obſtruction in his intended conqueſt of Portugal. And what influence any peace might have upon his Majeſty's quiet, might reaſonably be apprehended. However, there being no war in Flanders, the Dukes of York and Glouceſter could no longer remain in an unactive courſe of life; and the Duke of York had a great family, impatient to be where they might enjoy plenty, and where they might be abſent from the King. And therefore, when the Marquis of Carracena at this time brought the Duke of York a letter from the King of Spain, that he would make him El Admirante del Oceano, his Highneſs was exceedingly pleaſed with it, and thoſe about him ſo tranſported with the promotion, that they thought any man to be a declared enemy to their maſter, who ſhould make any objection againſt his accepting it. And when they were told, "that it was not ſuch "a preferment, that the Duke ſhould ſo greedily em- "brace it, before he knew what conditions he ſhould be "ſubject to, and what he might expect from it: that "the command had been in a younger ſon of the Duke "of Savoy, and at another time in a younger ſon of the "Duke of Florence, who both grew quickly weary of "it; for whatever title they had, the whole command "was in the Spaniſh officers under them; and that, if "the Duke were there, he might poſſibly have a com- "petent penſion to live on ſhore, but would never be "ſuffered to go to ſea under any title of command, till "he firſt changed his religion;" all this had no ſignification

The Duke of York invited into Spain.

cation with them; but they prevailed with his Royal Highneſs, to return his conſent, and acceptation of the office, by the ſame courier who brought the letter.

The Marquis of Carracena likewiſe told the King, "that he had received orders to put all things in a rea- "dineſs for his expedition into England, towards which "he would add three thouſand men to thoſe troops "which his Majeſty already had." At the ſame time the Lord Jermyn and Mr. Walter Mountague came to the King from Paris, with many compliments from the Cardinal, "that when there ſhould be a peace between "the two northern Kings," (for Sweden and Denmark were now in a war,) "France would declare avowedly "for the King; but in the mean time they could only "aſſiſt him under hand; and to that purpoſe they had "appointed three thouſand men to be ready on the bor- "ders of France, to be tranſported out of Flanders, and "thirty thouſand piſtoles to be diſpoſed of by the King "to advance that expedition." Sir Harry Bennet had ſent from Madrid a copy of the Spaniſh orders to the Marquis of Carracena; by which he was not (as he had told the King) to add three thouſand men to the King's troops, but to make thoſe which his Majeſty had amount to the number of three thouſand. But that which was ſtrangeſt, the King muſt be obliged to embark them in France. The men the Cardinal would provide muſt be embarked in Flanders; and they who were to be ſupplied by Spain muſt be embarked in France. So that, by theſe two ſpecious pretences and proffers, the King could only diſcern, that they were both afraid of offending England, and would offer nothing of which his Majeſty could make any uſe, before they might take ſuch a proſpect of what was like to come to paſs, that they might new form their counſels.

The Lord Jermyn came to the King with compliments from the Cardinal.

And the Lord Jermyn and Mr. Mountague had ſo little expectation of England, that they concurred both in opinion, that the Duke of York ſhould embrace the opportunity that was offered from Spain; to which they made no doubt the Queen would give her conſent.

In this ſtate of deſpair the King's condition was concluded to be, about the beginning of March, old ſtyle, 1659: and though his Majeſty, and thoſe few entruſted by him, had reaſon to believe that God would be more propitious to him, from ſome great alterations in England; yet ſuch imagination was ſo looked upon as mere dotage, that the King thought not fit to communicate the hopes he had, but left all men to caſt about for themſelves, till they were awakened and confounded by ſuch a prodigious act of providence, as God hath ſcarce vouchſafed to any nation, ſince he led his own choſen people through the Red Sea.

The affairs of England after the defeat of Booth and Middleton.

After the defeat of Booth and Middleton, and the King's hopes ſo totally deſtroyed, the Parliament thought of tranſporting the loyal families into the Barbadoes and Jamaica, and other plantations, leſt they might hereafter produce in England children of their father's affections; and, by degrees, ſo to model their army that they might never give them more trouble. They had ſent Lambert a thouſand pounds to buy him a jewel; which he employed better by beſtowing it among the officers, who might well deſerve it of him. This bounty of his was quickly known to the Parliament; which concluded, that he intended to make a party in the army, that ſhould more depend upon him than upon them. And this put them in mind of his former behaviour; and that it was by his advice, that they were firſt diſſolved, and that he in truth had helped to make Cromwell Protector, upon his promiſe that he ſhould ſucceed him;

The Parliament grows jealous of Lambert's army.

and

and that he fell from him only becauſe he had fruſtrated him of that expectation. They therefore reſolved to ſecure him from doing farther harm, as ſoon as he ſhould come to the Town.

Lambert, inſtead of making haſte to them, found ſome delays in his march, (as if all were not ſafe), to ſeize upon the perſons of Delinquents. He was well informed of their good purpoſes towards him, and knew that the Parliament intended to make a peace with all foreigners, and then to diſband their army, except only ſome few regiments, which ſhould conſiſt only of perſons at their own devotion. He foreſaw what his portion then muſt be, and that all the ill he had done towards them would be remembered, and the good forgotten. He therefore contrived a petition, which was ſigned by the inferior officers of his army; in which they deſired the Parliament, "that they might be go- The petition and propoſals of Lambert's army. "verned, as all armies uſed to be, by a General, who "might be amongſt them, and other officers, according "to their qualities, ſubordinate to him." The addreſs was entitled, *The humble Petition and Propoſals of the army, under the command of the Lord Lambert, in the late northern expedition.*

They made a large recapitulation of "the many ſer- "vices they had done, which they thought were forgot- "ten; and that now lately they had preſerved them "from an enemy, which, if they had been ſuffered to "grow, would, in a ſhort time, have overrun the king- "dom, and engaged the nation in a new bloody war; "to which too many men were ſtill inclined;" and concluded with a deſire, "that they would commit the "army to Fleetwood, as General; and that they would "appoint Lambert to be Major General." Fleetwood was a weak man, but very popular with all the praying

part of the army; a man, whom the Parliament would have truſted, if they had not reſolved to have no General, being as confident of his fidelity to them, as of any man's; and Lambert knew well he could govern him, as Cromwell had done Fairfax, and then in the like manner lay him aſide. This petition was ſent by ſome truſty perſon to ſome colonels of the army, in whom Lambert had confidence, to the end that they ſhould deliver it to Fleetwood, to be by him preſented firſt to the Council of Officers, and afterwards to the Parliament. He reſolved firſt to conſult with ſome of his friends for their advice; and ſo it came to the notice of Haſlerig, who immediately informed the Parliament "of "a rebellion growing in the army, which, if not ſup- "preſſed, would undo all they had done." They, as they were always apt to take alarms of that kind, would not have the patience to expect the delivery of the petition, but ſent to Fleetwood for it. He anſwered, he had only a copy, but that ſuch officers, whom he named, had the original. The officers were preſently ſent for, but could not be found till the afternoon; when they produced the petition. Whereupon the Parliament, that they might diſcountenance and exclude any addreſs of that kind, paſſed a vote, "that the having more ge- "neral officers was a thing needleſs, chargeable, and "dangerous to the commonwealth."

This petition diſcovered to Haſlerig; who acquaints the Houſe with it.

They paſs a vote to have no more general officers.

This put the whole army into that diſtemper, that Lambert could wiſh it in; and brought the Council of Officers to meet again more avowedly, than they had done ſince the reviving of the Parliament. They prepared and preſented a petition and repreſentation to the Parliament; in which they gave them many good words, and aſſured them of "their fidelity towards them; but "yet that they would ſo far take care for their own pre- "ſervation,

The Council of Officers upon this prepare a petition and repreſentation to the Parliament.

" ſervation, that they would not be at the mercy of their " enemies;" and implied, that they having no way forfeited their rights of freemen, had likewiſe privileges, which they would not quit; and then ſeconded the propoſals of the northern brigade with more warmth, and deſired, " that whatever perſons ſhould for the future " groundleſsly inform the Parliament againſt them, cre- " ating jealouſies, and caſting ſcandalous imputations " upon them, may be brought to examination, juſtice, " and condign puniſhment."

The Parliament, that was governed by Vane and Haſlerig, (the heads of the republic party, though of very different natures and underſtandings), found there would be no compounding this diſpute amicably, but that one ſide muſt be ſuppreſſed. They reſolved therefore to take away all hope of ſubſiſtence from the army, if they ſhould be inclined to make any alteration in the government by force. In order thereunto they declared, " that it ſhould be treaſon in any perſon whatſoever to " raiſe, levy, and collect money, without conſent in " Parliament." Then they made void all acts for cuſtom and exciſe; and by this there was nothing left to maintain the army, except they would prey upon the people, which could not hold long. Next they caſhiered Lambert, and eight other principal officers of the army; with whom they were moſt offended, for ſubſcribing a letter to all the other forces deſiring their concurrence with the army in London, and conferred their regiments and commands upon other perſons, in whom they could confide; and committed the whole government of the army into the hands of ſeven commiſſioners; who were, Fleetwood, (whom they believed to have a great intereſt in the army, and ſo durſt not totally diſoblige him), Ludlow, (who commanded the army in Ireland), Monk,

The Parliament declare it treaſon to raiſe money without conſent of Parliament; and make void all money acts.

They caſhier Lambert, and eight other principal officers of the army.

They make ſeven commiſſioners to govern the army.

(who was their General in Scotland), Haſlerig, Walton, Morley, and Overton; who were all upon the place.

The army was too far engaged to retire, and it was unſkilfully done by the Parliament to provoke ſo many of them, being not ſure of a competent ſtrength to execute their orders. But they had a great preſumption upon the city; and had already forgotten, how the army baffled it about a dozen years before, when the Parliament had much more reputation, and the army leſs terror. The nine caſhiered officers were reſolved not to part with their commands, nor would the ſoldiers ſubmit to their new officers; and both officers and ſoldiers conſulted their affairs ſo well together, that they agreed to meet at Weſtminſter the next morning, and determine to whoſe lot it would come to be caſhiered.

The Parliament ſend for forces to defend them, and for the city militia.

The Parliament, to encounter this deſign, ſent their orders to thoſe regiments whoſe fidelity they were confident of, to be the next morning at Weſtminſter to defend them from force; and likewiſe ſent into the city to draw down their militia. Of the army, the next morning, there appeared two regiments of foot, and four troops of horſe; who were well armed, and ranged themſelves in the Palace-yard, with a reſolution to oppoſe all force that ſhould attempt the Parliament. Lambert intended they ſhould have little to do there; and divided his party in the army to the ſeveral places by which the city militia could come to Weſtminſter, with order, "that they ſhould ſuffer none to march that way, or to "come out of the gates;" then placed himſelf with ſome troops in King-ſtreet, and before Whitehall, to expect when the Speaker would come to the Houſe; who, at his accuſtomed hour, came, in his uſual ſtate, guarded with his troop of horſe. Lambert rode up to the Speaker, and told him, "there was nothing to be

"done

"done at Weſtminſter," and therefore adviſed him "to "return back again to his houſe:" which he refuſed to do, and endeavoured to proceed, and called to his guard to make way: Upon which Lambert rode to the captain, and pulled him off his horſe; and bid Major Creed, who had formerly commanded that troop, to mount into his ſaddle; which he preſently did. Then he took away the mace, and bid Major Creed conduct Mr. Lenthal to his houſe. Whereupon they made his coachman turn, and without the leaſt contradiction the troop marched very quietly, till he was alighted at his own houſe; and then diſpoſed of themſelves as their new captain commanded them.

Lambert draws ſome troops together, ſtops the Speaker, and makes him go home.

When they had thus ſecured themſelves from any more votes, Lambert ſent to thoſe who had been ordered into the Palace-yard by the Parliament, to withdraw to their quarters; which they refuſed to do; at which he ſmiled, and bid them then to ſtay there; which they did till towards the evening: but then finding themſelves laughed at, that they had nothing to do, and that the Parliament ſate not, they deſired that they might repair to their quarters; which they were appointed to do. But their officers were caſhiered; and ſuch ſent to command as Lambert thought fit; who found all ſubmiſſion and obedience from the ſoldiers, though nobody yet knew who had power to command them. There was no Parliament, nor any officer in the army who was by his commiſſion above the degree of a colonel, nor had any of them power to command more than his own regiment.

Whereupon the officers of the army meet together and declare, "that the army finding itſelf without a Ge- "neral, or other general officers, had themſelves made "choice of Fleetwood to be their General, and of Lam- "bert &c.

The officers meet, and chooſe Fleetwood General,

" bert to be their Major General, and of Deſborough " to be Commiſſary General of the Horſe; and that " they bound themſelves to obey them in their ſeveral " capacities, and to adhere to and defend them." Upon the publiſhing this declaration, they aſſumed their ſeveral provinces; and the whole army took commiſſions from their new General; and were as much united, as if they were under Cromwell; and looked upon it as a great deliverance, that they ſhould no more be ſubject to the Parliament; which they all deteſted.

But theſe Generals were not at eaſe; they knew well upon what ſlippery ground they ſtood: the Parliament had ſtopped all the channels in which the revenue was to run; put an end to all payments of cuſtom and exciſe; and to revive theſe impoſitions, by which the army might receive their wages, required another authority than of the army itſelf. The diviſions in the Parliament had made the outrage that was committed upon it leſs reproachful. Vane, who was much the wiſeſt man, found he could never make that aſſembly ſettle ſuch a government as he affected, either in Church or State: and Haſlerig, who was of a rude and ſtubborn nature, and of a weak underſtanding, concurred only with him in all the fierce counſels, which might more irrecoverably diſinherit the King, and root out his Majeſty's party: in all other things relating to the temporal or eccleſiaſtical matters, they were not only of different judgments, but of extraordinary animoſity againſt each other.

Vane's and Haſlerig's parts in this buſineſs.

Vane was a man not to be deſcribed by any character of religion; in which he had ſwallowed ſome of the fancies and extravagancies of every ſect or faction; and was become (which cannot be expreſſed by any other language than was peculiar to that time) *a man above ordi-*

nances,

nances, unlimited or unreſtrained by any rules or bounds preſcribed to other men, by reaſon of his perfection. He was a perfect enthuſiaſt; and, without doubt, did believe himſelf inſpired; which ſo far corrupted his reaſon and underſtanding, (which in all matters without the verge of religion was ſuperior to that of moſt men), that he did at ſome time believe, he was the perſon deputed to reign over the ſaints upon earth for a thouſand years.

Haſlerig was, as to the ſtate, perfectly republican; and as to religion, perfectly Preſbyterian: and ſo he might be ſure never to be troubled with a king or a biſhop, was indifferent to other things; only he believed the Parliament to be the only government that would infallibly keep thoſe two out; and his credit in the Houſe was greater than the other's; which made Vane leſs troubled at the violence that was uſed, (though he would never adviſe it), and appear willing enough to confer and join with thoſe who would find any other hinge to hang the government upon: ſo he preſently entered into converſation with thoſe of the army, who were moſt like to have authority.

A model of ſuch a government, as the people muſt acquieſce in, and ſubmit to, would require very much agitation, and very long time; which the preſent conjuncture would not bear: nor were there enough of one mind, to give great authority to their counſels. In this they could agree, which might be an expedient towards more ripe reſolutions, "that a number of perſons ſhould "be choſen, who, under the ſtyle of a Committee of "Safety, ſhould aſſume the preſent entire government, "and have full power to revive all ſuch orders, or to "make new, which might be neceſſary for raiſing of "money, or for doing any thing elſe which ſhould be "judged

A Committee of Safety conſtituted by the army.

"judged for the peace and ſafety of the kingdom; and "to conſider and determine, what form of government "was fit to be erected, to which the nation was to ſub-"mit." They alſo declared "all the orders, acts, or "pretended acts made in Parliament on the 10th, 11th, "and 12th of October, before their interruption, to be "void and null to all intents and purpoſes, as if they "had never been."

To this new invention, how wild ſoever, they believed the people would be perſuaded, with the aſſiſtance of the army, to pay a temporary obedience, in hope of another ſettlement ſpeedily to enſue. They agreed that the number of this Committee of Safety ſhould conſiſt of three and twenty perſons; ſix or ſeven officers of the army, whereof Fleetwood, Lambert, and Deſborough were three; Ireton, Lord Mayor of London, and Tichburn, the two principal officers of the militia of the city, with four or five more citizens of more private names; but men tried, and faithful to the republic intereſt, and not like to give any countenance to Preſbyterians, (for they were very jealous of that party generally), beſides three or four others of thoſe who had been the King's judges, with Warreſton, Vane, Steel, and Whitlock, whom they made Keeper of their Great Seal.

Thus having choſen each other, and agreed that they ſhould exerciſe the whole legiſlative power of the nation, and proclaimed themſelves *the Committee of Safety for the kingdom*, and required all people to pay them obedience, and iſſued out their warrants for all things which they thought good for themſelves, to which there appeared a general ſubmiſſion and acquieſcence, that they might be ſure to receive no diſturbance from thoſe of their own tribe in any parts, they ſent Colonel Cobbet to Scotland, to perſuade General Monk to a concurrence with

Cobbet ſent into Scotland to Monk.

with them; and, becauſe they were not confident of him, (there being great emulation between him and Lambert), to work upon as many of his officers as he could; there being many in that army of whoſe affections they were well aſſured; and, at the ſame time, they ſent another colonel into Ireland, to diſpoſe the army there to a ſubmiſſion to their power and authority.

And another to the army in Ireland.

Before the Parliament was routed, they diſcerned what Lambert's intrigues would ſhortly produce; and therefore had writ to Monk, "that he would take care "of his army, leſt it ſhould be corrupted againſt him, "which they knew was endeavouring;" and Haſlerig, who had ſome friendſhip with him, writ particularly to him "to continue firm to the Parliament;" and to aſſure him, "that before Lambert ſhould be able to be "near him to give him any trouble, he would give him "other divertiſement." And ſome time after Lambert had acted that violence upon the Speaker, ſo that they could meet no more, Haſlerig, Walton, and Morley, three of the commiſſioners of the government of the army, went to Portſmouth, where Colonel Whetham the Governor was their friend, and devoted to the Preſbyterian-republican party; for that diſtinction was now grown amongſt them; others, and the moſt conſiderable of that party, profeſſing "that they very much deſired "monarchical government, and the perſon of the King, "ſo that they might have him without epiſcopacy, and "enjoy the lands of the Church;" which they had divided among them. Theſe three were well received at Portſmouth; and that they might be without any diſturbance there, the Governor turned all ſuch officers and ſoldiers out of the town, who were ſuſpected to be, or might be made of the party of the army; and Colonel Morley, whoſe intereſt was in Suſſex, eaſily drew in enough

Haſlerig, Walton, and Morley, go to Portſmouth.

enough of his friends, to make them very ſecure in their garriſon; which the Committee of Safety thought would be quickly reduced, if all the reſt of the kingdom were at their devotion; nor did the matter itſelf much trouble them; for they knew that Haſlerig would never be induced to ſerve the King, whoſe intereſt only could break all their meaſures.

But this open declaring of Portſmouth for the Parliament happened not till the following December. That which gave them real trouble was, that they received bold letters from Monk, about the end of October; who preſumed to cenſure and find fault with what they had done, in uſing ſuch force and violence to the Parliament, from whom they had all their power and authority; and ſhortly after they heard that he had poſſeſſed himſelf of Berwick. But that which troubled them moſt was, that as ſoon as Cobbet came into Scotland, he was committed cloſe priſoner to Edinburgh caſtle; and that Monk uſed extraordinary diligence to purge his army, and turned all the fanatics, and other perſons who were ſuppoſed by him to have any inclination to Lambert and his party, both out of the army and the kingdom; ſending them under a guard into Berwick, and from thence diſmiſſing them into England, under the penalty of death, if they were ever after found in Scotland. This was an alarm worthy of their fear, and evidence enough, that they were never to expect Monk to be of their party: beſides that they had always looked upon him as entirely devoted to the perſon of Cromwell; otherwiſe, without obligation to any party or opinion, and more like to be ſeduced by the King, than any man who had authority in the three kingdoms: therefore they reſolved to ſend Lambert with their whole army into the North, that he might at leaſt ſtop him in any

Monk writes to the officers of the army declaring for the Parliament.

Poſſeſſes Berwick;

Impriſons Cobbet; and purges his army of fanatics.

Lambert ſent againſt him.

any march he ſhould think of making; reſerving only ſome troops to guard themſelves, and keep the town quiet, and ſome others to ſend to Portſmouth, if not to reduce it, at leaſt to hinder the garriſon there from making incurſions into the two neighbour counties of Suſſex and Hampſhire, where they had many friends.

Whilſt all preparations were making for the army to march towards Scotland, the Committee of Safety reſolved once more to try if they could induce Monk to a conjunction with them; and to that purpoſe they ſent to him two ſuch perſons as they thought might be grateful to him; of whom one was his wife's brother; and after them ſome officers of the army, and two Independent miniſters, with offers of any thing he could deſire of advantage to himſelf, or for any of his friends. He received theſe men with all imaginable civility and courteſy, making great profeſſions, "that he deſired no- "thing more, than to unite himſelf and his army with "that of England, provided that there might be a law- "ful power, to which they might all be ſubject: but "that the force that had been uſed upon the Parlia- "ment, was an action of ſuch a nature, that was de- "ſtructive to all government, and that it would be ab- "ſolutely neceſſary to reſtore that to its freedom, rights, "and privileges; which being done, he would uſe all "the inſtance and credit he had to procure an act of "pardon and oblivion, for all that had been done amiſs; "and this would unite both Parliament and army for "the public ſafety, which was apparently threatened and "ſhakened by this diſunion." He added, "that he ſo "much deſired peace and union, and ſo little thought "of uſing force, that he would appoint three officers of "his army, Wilks, Clobery, and Knight, to go to Lon- "don, and treat with the Committee of Safety, of all "par-

They ſend Clarges, &c. to Monk.

Monk's anſwer to them.

He appoints three commiſſioners to treat with the officers of the army at London.

"particulars neceſſary thereunto." When the perſons ſent from London gave an account of their reception, and of the great profeſſions the General made, and his reſolution to ſend a committee to treat upon the accommodation, the Committee of Safety was very well pleaſed, and concluded, that the fame of their army's march had frighted him: ſo that, as they willingly embraced the overture of a treaty, they likewiſe appointed Lambert to haſten his march, and to make no ſtay, till he ſhould come to Newcaſtle. All which he obſerved with great punctuality and expedition, his army ſtill increaſing till he came thither.

They at London accept of a treaty.

General Monk was a gentleman of a very good extraction, of a very ancient family in Devonſhire, always very loyally affected. Being a younger brother, he entered early into the life and condition of a ſoldier, upon that ſtage where ſome of all Europe then acted, between the Spaniard and the Dutch; and had the reputation of a very good foot-officer in the Lord Vere's regiment in Holland, at the time when he aſſigned it to the command of Colonel Goring. When the firſt troubles begun in Scotland, Monk, and many other officers of the nation, left the Dutch ſervice, and betook themſelves to the ſervice of the King. In the beginning of the Iriſh rebellion, he was ſent thither, with the command of the Lord Leiceſter's own regiment of foot, (who was then Lieutenant of Ireland), and continued in that ſervice with ſingular reputation of courage and conduct. When the war broke out in England between the King and the Parliament, he fell under ſome diſcountenance, upon a ſuſpicion of an inclination to the Parliament; which proceeded from his want of bitterneſs in his diſcourſes againſt them, rather than from any inclination towards them; as appeared by his behaviour at Nantwich, where he

A particular account of General Monk.

he was taken priſoner, and remained in the Tower till the end of the war. For though his behaviour had been ſuch in Ireland, when the tranſportation of the regiment from thence, to ſerve the King in England, was in debate, that it was evident enough he had no mind his regiment ſhould be ſent on that expedition, and his anſwer to the Lord of Ormond was ſo rough and doubtful, that he thought not fit to truſt him, but gave the command of the regiment to Harry Warren, the lieutenant colonel of it, an excellent officer, generally known, and exceedingly beloved where he was known; yet when thoſe regiments were ſent to Cheſter, and there were others at the ſame time ſent to Briſtol, and with them Monk went under ſome cloud, and from Briſtol to the King at Oxford, where he was known to many perſons of quality, (and his eldeſt brother being at the ſame time moſt zealous in the King's ſervice in the Weſt, and moſt uſeful), his profeſſions were ſo ſincere, (he being, throughout his whole life, never ſuſpected of diſſimulation), that all men there thought him very worthy of all truſt; and the King was willing to ſend him into the Weſt, where the gentlemen had a great opinion of his ability to command. But he deſired that he might ſerve with his old friends and companions; and ſo, with the King's leave, made all haſte towards Cheſter; where he arrived the very day before the defeat at Nantwich; and though his lieutenant colonel was very deſirous to give up the command again to him, and to receive his orders, he would by no means at that time take it, but choſe to ſerve, as a volunteer, in the firſt rank, with a pike in his hand; and was the next day, as was ſaid, taken priſoner with the reſt, and with moſt of the other officers ſent to Hull, and ſhortly after from thence to the Tower of London.

He

He was no ſooner there, than the Lord Liſle, who had great kindneſs for him, and good intereſt in the Parliament, with much importunity endeavoured to perſuade him to take a commiſſion in that ſervice, and offered him a command ſuperior to what he had ever had before; which he poſitively and diſdainfully refuſed to accept, though the ſtraits he ſuffered in priſon were very great, and he thought himſelf not kindly dealt with, that there was neither care for his exchange, nor money ſent for his ſupport. But there was all poſſible endeavour uſed for the firſt, by offering ſeveral officers of the ſame quality for his exchange; which was always refuſed; there having been an ordinance made, "that no officer "who had been tranſported out of Ireland ſhould ever "be exchanged;" ſo that moſt of them remained ſtill in priſon with him in the Tower, and the reſt in other priſons; who all underwent the ſame hardſhips by the extreme neceſſity of the King's condition, which could not provide money enough for their ſupply; yet all was done towards it that was poſſible.

When the war was at an end, and the King a priſoner, Cromwell prevailed with Monk, for his liberty and preferment, to engage himſelf again in the war of Ireland. And, from that time, Monk continued very firm to Cromwell; who was liberal and bountiful to him, and took him into his entire confidence; and after he had put the command of Scotland into his hands, he feared nothing from thoſe quarters; nor was there any man in either of the armies, upon whoſe fidelity to himſelf Cromwell more depended. And thoſe of his weſtern friends, who thought beſt of him, thought it to no purpoſe to make any attempt upon him whilſt Cromwell lived. But as ſoon as he was dead, Monk was generally looked upon as a man more inclined to the King, than

than any other in great authority, if he might diſcover it without too much loſs or hazard. His elder brother had been entirely devoted to the King's ſervice, and all his relations were of the ſame faith. He himſelf had no fumes of fanaticiſm to turn his head, nor any credit with, or dependence upon, any who were ſwayed by thoſe trances.

He had a younger brother, a divine, who had a parſonage in Devonſhire, and had, through all the ill times, carried himſelf with ſingular integrity; and, being a gentleman of a good family, was in great reputation with all thoſe who conſtantly adhered to the King. Sir Hugh Pollard and Sir John Greenvil, who had both friendſhip for the General, and old acquaintance, and all confidence in his brother, adviſed with him, "whether, ſince Crom-"well was now gone, and in all reaſon it might be ex-"pected that his death would be attended with a gene-"ral revolution, by which the King's intereſt would be "again diſputed, he did not believe, that the General "might be wrought upon, in a fit conjuncture, to ſerve "the King, in which, they thought, he would be ſure "to meet with a univerſal concurrence from the whole "Scottiſh nation." The honeſt clergyman thought the overture ſo reaſonable, and wiſhed ſo heartily it might be embraced, that he offered himſelf to make a journey to his brother into Scotland, upon pretence of a viſit, (there having been always a brotherly affection performed between them), and directly to propoſe it to him. Pollard and Greenvil informed the King of this deſign; and believed well themſelves of what they wiſhed ſo much, and deſired his Majeſty's approbation and inſtruction. The King had reaſon to approve it; and ſent ſuch directions as he thought moſt proper for ſuch a negociation. Whereupon his brother begun his jour-

ney towards Edinburgh, where the General received him well. But after he had ſtayed ſome time there, and found an opportunity to tell him on what errand he came, he ſoon diſmiſſed him, without diſcovering to him any inclination to the buſineſs he came about, adviſing him "to return no more to him with ſuch propoſitions."

In truth, at that time, the General had not given the leaſt public proof that he had any thought or purpoſe of contributing to the King's reſtoration, which he might poſſibly think to be deſperate. Some rather believed, that the diſpoſition, which afterwards grew in him, towards it, did ariſe from divers accidents, which fell out in the courſe of affairs, and ſeemed even to oblige him to undertake that which in the end conduced ſo much to his greatneſs and glory: yet from that very time, his brother's inclinations to the King being known, and his journey taken notice of, it was generally believed in Scotland that he had a purpoſe to ſerve the King; which his Majeſty took no pains to diſclaim either there, or in England.

Monk's jealouſy of Lambert before this time.

Now upon the ſeveral ſudden changes in England, and the army's poſſeſſing itſelf of the entire government, Monk ſaw he ſhould be quickly overrun and deſtroyed by Lambert's greatneſs, of which he had always great emulation, if he did not provide for his own ſecurity. And therefore when he heard of his march towards the North, he uſed all inventions to get time, by entering into treaties, and in hope that there would appear ſome other party that would own and avow the Parliament's intereſt, as he had done: nor did he then manifeſt to have more in his purpoſe, than his own profit and honour, under the eſtabliſhment of that government.

When

When he heard of Lambert's being paſt York, and his making haſte to Newcaſtle, and had purged out of his army all thoſe whoſe affections and fidelity were ſuſpected by him, he called together an aſſembly, ſomewhat reſembling a convention of the States of Scotland; which he had ſubdued to all imaginable tameneſs, though he had exerciſed no other power over them than was abſolutely neceſſary to reduce that people to an entire ſubmiſſion to that tyrannical yoke. In all his other carriage towards them, but what was in order to that end, he was friendly and companionable enough; and as he was feared by the nobility, and hated by the clergy, ſo he was not unloved by the common people, who received more juſtice and leſs oppreſſion from him, than they had been accuſtomed to under their own lords. When this convention appeared before him, he told them, "that he had received a call from heaven "and earth, to march with his army into England, for "the better ſettlement of the government there; and "though he did not intend his abſence ſhould be long, "yet he foreſaw that there might be ſome diſturbance "of the peace which they enjoyed; and therefore he "expected, and deſired, that, in any ſuch occaſion, "they would be ready to join with the forces he left "behind in their own defence." In the ſecond place, which was indeed all he cared for from them, he very earneſtly preſſed them, "that they would pay in a pre-"ſent ſum of money out of the arrears of their taxes, "for ſupplying the neceſſities of the army, without "which it could not well march into England."

He calls together an aſſembly of the Scottiſh nation.

He diſcourſe to them.

From the time that he had ſettled his government in that kingdom, he had ſhewed more kindneſs to, and uſed more familiarity with, ſuch perſons as were moſt notorious for affection to the King, as finding them a

more direct and punctual people than the reſt: and when theſe men reſorted to him upon this convention, though they could draw nothing from him of promiſe, or intimation to any ſuch purpoſe, yet he was very well content they ſhould believe that he carried with him very good inclinations to the King; by which imagination of theirs, he received great advantage: for they paid him the arrears of a twelvemonth's tax over the kingdom; which complied with his wiſh, and partly enabled him to draw his army together. And after he had aſſigned thoſe whom he thought fit to leave behind him, and afterwards put them under the command of Major General Morgan, he marched with the reſt to Berwick; where a good part of his horſe and foot expected him; having refuſed to ratify the treaty ſigned by his commiſſioners at London, and committed Colonel Wilks, one of them, upon his return to Scotland, for having conſented to ſomething prejudicial to him, and expreſsly contrary to his inſtructions. However he deſired to gain farther time, and agreed to another treaty to be held at Newcaſtle; which, though he knew it would be governed by Lambert, was like not to be without ſome benefit to himſelf, becauſe it would keep up the opinion, in the Committee of Safety, that he was inclined to an accommodation of peace.

Lambert comes with his army to Newcaſtle towards the end of November.

It was towards the end of November, that Lambert with his army arrived at Newcaſtle, where he found the officers and ſoldiers whom Monk had caſhiered; and who, he perſuaded the people, had deſerted Monk, for his infidelity to the commonwealth, and that moſt of thoſe, who yet ſtayed with him, would do ſo too, as ſoon as he ſhould be within diſtance to receive them. But he now found his confidence had carried him too far, and that he was at too great a diſtance to give that relief

relief to his Committee of Safety, which it was like to ſtand in need of. Haſlerig and Morley were now looked upon, as the perſons inveſted with the authority of Parliament, whoſe intereſt was ſupported by them; and the officer, who was ſent by the Committee of Safety to reſtrain them in Portſmouth, or rather to reſtrain perſons from reſorting to them, found himſelf deſerted by more than half his ſoldiers; who declared, "that "they would ſerve the Parliament," and ſo went into Portſmouth; and another officer, who was ſent with a ſtronger party to ſecond them, diſcovering or fomenting the ſame affections in his ſoldiers, very frankly carried them to the ſame place: ſo that they were now grown too numerous to be contained within that garriſon, but were quartered to be in readineſs to march whither their generals, Haſlerig and Morley, would conduct them. The ſoldiers before Portſmouth revolted to it.

The city took new courage from hence; and what the maſters durſt not publicly own, the apprentices did, their diſlike of the preſent government; and flocking together in great multitudes, declared, "that they "would have a free Parliament." And though Colonel Hewſon, (a bold fellow, who had been an ill ſhoemaker, and afterwards clerk to a brewer of ſmall beer), who was left to guard the Committee of Safety, ſuppreſſed that commotion by marching into the city, and killing ſome of the apprentices, yet the loſs of that blood inflamed the city the more againſt the army; which, they ſaid, "was only kept on foot to murder the citizens." And it was ſaid, they cauſed a bill of indictment to be prepared againſt Hewſon for thoſe murders. The Common Council appeared every day more refractory, and refuſed to concur in any thing that was propoſed to them by the Committee of Safety; which begun to be univerſally The city apprentices riſe, but are ſuppreſſed by Hewſon.

ſally abhorred, as like to be the original of ſuch another tyranny as Cromwell had erected, ſince it wholly depended upon the power and ſpirit of the army: though, on the other hand, the committee proteſted and declared to them, "that there ſhould be a Parliament called to "meet together in February next, under ſuch qualifica- "tions and reſtrictions, as might be ſure to exclude "ſuch perſons who would deſtroy them." But this gave no ſatisfaction, every man remembering the Parliament that had been packed by Cromwell.

Lawſon and the fleet declare for the Parliament, and come into the river.

But that which broke the heart of the Committee of Safety, was the revolt of their favourite Vice-Admiral Lawſon, a man at that time appearing at leaſt as much republican, as any amongſt them; as much an Independent, as much an enemy to the Preſbyterians and to the Covenant, as Sir Harry Vane himſelf; and a great dependent upon Sir Harry Vane; and one whom they had raiſed to that command in the fleet, that they might be ſure to have the ſeamen ſtill at their devotion. This man, with his whole ſquadron, came into the river, and declared for the Parliament; which was ſo unexpected, that they would not believe it; but ſent Sir Harry Vane, and two others of great intimacy with Lawſon, to confer with him; who, when they came to the fleet, found Sir Anthony Aſhley Cooper, and two others, members of the Parliament, who had ſo fully prepoſſeſſed him, that he was deaf to all their charms; and told them, "that he would ſubmit to no authority "but that of the Parliament."

Haſſerig and Morley march from Portſmouth towards London.

Upon the fame of this, Haſſerig and Morley reſolved their troops to leave Portſmouth, and to march ards London, where their friends now prevailed ſo much. And the news of this march raiſed new thoughts in thoſe ſoldiers who had been left by Lambert to execute

cute any orders which they ſhould receive from the Committee of Safety. The officers of theſe regiments had been caſhiered by the Council of Officers, or the Committee of Safety, for adhering to the Parliament; and their commands having been given to other men, who had been diſcountenanced by the Parliament, the regiments for a time appeared as much confirmed in the intereſt of the army, as could be wiſhed. But theſe caſhiered officers, upon ſo great revolutions in the city and the navy, and the news of the advance of Haſlerig and Morley, reſolved to confer with their old ſoldiers, and try whether they had as much credit with them as their new officers; and found ſo much encouragement, that, at a time appointed, they put themſelves into the heads of their regiments, and marched with them into the field; whence, after a ſhort conference together, and renewing vows to each other never more to deſert the Parliament, they all marched into Chancery Lane to the houſe of the Speaker; and profeſſed their reſolution to live and die with the Parliament, and never more to ſwerve from their fidelity to it.

The ſoldiers in London reſolve to reſtore the Parliament; and wait on the Speaker.

Lambert, upon the firſt news of the froward ſpirit in the city, had ſent back Deſborough's regiment; which was now marched as near London as St. Alban's; where, hearing what their fellows at Weſtminſter, with whom they were to join, had done, they reſolved not to be the laſt in their ſubmiſſion; but declared that they likewiſe were for the Parliament; and gave the Speaker notice of their obedience. In all theſe ſeveral tergiverſations of the ſoldiers, General Fleetwood remained ſtill in conſultations with the Committee of Safety; and when any intelligence was brought of any murmur amongſt the ſoldiers, by which a revolt might enſue, and he was deſired to go amongſt them to confirm them,

Deſborough's regiment revolt to the Parliament.

The behaviour of Fleetwood at this time.

he would fall upon his knees to his prayers, and could hardly be prevailed with to go to them. And when he was amongſt them, and in the middle of any diſcourſe, he would invite them all to prayers, and put himſelf upon his knees before them: and when ſome of his friends importuned him to appear more vigorous in the charge he had, without which they muſt be all deſtroyed, they could get no other anſwer from him, than "that "God had ſpit in his face, and would not hear him:" ſo that men ceaſed to wonder why Lambert had preferred him to the office of General, and been content with the ſecond command for himſelf.

Lenthal goes into the city.

Lenthal the Speaker, upon this new declaration of the ſoldiers, recovered his ſpirit, and went into the city, conferred with the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and declared to them, "that the Parliament would "meet (though not immediately) within very few "days." For, as the members were not many, who were alive, and ſuffered to meet as the Parliament, ſo they were now diſperſed into ſeveral places. Then he went to the Tower, and, by his own authority, removed the lieutenant, who had been confirmed there by the Committee of Safety; and put Sir Anthony Aſhley Cooper, and other members of the Parliament, into the government and command of the Tower.

Changes the command of the Tower.

The Parliament meets again at Weſtminſter.

All things being in this good order, he and the members met again together at Weſtminſter, on December the 26th, and aſſumed the government of the three kingdoms, out of which they had been twice before caſt, with ſo much reproach and infamy. As ſoon as they came together, they repealed their act againſt the payment of exciſe and cuſtoms; and put thoſe collections into the ſtate they had been formerly in, that they might be ſure not to be without money to pay their

their proſelyte forces, and to carry on their other expences. Then they appointed commiſſioners to direct the quarters into which the army ſhould be put; and made an order, that all the troops under the command of Lambert, without ſending any direction to him, ſhould repair to thoſe quarters to which they were aſſigned.

They order Lambert's troops to their ſeveral quarters.

This man was now in a diſconſolate condition: as Monk approached nearer to him, very many of his ſoldiers deſerted him, and went to the other. The Lord Fairfax had raiſed forces, and poſſeſſed himſelf of York, without declaring any thing of his purpoſe. And this laſt order of the Parliament ſo entirely ſtripped Lambert of his army, that there remained not with him above one hundred horſe; all the reſt returned to their quarters with all quietneſs and reſignation; and himſelf was ſome time after committed to the Tower. The reſt of the officers of the army, who had been formerly caſhiered by the Parliament, and had reſumed their commands that they might break it, were again diſmiſſed from their charges, and committed priſoners to their own houſes. Sir Harry Vane, and divers other members of the Houſe who had concurred with the Committee of Safety, were likewiſe confined to their own houſes: ſo that the Parliament ſeemed now again poſſeſſed of a more abſolute authority than ever it had been, and to be without any danger of oppoſition or contradiction.

Lambert's army ſeparates; and he is committed to the Tower.

Vane, and others who had concurred with the Committee of Safety, confined to their own houſes.

The other changes and fluctuations had ſtill adminiſtered ſome hopes to the King, and the daily breaking out of new animoſities amongſt the chief miniſters of the former miſchiefs, diſpoſed men to believe that the government might at laſt reſt upon the old foundation. Men expected, that a very ſharp engagement between Lambert and Monk might make their

their parts of the army for ever after irreconcileable, and that all parties would be at laſt obliged to conſent to a new Parliament; in the election whereof there was a reaſonable belief, that the general temper of the people would chooſe ſober and wiſe men, who would rather bind up the wounds which had been already made, than endeavour to widen them. The Committee of Safety had neither received the reverence, nor inculcated the fear, which any government muſt do, that was to laſt any time. But this ſurpriſing reſurrection of the Parliament, that had been ſo often exploded, ſo often dead and buried, and was the only image of power that was moſt formidable to the King and his party, ſeemed to pull up all their hopes by the roots, and was interpreted by that party, as an act of Providence to eſtabliſh their monſtrous murders and uſurpation. And it may be juſtly ſaid, and tranſmitted as a truth to poſterity, that there were very few men, who bore a part in theſe changes and giddy revolutions, who had the leaſt purpoſe or thought to contribute towards the King's reſtoration, or who wiſhed well to his intereſt; they who did ſo, being ſo totally ſuppreſſed and diſpirited, that they were only at gaze, what light might break out of this darkneſs, and what order Providence might produce out of this confuſion. This was the true ſtate of affairs when the King returned from Fuentarabia to Bruſſels, or within few days after; and therefore it is no wonder, that there was that dejection of ſpirit upon thoſe about his Majeſty; and that the Duke of York, who ſaw ſo little hope of returning into England, was well pleaſed with the condition that was offered him in Spain, and that his ſervants were impatient to find him in poſſeſſion of it.

Upon this return of the Parliament, the King's affairs ſeemed more deſperate.

The condition of the King at Bruſſels.

Whilſt the diviſions had continued in the army, and the

the Parliament ſeemed entirely depoſed and laid aſide, and nobody imagined a poſſibility of any compoſition without blood, the Cardinal himſelf, as is ſaid before, and the Spaniſh miniſters, ſeemed ready and prepared to advance any deſign of the King's. But when they ſaw all thoſe contentions and raging animoſities compoſed, or ſuppreſſed, without one broken head, and thoſe very men again in poſſeſſion of the government and the army, who had been ſo ſcornfully rejected and trampled upon, and who had it now in their power, as well as their purpoſe, to level all thoſe preeminences which had overlooked them, they looked upon the Parliament as more ſecurely ſettled againſt domeſtic diſturbances, and much more formidably, with reference to their neighbours, than it had been under Cromwell himſelf; and thought of nothing more, than how to make advantageous and firm alliances with it.

There remained only within the King's own breaſt ſome faint hope (and God knows it was very faint) that Monk's march into England might yet produce ſome alteration. His Majeſty had a ſecret correſpondence with ſome principal officers in his army, who were much truſted by him, and had promiſed great ſervices; and it was preſumed that they would undertake no ſuch perilous engagement without his privity and connivance. Beſides, it might be expected from his judgment, that, whatever preſent conditions the governing party might give him, for the ſervice he had done, he could not but conclude, that they would be always jealous of the power they ſaw he was poſſeſſed of, and that an army that had marched ſo far barely upon his word, would be as ready to march to any place, or for any purpoſe, he would conduct them. And it was evident enough that the Parliament reſolved to new model their army, and

to

to have no man in any ſuch extent of command, as to be able to control their counſels. Then his Majeſty knew they were jealous of his fidelity, how much ſoever they courted him at that time; and therefore Monk would think himſelf obliged to provide for his own ſafety and ſecurity.

But, I ſay, theſe were but faint hopes grounded upon ſuch probabilities as deſpairing men are willing to entertain. The truth is, thoſe officers had honeſt inclinations; and, as wiſe men, had concluded, that, from thoſe frequent ſhuffles, ſome game at laſt might fall out that might prove to the King's advantage, and ſo were willing to beſpeak their own welcome by an early application; which, in regard of the perſons truſted by them, they concluded would be attended with no danger. But it never appeared they ever gave the General the leaſt cauſe to imagine they had any ſuch affection; and if they had, it is likely they had paid dearly for it. And it was the King's great happineſs that the General never owned his purpoſe to ſerve his Majeſty, till it fell to be in his power, and indeed was the beſt thing in his power to do. If he had declared his reſolution ſooner, he had been deſtroyed himſelf; the whole machine being ſo infinitely above his ſtrength, that it could be only moved by a divine hand; and it is glory enough to his memory, that he was God's inſtrument in bringing thoſe mighty things to paſs, which, undoubtedly, no one man living had, of himſelf, either wiſdom enough to foreſee, or underſtanding to contrive, or courage to attempt, and execute.

When the Parliament found themſelves at ſo much eaſe, and ſo much without apprehenſion of farther inſecurity, they heartily wiſhed that General Monk was again in his old quarters in Scotland. But as he continued

tinued his march towards London, without expecting their orders, ſo they knew not how to command him to return, whom they had ſent for to aſſiſt them, without ſeeing him, and giving him thanks and reward for his great ſervice: yet they ſent to him their deſire, "that a "good part of his forces might be ſent back to Scot- "land;" and he, having ſent back as many as he knew would be ſufficient for any work they could have to do in thoſe northern parts, continued his march with an army of about five thouſand foot and horſe, conſiſting of ſuch perſons in whoſe affections to him he had full confidence. When he came to York, he found that city in the poſſeſſion of the Lord Fairfax; who received him with open arms, as if he had drawn thoſe forces together, and ſeized upon that place, to prevent the army's poſſeſſing it, and to make Monk's advance into England the leſs interrupted.

Monk marches towards London.

The Parliament deſire, that part of his forces may be ſent back to Scotland.

Monk comes to York.

The truth is, that, upon a letter from the King, delivered to Fairfax by Sir Horatio Townſend, and with his ſole privity, and upon a preſumption that General Monk brought good affections with him for his Majeſty's ſervice, that lord had called together ſome of his old diſbanded officers and ſoldiers, and many principal gentlemen of the country, and marched in the head of them into York, ſome time after that Lambert was paſſed towards Newcaſtle, with a full reſolution to declare for the King; but when he could not afterwards diſcover, upon conference with Monk, that he had any ſuch thought, he ſatisfied himſelf with the teſtimony of his own conſcience, and preſently diſmiſſed his troops, being well contented with having, in the head of the principal gentlemen of that large county, preſented their deſires to the General, firſt in perſon, and afterwards in writing, "that he would be inſtrumental to

The Lord Fairfax's part in the whole buſineſs.

"reſtore

" reſtore the nation to peace and ſecurity, and to the " enjoying thoſe rights and liberties, which by the law " were due to them, and of which they had been " robbed and deprived by ſo many years' diſtractions; " and that, in order thereunto, he would prevail, either " for the reſtoring thoſe members which had been ex- " cluded in the year 1648 by force and violence, that " they might exerciſe that truſt the kingdom had re- " poſed in them; or that a free and full Parliament " might be called by the votes of the people; to which " all ſubjects had a right by their birth."

Addreſſes to Monk from all counties as he paſſed.

The principal perſons of all counties through which the General paſſed, flocked to him in a body with addreſſes to the ſame purpoſe.

The city ſent to him by their Sword-Bearer to the ſame purpoſe.

The city ſent a letter to him by their Sword-Bearer as far as to Morpeth, to offer their ſervice; and all concluded for a free Parliament, legally choſen by the free votes of the people.

His manner of receiving theſe addreſſes.

He received all with much civility, and few words; took all occaſions publicly to declare, " that " nothing ſhould ſhake his fidelity to the preſent Parlia- " ment," yet privately aſſured thoſe, who he thought it neceſſary ſhould hope well, " that he would procure a " free Parliament:" ſo that every body promiſed himſelf that which he moſt wiſhed.

The Parliament was far from being confident that Monk was above temptation: the manner of his march with ſuch a body, his receiving ſo many addreſſes from the people, and his treating Malignants ſo civilly, ſtartled them much; and though his profeſſions of fidelity to the Parliament, and referring all determinations to their wiſdom, had a good aſpect towards them, yet they feared that he might obſerve too much how generally odious they were grown to the people, which might leſſen his reverence towards them. To prevent this

this as much as might be, and to give some check to that licence of addresses, and resort of Malignants, they sent two of their members of most credit with them, Scot and Robinson, under pretence of giving their thanks to him for the service he had done, to continue and be present with him, and to discountenance and reprehend any boldness that should appear in any Delinquents. But this served but to draw more affronts upon them; for those gentlemen who were civilly used by the General, would not bear any disrespect from those of whose persons they had all contempt; and for the authority of those who sent them had no kind of reverence. As soon as the city knew of the deputing those two members, they likewise sent four of their principal citizens, to perform the same compliments, and to confirm him in his inclinations to a free Parliament, as the remedy all men desired.

The Parliament sends Scot and Robinson to meet him.

He continued his march with very few halts, till he came to St. Alban's. There he stopped for some days; and sent to the Parliament, "that he had some apprehension that those regiments and troops of the army "who had formerly deserted them, though for the present they were returned to their obedience, would not "live peaceably with his men," and therefore desired that all the soldiers (except one or two regiments, which he named) "who were then quartered in the Strand, "Westminster, or other suburbs of the city, might be "presently removed, and sent to more distant quarters, "that there might be room for his army." This message was unexpected, and exceedingly perplexed them, and made them see their fate would still be under the force and awe of an army. However they found it necessary to comply; and sent their orders to all soldiers to depart; which, with the reason and ground of their resolution,

At St. Alban's he sent to the Parliament, to have the other regiments removed out of town.

The Parliament gives orders accordingly.

lution, was ſo diſdainfully received, that a mutiny did ariſe amongſt the ſoldiers; and the regiment that was quartered in Somerſet Houſe expreſsly refuſed to obey thoſe orders; ſo that there were like to be new uproars. But their officers, who would have been glad to inflame them upon ſuch an occaſion, were under reſtraint, or abſent: and ſo at laſt all was well compoſed, and officers and ſoldiers removed to the quarters aſſigned them, with animoſity enough againſt thoſe who were to ſucceed them in their old ones. And in the beginning of February, General Monk with his army marched through the city into the Strand, and Weſtminſter, where it was quartered; his own lodgings being provided for him in Whitehall.

Monk marches in about the beginning of February.

He was ſhortly after conducted to the Parliament. There he had a chair appointed for him to ſit in; and the Speaker made him a ſpeech to this effect, "that "though it was God, and not man, who had done this "great work, and ought to have the glory of it; yet "the influence of that glory extended to him the inſtru- "ment, as a reward of his prudent and wiſe conduct: "that when their friends had left them, and there was a "great defection in duty and truſt, ſo that the whole "nation ſeemed to be expoſed to the utmoſt ruin; they "diſcerned, as the Prophet did, a little cloud afar off, "and in his hand which had diſperſed the miſeries of "theſe nations, and was become a glorious mercy to "them all: that the Houſe had a true reſentment of his "ſervice, and returned their hearty thanks to him, and "all his officers and ſoldiers."

He is conducted to the Parliament, and complimented by the Speaker.

The General was not a man of eloquence or volubility of ſpeech; but after having thanked them, "for the "honour they had done him for but doing his duty;" he told them, "that, in his march from Scotland, ſeve-

Monk's reply.

"ral

" ral applications, with numerous ſubſcriptions, had " been made to him, for a full and free Parliament, for " admittance of the ſecluded members without any pre- " vious oath or engagement; and that this Parliament " would determine their ſitting: to all which he had " anſwered, that they were now a free Parliament; and " that they had voted to fill up their Houſe, and then " they would be a full Parliament; and that they had " already determined their ſitting. But as for the ſe- " cluded members, this Parliament had already given " judgment in it, in which all people ought to acqui- " eſce; and that to admit any members to ſit in Par- " liament, without a previous oath to preſerve the go- " vernment in being, was never done in England. But " now he craved pardon to ſay to themſelves, that the " leſs oaths or engagements were impoſed, their ſettle- " ment would be the ſooner attained to: that he knew, " all the ſober gentry would cloſe with them, if they " might be tenderly and gently uſed: that it was their " common concernment to amplify, not to leſſen, their " intereſt, and to be careful that neither the Cavalier nor " the Fanatic party ſhould have yet a ſhare in the civil or " military power."

The reſt of his ſpeech concerned Ireland and Scotland. And all being ſpoken with more than his natural warmth, there were ſome expreſſions in it which they diſliked. But others gave them ſome eaſe, and hope that he would be faithful, though inwardly they heartily wiſhed that he was again in Scotland, and that they had been left to contend with the malignity of their old army; and they watched for ſome occaſion that he might manifeſt his fidelity and reſignation to them, or give them juſt occaſion to ſuſpect and queſtion it.

The late confuſions and interruptions of all public re-

ceipts had wholly emptied their coffers, out of which the army, and all other expences, were to be ſupplied. And though the Parliament had, upon their coming together again, renewed their ordinances for all collections and payments, yet money came in very ſlowly; and the people generally had ſo little reverence for their legiſlators, that they gave very ſlow obedience to their directions: ſo that they found it neceſſary, for their preſent ſupply, till they might by degrees make themſelves more univerſally obeyed, to require the city preſently to collect and bring in the arrears of their taxes, and in the mean time to borrow a conſiderable ſum of money of them; which could not be eaſily done but by the advice and with the conſent of the Common Council; that is, it could not be levied and collected orderly and peaceably, without their diſtribution.

The Common Council of the city are free from the Parliament.

The Common Council was conſtituted of ſuch perſons as were weary of the Parliament, and would in no degree ſubmit to, or comply with, any of their commands. They did not only utterly refuſe to conſent to what was demanded, but, in the debate of it, excepted againſt the authority, and, upon the matter, declared, "that they would never ſubmit to any impoſition that "was not granted by a free and lawful Parliament." And it was generally believed, that they had aſſumed this courage upon ſome confidence they had in the General; and the apprehenſion of this made the Parliament to be in the greater perplexity and diſtraction. This refuſal would immediately have put an end to their empire; they therefore reſolved upon this occaſion to make a full experiment of their own power, and of their General's obedience.

The Parliament having received a full information from thoſe aldermen, and others, whoſe intereſt was bound

bound up with theirs, of all that had paſſed at the Common Council, and of the ſeditious diſcourſes and expreſſions made by ſeveral of the citizens, referred it to the conſideration of the Council of State, what was fit to be done towards the rebellious city, to reduce them to that ſubmiſſion which they ought to pay to the Parliament. The Council of State deliberated upon the matter, and returned their advice to the Parliament, "that "ſome part of the army might be ſent into the city, and "remain there, to preſerve the peace thereof, and of the "commonwealth, and to reduce it to the obedience of "the Parliament. In order thereunto, and for their bet-"ter humiliation, they thought it convenient that the "poſts and chains ſhould be removed from and out of "the ſeveral ſtreets of the city; and that the portcul-"liſes and gates of the city ſhould be taken down and "broken." Over and above this, they named ten or eleven perſons, who had been the principal conductors in the Common Council, all citizens of great reputation; and adviſed "that they ſhould be apprehended "and committed to priſon, and that thereupon a new "Common Council might be elected, that would be "more at their devotion."

This round advice was embraced by the Parliament; and they had now a fit occaſion to make experiment of the courage and fidelity of their General, and commanded him to march into the city with his army; and to execute all thoſe particulars which they thought ſo neceſſary to their ſervice; and he as readily executed their commands; led his army into the town on Feb. the 9th, neglected the entreaties and prayers of all who applied to him, (whereof there were many who believed he meant better towards them), cauſed as many as he could of thoſe who were ſo preſcribed to be appre-

Monk ſent into the city to reduce it to obedience.

hended, and ſent them to the Tower; and, with all the circumſtances of contempt, pulled down and broke the gates and portcullises, to the confuſion and conſternation of the whole city; and having thus expoſed it to the ſcorn and laughter of all who hated it, he returned himſelf to Whitehall, and his army to their former quarters. And by this laſt act of compliance he fruſtrated the preſent hopes of thoſe who had expected better from him, and confirmed his maſters, that they could not be too confident of his obedience to their moſt extravagant injunctions. And many at that time feared, that if the Parliament had cultivated this tame reſignation of his, with any temper and diſcretion, by preparing his conſent and approbation to their proceedings, they might have found a full condeſcenſion from him, at leaſt no oppoſition to all their other counſels. But they were ſo infatuated with pride and inſolence, that they could not diſcern the ways to their own preſervation.

Returns to Whitehall.

Whilſt he was executing this their tyranny upon the city, they were contriving how to leſſen his power and authority, and reſolved to join others with him in the command of the army; and, upon that very day, they received a petition, which they had fomented, preſented to the Parliament by a man notorious in thoſe times, and who hath been formerly mentioned, Praiſe-God Barebone, in the head of a crowd of ſectaries. The petition begun with all the imaginable bitterneſs and reproaches upon the memory of the late King, and againſt the perſon of the preſent King, and all the nobility, clergy, and gentry of the kingdom, which adhered to him; the utter extirpation of all which it preſſed with great acrimony. It took notice of many diſcourſes of calling a new Parliament, at leaſt of admitting thoſe members to ſit in the preſent Parliament, who had been excluded

The Parliament reſolve to join others in command with him, and receive a petition by Barebone from the fanatics.

excluded in the year 1648; "either of which," the petitioners ſaid, "would prove the inevitable deſtruction "of all the godly in the land:" and therefore they beſought them with all earneſtneſs, "that no perſon what-"ſoever might be admitted to the exerciſe of any office "or function in the State, or in the Church, no not ſo "much as to teach a ſchool, who did not firſt take the "oath of abjuration of the King, and of all his family, "and that he would never ſubmit to the government of "any one ſingle perſon whatſoever; and that whoſoever "ſhould preſume ſo much as to propoſe or mention the "reſtoration of the King in Parliament, or any other "place, ſhould be adjudged guilty of, and condemned "for, high treaſon."

This petition was received with great approbation by the Houſe, their affection much applauded, and the thanks of the Parliament very ſolemnly returned by the Speaker: all which information the General received at Whitehall, when he returned out of the city; and was preſently attended by his chief officers; who, with open mouths, inveighed againſt the proceedings of the Parliament, "their manifeſt ingratitude to him, and the in-"dignity offered to him, in giving ſuch countenance to "a rabble of infamous varlets, who deſired to ſet the "whole kingdom in a flame, to comply with their fa-"natic and mad enthuſiaſms; and that the Parliament "would never have admitted ſuch an infamous addreſs "with approbation, except they had firſt reſolved upon "his ruin and deſtruction; which he was aſſuredly to "look for, if he did not prevent it by his wiſdom and "ſagacity;" and thereupon told him of the underhand endeavours which were uſed to work upon the affections of the ſoldiers.

Monk's chief officers diſcontented at this neglect of the Parliament of their General.

The General had been prepared, by the conferences

of Scot and Robinſon in the march, to expect, that, as ſoon as he came to the Parliament, he muſt take the oath of abjuration of the King and his family. And therefore they had adviſed him "to offer the taking it "himſelf, before it ſhould be propoſed to him, as a "matter that would confirm all men in an entire confi-"dence in him." When he came to the Parliament, they forbore, that day, to mention it, being a day dedicated only to careſs him, and to give him thanks, in which it could not be ſeaſonable to mingle any thing of diſtruſt But they meant roundly to have preſſed him to it, if this laſt opportunity, which they looked upon as a better earneſt of his fidelity, had not fallen out; and they thought he had not then taken any ſuch reſolution, as would have made him pauſe in the giving them that ſatisfaction. But being now awakened by this alarm from his officers, and the temper they were in, and his phlegm a little curdled, he begun to think himſelf in danger; and that this body of men, that was called the Parliament, had not reputation enough to preſerve themſelves, and thoſe who adhered to them. He had obſerved throughout the kingdom, as he marched, how deſpicable they were in the eſtimation of all men, who gave them no other term or appellation but the Rump, as the fag end of a carcaſe long ſince expired. All that night was ſpent in conſultation with his officers; nor did he then form any other deſign than ſo to unite his army to him, that they might not leave him in any reſolution he ſhould think fit to take.

This awakens him.

He marches again into the city, and ſends an expoſtulatory letter to the Parliament.

In the morning, which was very ſoon after he had broken the gates and the hearts of the city, he called his army again together, and marched with it into London, taking up his own quarters at an alderman's houſe. At the ſame time he left Whitehall; he ſent a letter to the Par-

Parliament, in which he roundly took notice of "their "unreaſonable, unjuſt, and unpolitic proceedings; of "their abetting and countenancing wicked and unchriſ- "tian tenets in reference to religion, and ſuch as would "root out the practice of any religion; of their under- "hand correſponding with thoſe very perſons whom "they had declared to be enemies, and who had been "principally inſtrumental in all the affronts and indig- "nities they had undergone, in and after their diſſolu- "tion." Thereupon he adviſed them in ſuch terms as they could not but underſtand for the moſt peremptory command, "that, in ſuch a time," (a time preſcribed in his letter,) "they would iſſue out writs for a new Par- "liament, that ſo their own ſitting might be deter- "mined; which was the only expedient that could re- "turn peace and happineſs to the kingdom, and which "both the army and kingdom expected at their hands." This letter was no ſooner delivered to the Houſe, than it was printed, and carefully publiſhed and diſperſed throughout the city, to the end that they who had been ſo lately and ſo woſully diſappointed, might ſee how throughly he was embarked, and ſo entertained no new jealouſies of him.

His letter to the Parliament printed and diſperſed.

After he had dined with the Lord Mayor, and diſpoſed his army in ſuch a manner and order as he thought fit, he deſired him, and the Aldermen, with the Common Council, to meet him at the Guildhall; where, after many excuſes for the work of the other day, they plighted their troth each to other in ſuch a manner, for the perfect union and adhering to each other for the future, that, as ſoon as they came from thence, the Lord Mayor attended the General to his lodgings, and all the bells of the city proclaimed, and teſtified to the town

He meets the Lord Mayor and Common Council, excuſes what was paſt, and promiſes to ſtand by them for the future, and they by him. [illegible] upon the city upon it.

and kingdom, that the army and the city were of one mind. And, as ſoon as the evening came, there was a continued light of bonfires throughout the city and ſuburbs, with ſuch an univerſal exclamation of joy, as had never been known, and cannot be expreſſed, with ſuch ridiculous ſigns of ſcorn and contempt of the Parliament, as teſtified the no-regard, or rather the notable deteſtation they had of it; there being ſcarce a bonfire at which they did not roaſt a rump, and pieces of fleſh made like one; "which," they ſaid, "was for the cele-"bration of the funeral of the Parliament:" and there can be no invention of fancy, wit, or ribaldry, that was not that night exerciſed to defame the Parliament, and to magnify the General.

In ſuch a huddle and mixture of looſe people of all conditions, and ſuch a tranſport of affections, it could not be otherwiſe but that ſome men would drink the King's health; which was taken no notice of; nor was it known that one perſon of condition did once preſume to mention him. All this, how much ſoever it amazed and diſtracted the Parliament, did not ſo diſhearten them, but that they continued ſtill to ſit, and proceeded in all things with their uſual confidence. They were not willing to deſpair of recovering their General again to them; and, to that purpoſe, they ſent a committee to treat with him, and to make all ſuch proffers to him as they conceived were moſt like to comply with his ambition. The entertainment he gave this committee, was the engaging them in a conference with another committee of the excluded members, to the end that he might be ſatisfied by hearing both, how one could have right to ſit there as a Parliament, and the other be excluded: and when he had heard them all, he made no

The Parliament ſent ſome members to treat with him.

He engages them in a conference with ſome ſecluded members

ſcruple

ſcruple to declare, "that in juſtice the ſecluded mem-
"bers ought to be admitted before the calling another
"Parliament, and the diſſolution of this."

After he had put the city into the poſture they de-
ſired, and found no danger threatened him from thence,
he returned again to his quarters in Whitehall, and diſ- He returns to Whitehall.
poſed his army to thoſe poſts which he judged moſt
convenient. He then ſent for the members of the Par- Sends for members of both parties.
liament to come to him, and many others who had been
excluded, and lamented "the ſad condition the king-
"dom was in, which he principally imputed to the diſ-
"union and diviſions which had ariſen in Parliament
"among thoſe who were faithful to the commonwealth:
"that he had had many conferences with them toge-
"ther, and was ſatisfied by thoſe gentlemen, who had
"been excluded, of their integrity; and therefore he
"had deſired this conference between them, that he
"might communicate his own thoughts to them; in
"doing whereof, that he might not be miſtaken in his
"delivery, or miſapprehended in his expreſſions, as he
"had lately been, he had put what he had a mind to He delivers his mind to them in a paper.
"ſay in writing;" which he commanded his ſecretary to
read to them: and was as follows.

"Gentlemen,

"You are not, I hope, ignorant, what care and en-
"deavours have been uſed, and means eſſayed, for heal-
"ing the breaches of our diviſions amongſt ourſelves;
"and that in order thereunto divers conferences have
"been procured between you, though to ſmall effect:
"yet having at length received fuller ſatisfaction, from
"thoſe worthy gentlemen that were ſecluded, than for-
"merly; I was bold to put you all to the trouble of
"this meeting, that I might open myſelf to you all,

"even

" even with more freedom than formerly: but leſt I " might be miſapprehended or miſtaken, as of late it be- " fell me, I have committed to writing the heads of " what I intended to diſcourſe to you, and deſire it may " be read openly to you all.

" Gentlemen,

" It appears unto me, by what I have heard from you " and the whole nation, that the peace and happy ſet- " tlement of theſe bleeding nations, next under God, " lieth in your hands. And when I conſider that wiſ- " dom, piety, and ſelf-denial, which I have reaſon to be " confident lodgeth in you, and how great a ſhare of the " nation's ſufferings will fall upon you, in caſe the Lord " deny us now a ſettlement, I am in very good hopes, " there will be found in you all ſuch melting bowels " towards theſe poor nations, and towards one another, " that you will become healers, and makers up, of all its " woful breaches. And that ſuch an opportunity may " clearly appear to be in your hands, I thought good to " aſſure you, and that in the preſence of God, that I " have nothing before my eyes but God's glory, and the " ſettlement of theſe nations upon commonwealth foun- " dations. In purſuit whereof I ſhall think nothing too " dear; and for my own particular, I ſhall throw myſelf " down at your feet to be any thing or nothing in order " to theſe great ends. As to the way of future ſettle- " ment, far be it from me to impoſe any thing; I de- " ſire you may be in perfect freedom; only give me " leave to mind you, that the old foundations are by " God's providence ſo broken, that, in the eye of rea- " ſon, they cannot be reſtored but upon the ruins of the " people of theſe nations, that have engaged for their " rights, in defence of the Parliament, and the great and

" main

" main ends of the Covenant, for uniting and making " the Lord's name one in the three nations: and alſo " the liberty of the people's repreſentatives in Parlia- " ment will be certainly loſt; for if the people find, that " after ſo long and bloody a war againſt the King for " breaking in upon their liberties, yet at laſt he muſt be " taken in again, it will be out of queſtion, and is moſt " manifeſt, he may for the future govern by his will, " diſpoſe of Parliaments and Parliament-men as he " pleaſeth, and yet the people will never more riſe for " aſſiſtance.

" And as to the intereſt of this famous city, (which " hath been in all ages the bulwark of Parliaments, and " unto whom I am for their great affection ſo deeply " engaged), certainly it muſt lie in a commonwealth; " that government only being capable to make them, " through the Lord's bleſſing, the metropolis and bank " of the trade for all Chriſtendom; whereunto God and " nature hath fitted them above others.

" And as to a government in the Church, the want " whereof hath been no ſmall cauſe of theſe nations' " diſtractions, it is moſt manifeſt, that if it be monar- " chical in the State, the Church muſt follow, and Pre- " lacy muſt be brought in; which theſe nations, I know, " cannot bear, and againſt which they have ſo ſolemnly " ſworn.

" And indeed moderate, not rigid Preſbyterian go- " vernment, with a ſufficient liberty for conſciences truly " tender, appears at preſent to be the moſt indifferent " and acceptable way to the Church's ſettlement.

" The main thing that ſeems to lie in the way is the " intereſt of the Lords, even of thoſe Lords who have " ſhewed themſelves noble indeed, by joining with the " people, and in defence of thoſe juſt rights have adven-

" tured

" tured their deareſt blood and large eſtates. To that I " ſhall only ſay, that though the ſtate of theſe nations " be ſuch, as cannot bear their ſitting in a diſtinct " Houſe; yet, certainly, the wiſdom of Parliament will " find out ſuch hereditary marks of honour for them, as " may make them more noble in after ages.

" Gentlemen,

" Upon the whole matter, the beſt reſult that I can " make at preſent for the peace of theſe nations, will be, " in my opinion, that you forthwith go to ſit together in " Parliament, in order,

1. " To the ſettling the conduct of the armies of the " three nations in that manner, as they may be ſervice- " able to the peace and ſafety of them, and not to its " own and the nation's ruin, by faction and diviſion.

2. " To the providing ſufficient maintenance for " them; that is, for the forces by land, and for the navy " by the ſea, and all the arrears of both, and other con- " tingencies of the government.

3. " To the appointing a Council of State with au- " thority to ſettle the civil government and judicatories " in Scotland and Ireland, and to take care for the iſ- " ſuing of writs for the ſummoning a Parliament of " theſe three nations united, to meet at Weſtminſter the " 20th day of April next, with ſuch qualifications as " may ſecure the public cauſe we are all engaged in, " and according to ſuch diſtributions as were uſed in the " year 1654. Which Parliament ſo called may meet " and act in freedom, for the more full eſtabliſhing of " this commonwealth, without a King, ſingle perſon, or " Houſe of Lords.

4. " To a legal diſſolution of this Parliament, to " make way for ſucceſſion of Parliaments.

" And

" And in order to theſe good ends, the guards will " not only willingly admit you, but faithfully both my- " ſelf, and every the officers under my command; and " I believe the officers and ſoldiers of the three nations " will ſpend their blood for you and ſucceſſive Parlia- " ments.

" If your conjunction be directed to this end, you " may part honourably, having made a fair ſtep to the " ſettlement of theſe nations, by making a way for ſuc- " ceſſive Parliaments.

" But I muſt needs ſay, that if any different counſel " ſhould be taken, (which I have no reaſon to fear), " theſe nations would preſently be thrown back into " force and violence, and all hopes of this much deſired " eſtabliſhment buried in diſorder; which the Lord in " his great mercy I hope will prevent. And ſo God " ſpeed you well together, and unite your hearts for the " preſervation of peace and ſettlement of theſe nations, " to his glory, and yours, and all our comforts."

Divers who heard this, thought there was no diſſimulation in it, in order to cover and conceal his good intentions for the King: for, without doubt, he had not to this hour ſeemed to them to have any purpoſe or thought to ſerve him, but appeared to be really of the opinion he expreſſed in his paper, that it was a work impoſſible. So that they thought he deſired nothing, but that he might ſee a commonwealth eſtabliſhed in ſuch a model as Holland was, where he had been bred; and that himſelf might enjoy the authority and place which the Prince of Orange poſſeſſed in that government. He had not, from his marching out of Scotland to this time, had much public converſation with any perſons who had ſerved the King; nor had he hitherto,

or,

or, for ſome time after, did he ſet one of the King's friends at liberty, though all the priſons were full of them; but, on the contrary, they were every day committed by the Rump Parliament; and with them it was guilt enough to be ſuſpected but to wiſh for the King's reſtoration.

As ſoon as the conference above mentioned was ended with the members of the Parliament, they who had been excluded from the year 1648, repaired to the Houſe on Feb. the 21ſt, and without any interruption, which they had hitherto found, took their places; and being ſuperior in number to the reſt, they firſt repealed and aboliſhed all the orders by which they had been excluded; then they provided for him who had ſo well provided for them, by renewing and enlarging the General's commiſſion, and revoking all other commiſſions which had been granted to any to meddle with, or aſſign quarters to any part of the forces.

The ſecluded members go to the Houſe.

Their tranſactions there.

They who had ſate before, had put the whole militia of the kingdom into the hands of ſectaries, perſons generally of no degree or quality, and notorious only for ſome new tenet in religion, and for ſome barbarity exerciſed upon the King's party. All theſe commiſſions were revoked, and the militia put under the government of the nobility and principal gentry throughout the kingdom; yet with this care and exception, that no perſon ſhould be capable of being truſted in that province, who did not firſt declare under his hand, "that he did "confeſs, and acknowledge, that the war raiſed by the "two Houſes of Parliament againſt the late King was "juſt, and lawful, until ſuch time as force and violence "was uſed upon the Parliament in the year 1648."

In the laſt place, they raiſed an aſſeſſment of one hundred thouſand pounds by the month, for the payment

ment of the army, and defraying the public expences for six months, to which the whole kingdom willingly submitted; and the city of London, upon the credit and security of that act, advanced as much ready money as they were desired; and having thus far redressed what was past, and provided as well as they could for the future, they issued out writs to call a Parliament, to meet upon the five and twentieth day of April next ensuing, (being April 1660), and then, on the sixteenth or seventeenth day of March, after they had appointed a Council of State, of which there were many sober and honest gentlemen, who did not wish the King ill, they dissolved that present Parliament, against all the importunities used by the sectaries, (who in multitudes flocked together, and made addresses in the name of their party in the city of London, that they would not dissolve themselves), but to the unspeakable joy of all the rest of the kingdom; who, notwithstanding their very different affections, expectations, and designs, were unanimous in their weariness and detestation of the long Parliament.

They issue writs for a new Parliament, and dissolve themselves, and appoint a new Council of State.

When the King, who had rather an imagination, than an expectation, that the march of General Monk to London with his army might produce some alteration that might be useful to him, heard of his entire submission to the Parliament, and of his entering the city, and disarming it, the commitment of the principal citizens, and breaking their gates and portcullises, all the little remainder of his hopes was extinguished, and he had nothing left before his eyes but a perpetual exile, attended with all those discomforts, whereof he had too long experience, and which, he must now expect, would be improved with the worst circumstances of neglect, which use to wait upon that condition. A greater consternation and dejection of mind cannot be imagined than

The King's affairs at Brussels during this time

than at that time covered the ſmall court of the King; but God did not ſuffer him long to be wrapped up in that melancholic cloud. As the General's ſecond march into the city was within two or three days after his firſt, and diſpelled the miſts and fogs which the other had raiſed, ſo the very evening of that day which had brought the news of the firſt in the morning, brought likewiſe an account to his Majeſty of the ſecond, with all the circumſtances of bells, and bonfires, and burning of rumps, and ſuch other additions, as might reaſonably be true, and which a willing relator would not omit.

The King hears on the ſame day of both the marches of the General into the city.

When it begun to be dark, the Lord Marquis of Ormond brought a young man with him to the Chancellor's lodging at Bruſſels; which was under the King's bedchamber, and to which his Majeſty every day vouchſafed to come for the diſpatch of any buſineſs. The Marquis ſaid no more but "that that man had formerly "been an officer under him, and he believed he was an "honeſt man; beſides, that he brought a line or two of "credit from a perſon they would both believe; but "that his diſcourſe was ſo ſtrange and extravagant, that "he knew not what to think of it; however, he would "call the King to judge;" and ſo went out of the room, leaving the man there, and immediately returned with the King.

The man's name was Baily; who had lived moſt in Ireland, and had ſerved there as a foot-officer under the Marquis. He looked as if he had drank much, or ſlept little: his relation was, "that in the afternoon of ſuch a "day, he was with Sir John Stephens in Lambeth "Houſe, uſed then as a priſon for many of the King's "friends; where, whilſt they were in conference toge-"ther, news was brought into the houſe by ſeveral per-"ſons, that the General was marched with his whole

"army

" army into the city, (it being within two or three days " after he had been there, and broke down their gates, " and pulled down their posts), and that he had a con- " ference with the Mayor and Aldermen; which was " no sooner ended, but that all the city bells rang out; " and he heard the bells very plain at Lambeth: and " that he stayed there so late, till they saw the bonfires " burning and flaming in the city: upon which Sir " John Stephens had desired him, that he would imme- " diately cross the river, and go into London, and en- " quire what the matter was; and if he found any thing " extraordinary in it, that he would take post, and make " all possible haste to Brussels, that the King might be " informed of it; and so gave him a short note in writ- " ing to the Marquis of Ormond, that he might believe " all that the messenger would inform him: that there- " upon he went over the river, walked through Cheap- " side, saw the bonfires, and the King's health drank in " several places, heard all that the General had done, " and brought a copy of the letter which the Gene- " ral had sent to the Parliament, at the time when he " returned with his army into the city; and then " told many things, which were," he said, " publicly " spoken, concerning sending for the King: that then " he took post for Dover, and hired a bark that brought " him to Ostend."

The time was so short from the hour he left London, that the expedition of his journey was incredible; nor could any man undertake to come from thence in so short a time, upon the most important affair, and for the greatest reward. It was evident by many pauses and hesitations in his discourse, and some repetitions, that the man was not composed, and at best wanted sleep; yet his relation could not be a mere fiction and

imagination. Sir John Stephens was a man well known to his Majeſty, and the other two; and had been ſent over lately by the King, with ſome advice to his friends; and it was well known, that he had been apprehended at his landing, and was ſent priſoner to Lambeth Houſe. And though he had not mentioned in his note any particulars, yet he had given him credit, and nothing but the man's own devotion to the King could reaſonably tempt him to undertake ſo hazardous and chargeable a journey. Then the General's letter to the Parliament was of the higheſt moment, and not like to be feigned; and upon the whole matter, the King thought he had argument to raiſe his own ſpirits, and that he ſhould do but juſtly in communicating his intelligence to his diſpirited family and ſervants; who, upon the news thereof, were revived proportionably to the deſpair they had ſwallowed; and, according to the temper of men who had lain under long diſconſolation, thought all their ſufferings over; and laid in a ſtock of ſuch vaſt hopes, as would be very hard for any ſucceſs to procure ſatisfaction for.

But the King, who thanked God for this new dawning of hope, and was much refreſhed with this unexpected alteration, was yet reſtrained from any confidence that this would produce any ſuch revolution as woul be ſufficient to do his work, towards which he ſaw cauſe enough to deſpair of aſſiſtance from any foreign power. The moſt that he could collect from the General's letter, beſides the ſuppreſſing the preſent tyranny of the Rump Parliament, was, that, poſſibly, at laſt the excluded members might be again admitted, and, it may be, able to govern that Council. And even this adminiſtered no ſolid ground of comfort or confidence to his Majeſty. Several of thoſe excluded members had

not

not been true members of Parliament, but elected, after the end of the war, into their places who had been expelled for adhering to the King; and ſo they had no title to ſit there, but what the counterfeit Great Seal had given them, without and againſt the King's authority. It was thought theſe men, with others who had been lawfully choſen, were willing, and deſirous, that the conceſſions made by the late King at the Iſle of Wight might be accepted; which in truth did, with the preſervation of the name and life of the King, near as much eſtabliſh a republican government, as was ſettled after his murder; and becauſe they would inſiſt upon that, they were, with thoſe circumſtances of force and violence, which are formerly mentioned, excluded from the Houſe; without which that horrid villainy could never have been committed.

Now what could the King reaſonably expect from theſe men's readmiſſion into the government, but that they would reſume their old concluſions, and preſs him to conſent to his father's conceſſions? which his late Majeſty yielded to with much leſs cheerfulneſs, than he walked to the ſcaffold; though it was upon the promiſe of many powerful men then in the Parliament, "that he ſhould not be obliged to accompliſh that "agreement." Theſe revolvings wrought much upon his Majeſty, though he thought it neceſſary to appear pleaſed with what he had heard, and to expect much greater things from it; which yet he knew not how to contribute to, till he ſhould receive a farther account from London of the revolutions there.

Indeed, when all his Majeſty had heard before was confirmed by ſeveral expreſſes, who paſſed with much freedom, and were every day ſent by his friends, who had recovered their courage to the full, and diſcerned

that theſe excluded members were principally admitted to prepare for the calling a new Parliament, and to be ſure to make the diſſolution of this unqueſtionable and certain, the King recovered his hopes again; which were every day increaſed by the addreſſes of many men, who had never before applied themſelves to him; and many ſent to him for his Majeſty's approbation and leave to ſerve and ſit in the next Parliament. And from the time that the Parliament was diſſolved, the Council of State behaved themſelves very civilly towards his Majeſty's friends, and releaſed many of them out of priſon: particularly Anneſley, when Preſident of the Council, was very well contented that the King ſhould receive particular information of his devotion, and of his reſolution to do him ſervice; which he manifeſted in many particulars of importance, and had the courage to receive a letter from his Majeſty, and returned a dutiful anſwer to it: all which had a very good aſpect, and ſeemed to promiſe much good. Yet the King knew not what to think of the General's paper, which he had delivered at his conference with the members; for which he could ſeem to have no temptation, but his violent affection to a commonwealth. Few or none of his Majeſty's friends could find any means of addreſs to him; yet they did believe, and were much the better for believing it, that the King had ſome ſecret correſpondence with him. And ſome of them ſent to the King, "of what importance it would "be, that he gave them ſome credit, or means of ac- "ceſs to the General, by which they might receive his "order and direction in ſuch things as occurred on the "ſudden, and that they might be ſure to do nothing "that might croſs any purpoſe of his." To which the King returned no other anſwer, "but that they ſhould "have

Many now apply to the King.

The Council of State's kind behaviour now to the King's friends.

"have patience, and make no attempt whatſoever; "and that in due time they ſhould receive all advertiſe- "ments neceſſary;" it being not thought fit to diſclaim having intelligence with, or hopes of, the General; ſince it was very evident, that the received opinion, that he did deſign to ſerve the King, or that he would be at laſt obliged to do it, whether he deſigned to do it or no, did really as much contribute to the advancement of his Majeſty's ſervice, as if he had dedicated himſelf to it. And the aſſurance, that the other party thought they had, that he had no ſuch intention, hindered thoſe obſtructions, jealouſies, and interruptions, which very probably might have leſſened his credit with his own army, or united all the reſt of the forces againſt him.

There happened likewiſe at this time a buſineſs that very much troubled the King, and might very probably have deſtroyed all the hopes that began to flatter him. Upon the diſſolution of the Parliament, which put an end to all the power and authority of thoſe who had been the chief inſtruments of all the monſtrous things which had been done, the higheſt deſpair ſeized upon all who had been the late King's judges; who were ſure to find as hard meaſure from the ſecluded members, as they were to expect if the King himſelf had been reſtored. And all they who had afterwards concurred with them, and exerciſed the ſame power, who were called the Rump, believed their ruin and deſtruction to be certain, and at hand. And therefore they contrived all the ways they could to preſerve themſelves, and to prevent the aſſembling a new Parliament; which if they could interrupt, they made no doubt but the Rump members would again reſume the government, notwithſtanding their diſſolution by the power of the ſecluded members; who would then pay dear for their preſumption and intruſion.

To this purpoſe, they employed their agents amongſt the officers and ſoldiers of the army, who had been diſgracefully removed from their quarters in the Strand, and Weſtminſter, and the parts adjacent to London, to make room for General Monk's army; which was now looked upon as the ſole confiding part of the army. And they inflamed theſe men with the ſenſe of their own deſperate condition; who, having ſerved throughout the war, ſhould, beſides the loſs of all the arrears of pay due to them, be now offered as a ſacrifice to the Cavaliers, whom they had conquered, and who, they ſuppoſed, were implacably incenſed againſt them. Nor did they omit to make the ſame infuſions into the ſoldiers of General Monk's army, who had all the ſame title to the ſame fears and apprehenſions. And when their minds were thus prepared, and ready to declare upon the firſt opportunity, Lambert made his eſcape out of the Tower; his party having in all places ſo many of their combination, that they could compaſs their deſigns of that kind whenever they thought fit; though the General had as great a jealouſy of this man's eſcape, as of any thing that could fall out to ſupplant him. And therefore, it may be preſumed, he took all poſſible care to prevent it: and they who then had command of the place were notoriouſly known neither to love Lambert's perſon, nor to favour his deſigns.

Lambert's eſcape out of the Tower.

This eſcape of Lambert in ſuch a conjuncture, the moſt perilous that it could fall out in, put the General, and the Council of State, into a great agony. They knew well what poiſon had been ſcattered about the army, and what impreſſion it had made in the ſoldiers. Lambert was the moſt popular man, and had the greateſt influence upon them. And though they had lately deſerted

deſerted him, they had ſufficiently publiſhed their remorſe, and their deteſtation of thoſe who had ſeduced and cozened them. So that there was little doubt to be made, now he was at liberty, but that they would flock and reſort to him, as ſoon as they ſhould know where to find him. On the other hand, no ſmall danger was threatened from the very drawing the army together to a rendezvous in order to proſecute and oppoſe him, no man being able to make a judgment what they would chooſe to do in ſuch a conjuncture, when they were ſo full of jealouſy and diſſatisfaction. And it may very reaſonably be believed, that if he had, after he found himſelf at liberty, lain concealed, till he had digeſted the method he meant to proceed in, and procured ſome place to which the troops might reſort to declare with him, when he ſhould appear, (which had been very eaſy then for him to have done), he would have gone near to have ſhaken at leaſt the model the General had made.

But either through the fear of his ſecurity, and being betrayed into the hands of his enemies, (as all kind of treachery was at that time very active; of which he had experience), or the preſumption, that the army would obey him upon his firſt call, and that, if he could draw a ſmall part to him, the reſt would never appear againſt him; he precipitated himſelf to make an attempt, before he was ready for it, or it for him; and ſo put it into his enemy's power to diſappoint and control all his deſigns. He ſtayed not at all in London, as it was his intereſt to have done, but haſtened into the country; and truſting a gentleman in Buckinghamſhire, whom he thought himſelf ſure of, the General had quickly notice in what quarter he was: yet, with great expedition, Lambert drew four troops of the army to

He draws four troops of the army to him near Daventry.

him, with which he had the courage to appear near Daventry in Northamptonſhire, a country famous for diſaffection to the King, and for adhering to the Parliament; where he preſumed he ſhould be attended by other parts of the army, before it ſhould be known at Whitehall where he was, and that any forces could be ſent from thence againſt him: of which, he doubted not, from his many friends, he ſhould have ſeaſonable notice.

The General ſends Ingoldſby againſt him with his own regiment, and a body of foot under Colonel Streater.

But the General, upon his firſt ſecret intimation of his being in Buckinghamſhire, and of the courſe he meant to take, had committed it to the charge and care of Colonel Ingoldſby, (who was well known to be very willing and deſirous to take revenge upon Lambert, for his malice to Oliver and Richard, and the affront he had himſelf received from him), to attend and watch all his motions with his own regiment of horſe; which was the more faithful to him for having been before ſeduced by Lambert to deſert him. Ingoldſby, being joined with a good body of foot under Colonel Streater, uſed ſo much diligence in waiting upon Lambert's motion, before he was ſuſpected to be ſo near, that one of Lambert's four captains fell into the hands of his forlorn hope; who made him priſoner, and brought him to their colonel. The captain was very well known to Ingoldſby; who, after ſome conference with him, gave him his liberty, upon his promiſe, "that he would "himſelf retire to his houſe, and ſend his troop to obey "his commands;" which promiſe he obſerved; and the next day his troop, under his cornet and quarter-maſter, came to Ingoldſby, and informed him where Lambert was. He thereupon made haſte, and was in his view, before the other had notice that he was purſued by him.

One of Lambert's troops revolts to Ingoldſby:

Lambert,

Lambert, ſurpriſed with this diſcovery, and finding that one of his troops had forſaken him, ſaw his enemy much ſuperior to him in number; and therefore ſent to deſire that they might treat together; which the other was content to do. Lambert propoſed to him, "that "they might reſtore Richard to be Protector;" and promiſed to unite all his credit to the ſupport of that intereſt. But Ingoldſby (beſides that he well underſtood the folly and impoſſibility of that undertaking) had devoted himſelf to a better intereſt; and adhered to the General, becauſe he preſumed that he did intend to ſerve the King, and ſo rejected this overture. Whereupon both parties prepared to fight, when another of Lambert's troops forſaking him, and putting themſelves under his enemy, he concluded, that his ſafety would depend upon his flight; which he thought to ſecure by the ſwiftneſs of his horſe. But Ingoldſby keeping his eye ſtill upon him, and being as well horſed, overtook him, and made him his priſoner, after he had in vain uſed great and much importunity to him, that he would permit him to eſcape.

And another alſo.

Lambert and his party diſperſed.

He and others taken.

With him were taken Cobbet, Creed, and ſome other officers of the greateſt intereſt with the fanatic part of the army, and who were moſt apprehended by the General, in a time when all the ways were full of ſoldiers endeavouring to repair to them: ſo that, if they had not been cruſhed in that inſtant, they would, in very few days, have appeared very formidable. Ingoldſby returned to London, and brought his priſoners to the Privy Council; who committed Lambert again to the Tower with a ſtricter charge, with ſome other of the officers; and ſent the reſt to other priſons. This very ſeaſonable victory looked to all men as a happy omen to the ſucceeding Parliament; which was to aſſemble

ſoon

ſoon after the priſoners were brought before the Council; and would not have appeared with the ſame cheerfulneſs, if Lambert had remained ſtill in arms, or, in truth, if he had been ſtill at liberty.

The Parliament's and Council of State's prudent actions.

In this ſhort interval between the return of the ſecluded members, and the convention of the new Parliament, many prudent actions and alterations (beſides what have been already mentioned) were begun by that Parliament, before it was diſſolved, and finiſhed afterwards by the Council of State; which were good preſages, that the future councils would proceed with moderation. They releaſed Sir George Booth from his impriſonment, that he might be elected to ſit in the enſuing Parliament, as he ſhortly after was; and they ſet at liberty all thoſe who had been committed for adhering to him. Thoſe of the King's party who had ſheltered themſelves in obſcurity, appeared now abroad, and converſed without control; and Mr. Mordaunt, who was known to be entirely truſted by the King, walked into all places with freedom; and many of the Council, and ſome officers of the army, as Ingoldſby and Huntington, &c. made, through him, tender of their ſervices to the King.

Before the aſſembling of the new Parliament they releaſe Sir George Booth, &c.

They reform the navy by making Monk and Mountague Admirals.

But that which ſeemed of moſt importance, was the reformation they made in the navy; which was full of ſectaries, and under the government of thoſe who of all men were declared the moſt republican. The preſent fleet prepared for the ſummer ſervice was under the command of Vice-Admiral Lawſon; an excellent ſeaman, but then a notorious Anabaptiſt; who had filled the fleet with officers and mariners of the ſame principles. And they well remembered, how he had lately beſieged the city; and, by the power of his fleet, given that turn which helped to ruin the Committee of Safety,

and

and reſtore the Rump Parliament to the exerciſe of their juriſdiction; for which he ſtood high in reputation with all that party. The Parliament reſolved, though they thought it not fit or ſafe to remove Lawſon, yet ſo far to eclipſe him, that he ſhould not have it ſo abſolutely in his power to control them, as he had done the Committee of Safety. In order to this they concluded, that they would call Mountague, who had lain privately in his own houſe, under a cloud, and jealouſy of being inclined too much to the King, and make him and the General (who was not to be left out in any thing) joint Admirals of the fleet; whereby Mountague only would go to ſea, and have the ſhips under his command; by which he might take care for good officers, and ſeamen, for ſuch other ſhips as they meant to add to the fleet, and would be able to obſerve, if not reform the reſt. Mountague ſent privately over to the King for his approbation, before he would accept the charge; which being ſpeedily ſent to him, he came to London, and entered into that joint command with the General; and immediately applied himſelf to put the fleet into ſo good order, that he might comfortably ſerve in it. Since there was no man who betook himſelf to his Majeſty's ſervice with more generoſity than this gentleman, it is fit in this place to enlarge concerning him, and the correſpondence which he held with the King.

An account of Admiral Mountague.

Mountague was of a noble family, of which ſome were too much addicted to innovations in religion, and, in the beginning of the troubles, appeared againſt the King; though his father, who had been long a ſervant to the Crown, never could be prevailed upon to ſwerve from his allegiance, and took all the care he could to reſtrain this his only ſon within thoſe limits: but being young,

young, and more out of his father's control by being married into a family, which, at that time, alſo trod awry, he was ſo far wrought upon by the careſſes of Cromwell, that, out of pure affection to him, he was perſuaded to take command in the army, when it was new modelled under Fairfax, and when he was little more than twenty years of age. He ſerved in that army in the condition of a colonel to the end of the war, with the reputation of a very ſtout and ſober young man. And from that time Cromwell, to whom he paſſionately adhered, took him into his neareſt confidence, and ſent him, firſt, joined in commiſſion with Blake; and then, in the ſole command by ſea; in which he was diſcreet and ſucceſsful. And though men looked upon him as devoted to Cromwell's intereſt, in all other reſpects he behaved himſelf with civility to all men, and without the leaſt ſhew of acrimony towards any who had ſerved the King; and was ſo much in love with monarchy, that he was one of thoſe who moſt deſired and adviſed Cromwell to accept and aſſume that title, when it was offered to him by his Parliament. He was deſigned by him to command the fleet that was to mediate, as was pretended, in the Sound, between the two Kings of Sweden and Denmark; but was, in truth, to hinder the Dutch from aſſiſting the Dane againſt the Swede; with whom Oliver was engaged in an inſeparable alliance. He was upon this expedition, when Richard was ſcornfully thrown out of the Protectorſhip; and was afterwards joined (for they knew not how to leave him out, whilſt he had that command) with Algernon Sidney, and the other plenipotentiaries which the Rump Parliament ſent to reconcile thoſe Crowns. As ſoon as Richard was ſo caſt down, the King thought Mountague's relations and obligations were at an end, and was

adviſed

adviſed by thoſe who knew him, to invite him to his ſervice.

There accompanied him at that time Edward Mountague, the eldeſt ſon of the Lord Mountague of Boughton, and his near kinſman; with whom he had a particular friendſhip. This gentleman was not unknown to the King, and very well known to the Chancellor, to have good affections and reſolutions; and one who, by the correſpondence that was between them, he knew, had undertaken that unpleaſant voyage, only to diſpoſe his couſin to lay hold of the firſt opportunity to ſerve his Majeſty. At this time Sir George Booth appeared, and all thoſe deſigns were laid, which, it was reaſonably hoped, would engage the whole kingdom againſt that odious part of the Parliament which was then poſſeſſed of the government. And it was now thought a very ſeaſonable conjuncture to make an experiment, whether Mountague with his fleet would declare for the King.

The Chancellor thereupon prepared ſuch a letter in his own name, as his Majeſty thought proper, to invite him to that reſolution, from the diſtraction of the times, and the determination of all thoſe motives which had in his youth firſt provoked him to the engagements he had been in. He informed him of "Sir George Booth's "being poſſeſſed of Cheſter, and in the head of an "army; and that his Majeſty was aſſured of many "other places; and of a general combination between "perſons of the greateſt intereſt, to declare for the "King; and that, if he would bring his fleet upon the "coaſt, his Majeſty, or the Duke of York, would im-"mediately be on board with him." This letter was incloſed in another to Edward Mountague, to be by him delivered, or not delivered, as he thought fit; and committed

committed to the care of an expreſs, who was then thought not to be without ſome credit with the Admiral himſelf; which did not prove true. However, the meſſenger was diligent in proſecuting his voyage, and arrived ſafely at Copenhagen, (where the fleet lay; and where all the plenipotentiaries from the Parliament then were), and without difficulty found opportunity to deliver his letter to the perſon to whom it was directed; who, the ſame night, delivered the other to his couſin. He received it cheerfully, and was well pleaſed with the hopes of ſudden revolutions in England.

They were both of them puzzled how to behave themſelves towards the meſſenger, who was not acceptable to them, being very well known to the fleet, where though he had had good command, he had no credit; and had appeared ſo publicly, by the folly of good fellowſhip, that the Admiral, and many others, had ſeen him and taken notice of him, before he knew that he brought any letter for him. The concluſion was, that he ſhould without delay be ſent away, without ſpeaking with the Admiral, or knowing that he knew any thing of his errand. But Edward Mountague writ ſuch a letter to the Chancellor, as was evidence enough that his Majeſty would not be diſappointed in his expectation of any ſervice that the Admiral could perform for him. With this anſwer the meſſenger returned to Bruſſels, where there was a great alteration from the time he had left it.

Within few days after this meſſenger's withdrawing from Copenhagen, of whoſe being there the plenipotentiaries were ſo jealous, that they had reſolved to require of the King of Denmark, that he might be committed to priſon, Admiral Mountague declared, "that he "ſhould not be able to ſtay longer there for the want

"of

" of victual; of which he had not more than would " ſerve to carry him home; and therefore deſired, that " they would preſs both Kings, and the Dutch plenipo- " tentiaries, to finiſh the negociation." By this time the news of the commotions in England made a great noiſe, and were reported, according to the affections of the perſons who ſent letters thither, more to the King's advantage than there was reaſon for; and the other plenipotentiaries came to know, that the man, of whom they were ſo jealous, had privately ſpoken with Edward Mountague; who was very well known, and very ill thought of by them. And from thence they concluded, that the Admiral, who had never pleaſed them, was no ſtranger to that negociation; in which jealouſy they were quickly confirmed, when they ſaw him with his fleet under ſail, making his courſe for England, without giving them any notice, or taking his leave of them; which if he had done, they had ſecret authority from their coming thither (upon the general apprehenſion of his inclination) to have ſecured his perſon on board his own ſhip, and to have diſpoſed of the government of the fleet; of which being thus prevented, they could do no more than ſend expreſſes over land, to acquaint the Parliament of his departure, with all the aggravation of his pride, preſumption, and infidelity, which the bitterneſs of their nature and wit could ſuggeſt to them.

When the fleet arrived near the coaſt of England, they found Sir George Booth defeated, and all perſons who pretended any affection for the King ſo totally cruſhed, and the Rump Parliament in ſo full exerciſe of its tyrannical power, that the Admiral had nothing to do but to juſtify his return " by his ſcarcity of victual, " which muſt have failed, if he had ſtayed till the " winter

"winter had ſhut him up in the Sound;" and his return was reſolved upon the joint advice of the flag-officers of the fleet; there being not a man but his couſin, who knew any other reaſon of his return, or was privy to his purpoſes. So that, as ſoon as he had preſented himſelf to the Parliament, and laid down his command, they deferred the examination of the whole matter, upon the complaints which they had received from their commiſſioners, till they could be at more leiſure. For it was then about the time that they grew jealous of Lambert; ſo that Mountague went quietly into the country, and remained neglected and forgotten, till thoſe revolutions were over which were produced by Lambert's invaſion upon the Parliament, and General Monk's march into England, and till near the time that the name and title of that Parliament was totally aboliſhed and extinguiſhed; and then the ſecluded members being reſtored, called him to reſume the command of the fleet; which he accepted in the manner aforeſaid.

This, together with the other good ſymptoms in the ſtate, raiſed his Majeſty's hopes and expectation higher than ever, if it had not been an unpleaſant allay, that in ſo great an alteration, and application of many who had been eminently averſe from his Majeſty, of the General, who only could put an end to all his doubts, there was *altum ſilentium*; no perſons truſted by his Majeſty could approach him, nor was any word known to fall from him that could encourage them to go to him, though they ſtill preſumed that he meant well.

The General's counſels at this time.

The General was weary and perplexed with his unwieldy burden, yet knew not how to make it lighter by communication. He ſpent much time in conſultation with perſons of every intereſt, the King's party only excepted; with whom he held no conference; though he found,

found, in his every day's diſcourſes in the city, with thoſe who were thought to be Preſbyterians, and with other perſons of quality and conſideration, that the people did generally wiſh for the King, and that they did believe, there could be no firm and ſettled peace in the nation, that did not comprehend his intereſt, and compoſe the prejudice that was againſt his party. But then there muſt be ſtrict conditions to which he muſt be bound, which it ſhould not be in his Majeſty's power to break; and which might not only ſecure all who had borne arms againſt him, but ſuch who had purchaſed the lands of the Crown, or of Biſhops, or of Delinquents; and nobody ſpoke more favourably, than for the confirming all that had been offered by his father in the Iſle of Wight.

He had a conference with divers at Northumberland Houſe.

Whether by invitation, or upon his own deſire, he was preſent at Northumberland Houſe in a conference with that Earl, the Earl of Mancheſter, and other lords, and likewiſe with Hollis, Sir William Waller, Lewis, and other eminent perſons, who had a truſt and confidence in each other, and who were looked upon as the heads and governors of the moderate Preſbyterian party; who, moſt of them, would have been contented their own ſecurity being provided for, that the King ſhould be reſtored to his full rights, and the Church to its poſſeſſions. In this conference, the King's reſtoration was propoſed in direct terms, as abſolutely neceſſary to the peace of the kingdom, and for the ſatisfaction of the people; and the queſtion ſeemed only to be, upon what terms they ſhould admit him: ſome propoſing more moderate, others more ſevere conditions. In this whole debate, the General inſiſted upon the moſt rigid propoſitions; which he preſſed in ſuch a manner, that the lords grew jealous that he had ſuch an averſion from reſtoring the King, that it would not be ſafe for them

then to proſecute that advice; and therefore it were beſt to acquieſce till the Parliament met, and that they could make ſome judgment of the temper of it. And the General, though he conſulted with thoſe of every faction with much freedom, yet was by many then thought to have moſt familiarity, and to converſe moſt freely, with Sir Arthur Haſlerig, who was irreconcileable to monarchy, and looked upon as the chief of that republican party, which deſired not to preſerve any face of government in the Church, or uniformity in the public exerciſe of religion. This made the lords, and all others, who were of different affections, very wary in their diſcourſes with the General, and jealous of his inclinations.

He conſults with Mr. Morrice.

There was, at this time, in much converſation and truſt with the General, a gentleman of Devonſhire, of a fair eſtate and reputation, one Mr. William Morrice, a perſon of a retired life, which he ſpent in ſtudy, being learned and of good parts; and he had been always looked upon as a man far from any malice towards the King, if he had not good affections for him; which they who knew him beſt, believed him to have in a good meaſure. This gentleman was allied to the General, and entirely truſted by him in the management of his eſtate in that country, where, by the death of his elder brother without heirs male, he inherited a fair fortune. And Morrice, being choſen to ſerve in the next enſuing Parliament, had made haſte to London, the better to obſerve how things were like to go. With him the General conſulted freely touching all his perplexities and obſervations; how "he found moſt men "of quality and intereſt inclined to call in the King, "but upon ſuch conditions as muſt be very ungrateful, "if poſſible to be received;" and the London miniſters talked already ſo loudly of them, that the Covenant being

new

new printed, and, by order, fixed up in all churches, they, in their ſermons, diſcourſed of the ſeveral obligations in it, that, without expoſing themſelves to the danger of naming the King, which yet they did not long forbear, every body underſtood, they thought it neceſſary the people ſhould return to their allegiance.

That which wrought moſt upon the General, was the choice which was begun to be made in all counties for members to ſerve in Parliament; very many of them being known to be of ſingular affection to the King, and very few who did not heartily abhor the murder of his father, and deteſt the government that ſucceeded: ſo that it was reaſonably apprehended, that, when they ſhould once meet, there would be warmth among them, that could not be reſtrained or controlled; and they might take the buſineſs ſo much into their own hands, as to leave no part to him to merit of the King; from whom he had yet deſerved nothing.

Mr. Morrice was not wanting to cultivate thoſe conceptions with his information of the affections of the Weſt, "where the King's reſtoration was," he ſaid, "ſo "impatiently longed for, that they had made choice of "few or no members to ſerve for Cornwall, or Devon-"ſhire, but ſuch, who, they were confident, would "contribute all they could to invite the King to re-"turn. And when that ſubject was once upon the "ſtage, they who concurred with moſt frankneſs would "find moſt credit; and they who oppoſed it would be "overborne with laſting reproach." When the General had reflected upon the whole matter, he reſolved to advance that deſign; and ſo conſulted with his friend, how he might manage it in that manner, before the

Parliament ſhould aſſemble, that what followed might be imputed to his counſels and contrivance.

There was then in the town a gentleman well known to be a ſervant of eminent truſt to the King, Sir John Greenvil, who, from the time of the ſurrender of Scilly, had enjoyed his eſtate, and ſometimes his liberty, though, under the jealouſy of a diſaffected perſon, often reſtrained. He had been privy to the ſending to the General into Scotland the clergyman, his brother; and was converſant with thoſe who were moſt truſted by his Majeſty, and at this time were taken notice of to have all intimacy with Mr. Mordaunt; who moſt immediately correſponded with Bruſſels. This gentleman was of a family to which the General was allied; and he had been obliged to his father, Sir Bevil Greenvil; who loſt his life at the battle of Lanſdown for the King, and by his will had recommended his much impaired fortune, and his wife and children, to the care and counſel of his neighbour and friend, Mr. Morrice; who had executed the truſt with the utmoſt fidelity and friendſhip.

Sir John Greenvil introduced to the General by Mr. Morrice.

The General was content, that Sir John Greenvil ſhould be truſted in this great affair, and that Mr. Morrice ſhould bring him ſecretly to him in a private lodging he had in St. James's. When he came to him, after he had ſolemnly conjured him to ſecrecy, upon the peril of his life; he told him, "he meant to ſend "him to the King; with whom, he preſumed, he had "credit enough to be believed without any teſtimony; "for he was reſolved not to write to the King, nor to "give him any thing in writing; but wiſhed him to "confer with Mr. Morrice, and to take ſhort memorials "in his own hand of thoſe particulars he ſhould offer

"to

" to him in diſcourſe; which when he had done, he " would himſelf confer with him again at an hour he " ſhould appoint." And ſo he retired haſtily out of the room, as if he were jealous that other men would wonder at his abſence.

That which Mr. Morrice communicated to Greenvil, was, after he had enlarged upon " the perplexity the " General was in, by the ſeveral humours and factions " which prevailed, and that he durſt not truſt any offi- " cer of his own army, or any friend but himſelf, with " his own ſecret purpoſes;" he adviſed, " that the " King ſhould write a letter to the General; in which, " after kind and gracious expreſſions, he ſhould deſire " him to deliver the incloſed letter and declaration to " the Parliament;" the particular heads and materials for which letter and declaration, Morrice diſcourſed to him; the end of which was to ſatisfy all intereſts, and to comply with every man's humour, and indeed to ſuffer every man to enjoy what he would.

After Sir John Greenvil had enough diſcourſed all particulars with him, and taken ſuch ſhort memorials for his memory as he thought neceſſary, within a day or two he was brought with the ſame warineſs, and in another place, to the General; to whom he read the ſhort notes he had taken; to which little was added: and the General ſaid, " that if the King writ to that " purpoſe, when he brought the letter to him, he would " keep it in his hands, till he found a fit time to deliver " it, or ſhould think of another way to ſerve his Ma- " jeſty." Only he added another particular, as an advice abſolutely neceſſary for the King to conſent to, which was, his Majeſty's preſent remove out of Flanders. He undertook to know, that the Spaniard had no purpoſe to do any thing for him, and that all his friends

The tranſactions between the General, Morrice, and Greenvil.

were jealous, that it would not be in his power to remove from thence, if he deferred it till they diſcovered that he was like to have no need of them. And therefore he deſired, "that his Majeſty would make haſte to "Breda, and that, for the public ſatisfaction, and that "it might be evident he had left Flanders, whatſoever "he ſhould ſend in writing ſhould bear date as from "Breda;" and he enjoined Sir John Greenvil "not "to return, till he had himſelf ſeen the King out of "the dominions of Flanders." Thus inſtructed, he left him, who, taking Mr. Mordaunt with him for the companion of his journey, ſet out for Flanders about the beginning of April 1660, and in few days arrived ſafely at Bruſſels.

Thus inſtructed, Sir J. Greenvil goes next to Bruſſels with Mr. Mordaunt.

It was no unpleaſant proſpect to the King, nor of ſmall advantage to him, that the Spaniard looked upon all theſe revolutions in England as the effects of the ſeveral animoſities and emulations of the different factions among themſelves; a contention only between the Preſbyterian-Republicans on one ſide, and the Independent and Levelling party on the other, for ſuperiority, and who ſhould ſteer the government of the ſtate, without the leaſt reference to the King's intereſt: which, they thought, would in no degree be advanced which ſide ſoever prevailed. And therefore Don Alonzo, by his Iriſh agents, (who made him believe any thing), continued firm to the Levellers, who, if they got the better of their enemies, he was aſſured, would make a good peace with Spain; which above all things they deſired: and if they were oppreſſed, he made as little doubt they would unite themſelves to the King, upon ſuch conditions as he ſhould arbitrate between them. And in this confidence he embraced all the ways he could to correſpond with them, receiving ſuch agents with

with all poſſible ſecrecy who repaired to him to Bruſſels; and when inſtruments of moſt credit and importance would not adventure thither, he was contented to ſend ſome perſon, who was entruſted by him, into Zealand to confer and treat with them. And in this kind of negociation, which was very expenſive, they cared not what money they diſburſed, whilſt they neglected the King, and ſuffered him to be without that ſmall ſupply, which they had aſſigned to him.

In this temper were the Spaniſh miniſters, when Mr. Mordaunt and Sir John Greenvil came to Bruſſels. And Don Alonzo had ſo fully poſſeſſed the Court at Madrid with the ſame ſpirit, that when the Chancellor, in his letters to Sir Harry Bennet, his Majeſty's reſident there, intimated the hopes they had of a revolution in England to the advantage of the King, he anſwered plainly, "that he durſt not communicate any of thoſe "letters to the miniſters there; who would laugh at "him for abuſing them, ſince they looked upon all "thoſe hopes of the King as imaginary, and without "foundation of ſenſe, and upon his condition as moſt "deplorable, and abſolutely deſperate."

Sir John Greenvil gives the King an account of his negociation with the General.

When Sir John Greenvil had at large informed his Majeſty of the affairs of England, of the manner of the General's conference with him, and the good affection of Mr. Morrice, and had communicated the inſtructions and advices he had received, as his Majeſty was very glad that the General had thus far diſcovered himſelf, and that he had opened a door for correſpondence, ſo he was not without great perplexity upon many particulars which were recommended to be done; ſome of which he believed impoſſible and unpracticable, as the leaving every body in the ſtate they were in, and confirming their poſſeſſion in all the lands which they held

The King's deliberations upon the terms propoſed by the General.

in England, Scotland, or Ireland, by purchaſe or donation, whether of lands belonging to the Crown and Church, or ſuch who, for adhering to his father and himſelf, were declared Delinquents, and had their lands confiſcated and diſpoſed of as their enemies had thought fit. Then, the complying with all humours in religion, and the granting a general liberty of conſcience, was a violation of all the laws in force, and could not be apprehended to conſiſt with the peace of the kingdom. No man was more diſpoſed to a general act of indemnity and oblivion than his Majeſty was, which he knew, in ſo long and univerſal a guilt, was abſolutely neceſſary. But he thought it neither conſiſtent with his honour, nor his conſcience, that thoſe who had ſate as judges, and condemned his father to be murdered, ſhould be comprehended in that act of pardon: yet it was adviſed, "that there might be no exception; or "that above four might not be excepted; becauſe," it was alleged, "that ſome of them had facilitated the "General's march by falling from Lambert, and others "had barefaced advanced the King's ſervice very "much"

After great deliberation upon all the particulars, and weighing the importance of complying with the General's advice in all things which his conſcience and honour would permit, his Majeſty directed ſuch letters and declarations to be prepared, as ſhould be, in a good degree, ſuitable to the wiſhes and counſel of the General, and yet make the tranſaction of thoſe things which he did not like, the effect of the power of the Parliament, rather than of his Majeſty's approbation. And the confidence he had upon the general election of honeſt and prudent men, and in ſome particular perſons, who, he heard, were already choſen, diſpoſed him to make a general

general reference of all things which he could not reſerve to himſelf, to the wiſdom of the Parliament, upon preſumption that they would not exact more from him than he was willing to conſent to; ſince he well knew, that whatever title they aſſumed, or he gave them, they muſt have another kind of Parliament to confirm all that was done by them; without which they could not be ſafe and contented, nor his Majeſty obliged.

The advice for his Majeſty's remove out of Flanders preſently, was not ungrateful; for he had reaſons abundant to be weary of it: yet he was without any great inclination to Holland; where he had been as unkindly uſed as it was poſſible for any gentleman to be. But beſides the authority which the General's advice deſerved to have, the truth is, his Majeſty could remove no whither elſe. France was equally excepted againſt, and equally diſagreeable to the King; and the way thither muſt be through all the Spaniſh dominions: Dunkirk was a place in many reſpects deſirable, becauſe it was in the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh, from whence he might embark for England upon the ſhorteſt warning. And upon the firſt alterations in England, after the peace between the two Crowns, the King had ſent to Lockhart, the Governor, and General of the Engliſh there, by a perſon of honour, well known and reſpected by him, to invite him to his ſervice by the proſpect he had of the revolutions like to enſue, (which probably could not but be advantageous to the King), and by the uncertainty of Lockhart's own condition upon any ſuch alterations. The arguments were urged to him with clearneſs and force enough, and all neceſſary offers made to perſuade him to declare for the King, and to receive his Majeſty into that garriſon; which might be facilitated by his Majeſty's troops, if he did not think his own

own ſoldiers enough at his devotion: yet he could not be prevailed with, urging "the truſt he had received, "and the indecency of breaking it; though," he confeſſed, "there was ſuch a jealouſy of him in the Coun- "cil of State, for his relation and alliance to Cromwell, "that he expected every day to be removed from that "command;" as ſhortly after he was. Whether this refuſal proceeded from the punctuality of his nature, (for he was a man of parts, and of honour), or from his jealouſy of the garriſon, that they would not be diſpoſed by him, (for though he was exceedingly beloved and obeyed by them, yet they were all Engliſhmen, and he had none of his own nation, which was the Scottiſh, but in his own family), certain it is, that, at the ſame time he refuſed to treat with the King, he refuſed to accept the great offers made to him by the Cardinal; who had a high eſteem of him, and offered to make him Marſhal of France, with great appointments of penſions and other emoluments, if he would deliver Dunkirk and Mardike into the hands of France; all which overtures he rejected: ſo that his Majeſty had no place to reſort to preferable to Breda.

The King was reſolved rather to make no mention of the murderers of his father, than to pardon any of them, and except four, as was propoſed: but choſe rather to refer the whole conſideration of that affair, without any reſtriction, to the conſcience of the Parliament; yet with ſuch expreſſions and deſcriptions, that they could not but diſcern that he truſted them in confidence that they would do themſelves and the nation right, in declaring their deteſtation of, and preparing vengeance for, that parricide. And from the time that the ſecluded members ſate again with the Rump, there was good evidence given that they would not leave that odious murder unexamined

unexamined and unpuniſhed; which the more diſpoſed the King to depend upon their virtue and juſtice.

When the ſummons were ſent out to call the Parliament, there was no mention or thought of a Houſe of Peers; nor had the General intimated any ſuch thing to Sir John Greenvil; nor did Sir John himſelf, or Mr. Mordaunt, conceive that any of the Lords had a purpoſe to meet at firſt, but that all muſt depend upon the Commons. However, the King thought not fit to paſs them by, but to have a letter prepared as well for them as for the Houſe of Commons; and likewiſe another to the fleet; and another to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of the city of London; who, by adhering to the General, were like to add very much to his authority

The letters prepared to the Parliament, &c. which the General adviſed.

When all thoſe things were prepared, and peruſed, and approved by the King, which he reſolved to ſend by Sir John Greenvil to the General, (Greenvil's and Mordaunt's being in Bruſſels being unknown; they, attending his Majeſty only in the night at the Chancellor's lodging, concealing themſelves from being taken notice of by any), his Majeſty viſited the Marquis of Carracena, and told him, "that he intended the next "day to go to Antwerp, and from thence to Breda, to "ſpend two or three days with his ſiſter the Princeſs of "Orange;" to whom the Dukes of York and Glouceſter were already gone, to acquaint her with the King's purpoſe; and his Majeſty likewiſe, in confidence, informed him, "that there were ſome perſons come from "England, who would not venture to come to Bruſſels, "from whom he expected ſome propoſitions and in-"formations, which might prove beneficial to him; "which obliged him to make that journey to confer "with them."

The King declares to the Marquis of Carracena, "that "he intended to go for ſome days to Breda, to meet his ſiſter."

The

The Marquis ſeemed to think that of little moment; and ſaid, "that Don Alonzo expected every day to re- "ceive aſſurance, that the Levellers would unite them- "ſelves to the King's intereſt, upon more moderate con- "ditions than they had hitherto made;" but deſired his Majeſty, "that the Duke of York might haſten his "journey into Spain, to receive the command that was "there reſerved for him;" and the King deſired him, "that the forces he had promiſed for his ſervice might "be ready againſt his return to be embarked upon the "firſt appearance of a hopeful occaſion." So they parted; and his Majeſty went the next day to Antwerp, with that ſmall retinue he uſed to travel with.

The Spaniards' deſign to ſeize his Majeſty, diſcovered.

His departure was ſome hours earlier than the Marquis imagined; and the reaſon of it was this: in that night, one Mr. William Galloway, an Iriſh young man, page at that time to Don Alonzo de Cardinas, came to the Lord Chancellor's lodgings, and finding his Secretary in his own room, told him, "he muſt needs ſpeak "preſently with his lord; for he had ſomething to "impart to him that concerned the King's life." The Chancellor, though at that time in bed, ordered him to be admitted; and the poor man trembling told him, "that his lord Don Alonzo and the Marquis of Carra- "cena had been long together that evening; and, that "himſelf had overheard them ſaying ſomething of ſend- "ing a guard to attend the King: that, about an hour "after, they parted; and the Marquis ſent a paper to "Don Alonzo; who, when he went to bed, laid it on "his table: that himſelf, who lay in his maſter's ante- "chamber, looked into the paper, when his maſter was "in bed; and, ſeeing what it was, had brought it to "the Chancellor:" It imported an order to an officer to attend the King with a party of horſe, for a guard wherever

wherever he went, (a reſpect that never had been paid him before), but not to ſuffer him, on any terms, to go out of the town. As ſoon as the Chancellor had read the order, he ſent his Secretary with it to the King; who was in bed likewiſe; and his Majeſty having read it, the Secretary returned it to Galloway; who went home, and laid it in its place upon his maſter's table. The King commanded the Chancellor's Secretary to call up his Majeſty's Querry, Sir William Armorer; and to him his Majeſty gave his orders, charging him with ſecrecy, "that he would be gone at three of the clock that "morning:" and accordingly he went, attended by the Marquis of Ormond, Sir William Armorer, and two or three ſervants more. Between eight and nine that morning, an officer did come and enquire for the King; but it happened, by this ſeaſonable diſcovery, that his Majeſty had made his eſcape ſome hours before, to the no ſmall mortification, no doubt, of the Spaniſh Governor.

The King goes towards Breda, and delivers to Sir John Greenvil the letters prepared.

As ſoon as his Majeſty came into the States' dominions, which was about the midway between Antwerp and Breda, he delivered to Sir John Greenvil (who attended there *incognito*, that he might warrantably aver to the General, "that he had ſeen his Majeſty out of "Flanders") all thoſe diſpatches, which were prepared, and dated, as from Breda, upon the ſame day in which he received them, and where his Majeſty was to be that night. The copies of all were likewiſe delivered to him, that the General, upon peruſal thereof, might, without opening the originals, chooſe whether he would deliver them, if any thing was contained therein which he diſliked; and his Majeſty referred it to him to proceed any other way, if, upon any alterations which ſhould happen, he thought fit to vary from his former advice.

Sir

Sir John Greenvil, before his departure, told the King, "that though he had no order to propoſe it di-"rectly to his Majeſty; yet he could aſſure him, it "would be the moſt grateful and obliging thing his "Majeſty could do towards the General, if he would "give him leave to aſſure him, that, as ſoon as he came "into England, he would beſtow the office of one of "the Secretaries of State upon Mr. Morrice; who was "as well qualified for it, as any man who had not been "verſed in the knowledge of foreign affairs." One of thoſe places was then void by the Earl of Briſtol's becoming Roman Catholic, and thereupon reſigning the ſignet; and his Majeſty was very glad to lay that obligation upon the General, and to gratify a perſon who had ſo much credit with him, and had already given ſuch manifeſtation of his good affection to his Majeſty, and directed him to give that aſſurance to the General. With theſe diſpatches Sir John Greenvil, and Mr. Mordaunt, who privately expected his return at Antwerp, made what haſte they could towards England; and the King went that night to Breda. The letters which the King writ to the General, and to the Houſe of Commons, and the other letters, with the Declaration, are here inſerted in the terms they were ſent.

Sir John Greenvil and Mr. Mordaunt return towards England.

To our truſty and well-beloved General Monk, to be by him communicated to the Preſident, and Council of State, and to the Officers of the Armies under his command.

"*Charles R.*

The letter of the King to the General and the army.

"Truſty and well-beloved, we greet you well: It "cannot be believed, but that we have been, are, and "ever muſt be, as ſolicitous as we can, by all endea-"vours to improve the affections of our good ſubjects at "home.

" home, and to procure the aſſiſtance of our friends and
" allies abroad, for the recovery of that right, which, by
" the laws of God and man, is unqueſtionable; and of
" which we have been ſo long diſpoſſeſſed by ſuch
" force, and with thoſe circumſtances, as we do not de-
" ſire to aggravate by any ſharp expreſſions; but ra-
" ther wiſh, that the memory of what is paſt may be
" buried to the world. That we have more endea-
" voured to prepare and to improve the affections of
" our ſubjects at home for our reſtoration, than to pro-
" cure aſſiſtance from abroad to invade either of our
" kingdoms, is as manifeſt to the world. And we can-
" not give a better evidence that we are ſtill of the
" ſame mind, than in this conjuncture; when common
" reaſon muſt ſatisfy all men, that we cannot be without
" aſſiſtance from abroad, we chooſe rather to ſend to
" you, who have it in your power to prevent that ruin
" and deſolation which a war would bring upon the
" nation, and to make the whole kingdom owe the
" peace, happineſs, ſecurity, and glory it ſhall enjoy, to
" your virtue; and to acknowledge that your armies
" have complied with their obligations, for which they
" were firſt raiſed, for the preſervation of the Proteſtant
" religion, the honour and dignity of the King, the
" privileges of Parliament, the liberty and property of
" the ſubject, and the fundamental laws of the land;
" and that you have vindicated that truſt, which others
" moſt perfidiouſly abuſed and betrayed. How much
" we deſire and reſolve to contribute to thoſe good
" ends, will appear to you by our incloſed Declaration;
" which we deſire you to cauſe to be publiſhed for the
" information and ſatisfaction of all good ſubjects, who
" do not deſire a farther effuſion of precious Chriſtian
" blood, but to have their peace and ſecurity founded
" upon

" upon that which can only ſupport it, an unity of af-
" fections amongſt ourſelves, an equal adminiſtration of
" juſtice to men, reſtoring Parliaments to a full capa-
" city of providing for all that is amiſs, and the laws of
" the land to their due veneration.

" You have been yourſelves witneſſes of ſo many re-
" volutions, and have had ſo much experience, how far
" any power and authority that is only aſſumed by paſ-
" ſion and appetite, and not ſupported by juſtice, is
" from providing for the happineſs and peace of the
" people, or from receiving any obedience from them,
" (without which no government can provide for them),
" that you may very reaſonably believe, that God hath
" not been ſo well pleaſed with the attempts that have
" been made, ſince he hath uſually increaſed the confu-
" ſion, by giving all the ſucceſs that hath been deſired,
" and brought that to paſs without effect, which the de-
" ſigners have propoſed as the beſt means to ſettle and
" compoſe the nation: and therefore we cannot but
" hope and believe, that you will concur with us in the
" remedy we have applied; which, to human under-
" ſtanding, is only proper for the ills we all groan
" under; and that you will make yourſelves the bleſſed
" inſtruments to bring this bleſſing of peace and recon-
" ciliation upon King and people; it being the uſual
" method in which divine Providence delighteth itſelf,
" to uſe and ſanctify thoſe very means, which ill men
" deſign for the ſatisfaction of private and particular
" ends and ambition, and other wicked purpoſes, to
" wholeſome and public ends, and to eſtabliſh that
" good which is moſt contrary to the deſigners; which
" is the greateſt manifeſtation of God's peculiar kind-
" neſs to a nation that can be given in this world. How
" far we reſolve to preſerve your intereſts, and reward

" you

" your ſervices, we refer to our Declaration; and we " hope God will inſpire you to perform your duty to " us, and to your native country; whoſe happineſs " cannot be ſeparated from each other.

" We have entruſted our well-beloved ſervant Sir " John Greenvil, one of the Gentlemen of our Bedcham- " ber, to deliver this unto you, and to give us an ac- " count of your reception of it, and to deſire you, in " our name, that it may be publiſhed. And ſo we bid " you farewell."

Given at our Court at Breda, this $\frac{4}{14}$*th of April,* 1660, *in the twelfth year of our reign.*

To our truſty and well-beloved, the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons.

" *Charles R.*

" Truſty and well-beloved, we greet you well: In The letter to the Houſe of Commons. " theſe great and inſupportable afflictions and cala- " mities, under which the poor nation hath been ſo " long exerciſed, and by which it is ſo near exhauſted, " we cannot think of a more natural and proper re- " medy, than to reſort to thoſe for counſel and advice, " who have ſeen and obſerved the firſt beginning of " our miſeries, the progreſs from bad to worſe, and the " miſtakes and miſunderſtandings, which have been " produced, and contributed to inconveniences which " were not intended; and after ſo many revolutions, and " the obſervation of what hath attended them, are now " truſted by our good ſubjects to repair the breaches " which are made, and to provide proper remedies for " thoſe evils, and for the laſting peace, happineſs, and " ſecurity of the kingdom.

" We do aſſure you upon our royal word, that none

" of our predeceſſors have had a greater eſteem of Par-
" liaments, than we have in our judgment, as well as
" from our obligation; we do believe them to be ſo
" vital a part of the conſtitution of the kingdom, and ſo
" neceſſary for the government of it, that we well
" know neither Prince nor people can be in any tolerable
" degree happy without them; and therefore you may
" be confident, that we ſhall always look upon their
" counſels, as the beſt we can receive; and ſhall be as
" tender of their privileges, and as careful to preſerve
" and protect them, as of that which is moſt near
" to ourſelf, and moſt neceſſary for our own preſerva-
" tion.

" And as this is our opinion of Parliaments, that
" their authority is moſt neceſſary for the government
" of the kingdom; ſo we are moſt confident, that you
" believe, and find, that the preſervation of the King's
" authority is as neceſſary for the preſervation of Parlia-
" ments; and that it is not the name, but the right
" conſtitution of them, which can prepare and apply
" proper remedies for thoſe evils which are grievous to
" the people, and which can thereby eſtabliſh their
" peace and ſecurity. And therefore we have not the
" leaſt doubt, but that you will be as tender in, and as
" jealous of, any thing that may infringe our honour, or
" impair our authority, as of your own liberty and
" property; which is beſt preſerved by preſerving the
" other.

" How far we have truſted you in this great affair,
" and how much it is in your power to reſtore the na-
" tion to all that it hath loſt, and to redeem it from any
" infamy it hath undergone, and to make the King and
" people as happy as they ought to be; you will find
" by our incloſed Declaration; a copy of which we
" have

" have likewiſe ſent to the Houſe of Peers: and you
" will eaſily believe, that we would not voluntarily, and
" of ourſelf, have repoſed ſo great a truſt in you, but
" upon an entire confidence that you will not abuſe it,
" and that you will proceed in ſuch a manner, and with
" ſuch due conſideration of us who have truſted you,
" that we ſhall not be aſhamed of declining other aſſiſt-
" ance, (which we have aſſurance of), and repairing to
" you for more natural and proper remedies for the
" evils we would be freed from; nor ſorry, that we
" have bound up our own intereſts ſo entirely with that
" of our ſubjects, as that we refer it to the ſame perſons
" to take care of us, who are truſted to provide for
" them. We look upon you as wiſe and diſpaſſionate
" men, and good patriots, who will raiſe up thoſe banks
" and fences which have been caſt down, and who will
" moſt reaſonably hope, that the ſame proſperity will
" again ſpring from thoſe roots, from which it hath
" heretofore and always grown; nor can we apprehend
" that you will propoſe any thing to us, or expect any
" thing from us, but what we are as ready to give, as
" you to receive.

" If you deſire the advancement and propagation of
" the Proteſtant religion, we have, by our conſtant pro-
" feſſion, and practice of it, given ſufficient teſtimony
" to the world, that neither the unkindneſs of thoſe of
" the ſame faith towards us, nor the civilities and obli-
" gations from thoſe of a contrary profeſſion, (of both
" which we have had an abundant evidence), could
" in the leaſt degree ſtartle us, or make us ſwerve
" from it; and nothing can be propoſed to manifeſt
" our zeal and affection for it, to which we will not
" readily conſent. And we hope, in due time, ourſelf
" to propoſe ſomewhat to you for the propagation of

" it, that will ſatisfy the world, that we have always " made it both our care and our ſtudy, and have " enough obſerved what is moſt like to bring diſadvan- " tage to it.

" If you deſire ſecurity for thoſe who, in theſe cala- " mitous times, either wilfully or weakly have tranſ- " greſſed thoſe bounds which were preſcribed, and have " invaded each other's rights, we have left to you to pro- " vide for their ſecurity and indemnity, and in ſuch a " way as you ſhall think juſt and reaſonable; and by a " juſt computation of what men have done and ſuf- " fered, as near as is poſſible, to take care that all men " be ſatisfied; which is the ſureſt way to ſuppreſs and " extirpate all ſuch uncharitableneſs and animoſity, as " might hereafter ſhake and threaten that peace, which " for the preſent might ſeem eſtabliſhed. If there be a " crying ſin, for which the nation may be involved in " the infamy that attends it, we cannot doubt but that " you will be as ſolicitous to redeem it, and vindi- " cate the nation from that guilt and infamy, as we can " be.

" If you deſire that reverence and obedience may be " paid to the fundamental laws of the land, and that " juſtice may be equally and impartially adminiſtered " to all men, it is that which we deſire to be ſworn to " ourſelf, and that all perſons in power and authority " ſhould be ſo too.

" In a word, there is nothing that you can propoſe " that may make the kingdom happy, which we will " not contend with you to compaſs; and upon this con- " fidence and aſſurance, we have thought fit to ſend you " this Declaration, that you may, as much as is poſſible, " at this diſtance, ſee our heart; which, when God " ſhall bring us nearer together, (as we hope he will do " ſhortly),

" ſhortly), will appear to you very agreeable to what we " have profeſſed; and we hope, that we have made that " right Chriſtian uſe of our affliction, and that the ob- " ſervation and experience we have had in other coun- " tries, have been ſuch, as that we, and, we hope, all " our ſubjects, ſhall be the better for what we have " ſeen and ſuffered.

" We ſhall add no more, but our prayers to Al- " mighty God, that he will ſo bleſs your counſels, and " direct your endeavours, that his glory and worſhip " may be provided for; and the peace, honour, and " happineſs of the nation may be eſtabliſhed upon thoſe " foundations which can beſt ſupport it. And ſo we " bid you farewell."

Given at our Court at Breda, this $\frac{4}{14}$*th day of April,* 1660, *in the twelfth year of our reign.*

His Majeſty's Declaration.

" *Charles R.*

" Charles, by the grace of God, King of England, The King's Declaration. " Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, " &c. To all our loving ſubjects of what degree or " quality ſoever, greeting. If the general diſtraction " and confuſion, which is ſpread over the whole king- " dom, doth not awaken all men to a deſire, and long- " ing, that thoſe wounds, which have ſo many years to- " gether been kept bleeding, may be bound up, all we " can ſay will be to no purpoſe. However, after this " long ſilence, we have thought it our duty to declare, " how much we deſire to contribute thereunto: and " that, as we can never give over the hope, in good " time, to obtain the poſſeſſion of that right, which " God and nature hath made our due; ſo we do make

" it our daily ſuit to the divine Providence, that he will,
" in compaſſion to us and our ſubjects, after ſo long
" miſery and ſufferings, remit, and put us into a quiet
" and peaceable poſſeſſion of that our right, with as lit-
" tle blood and damage to our people as is poſſible;
" nor do we deſire more to enjoy what is ours, than that
" all our ſubjects may enjoy what by law is theirs, by a
" full and entire adminiſtration of juſtice throughout the
" land, and by extending our mercy where it is wanted
" and deſerved.

" And to the end that fear of puniſhment may not
" engage any conſcious to themſelves of what is paſt, to
" a perſeverance in guilt for the future, by oppoſing the
" quiet and happineſs of their country, in the reſtoration
" both of King, and Peers, and people, to their juſt, an-
" cient, and fundamental rights; we do by theſe pre-
" ſents declare, that we do grant a free and general par-
" don, which we are ready, upon demand, to paſs under
" our Great Seal of England, to all our ſubjects of what
" degree or quality ſoever, who, within forty days after
" the publiſhing hereof, ſhall lay hold upon this our
" grace and favour, and ſhall by any public act declare
" their doing ſo, and that they return to the loyalty and
" obedience of good ſubjects; excepting only ſuch per-
" ſons as ſhall hereafter be excepted by Parliament.
" Thoſe only excepted, let all our ſubjects, how faulty
" ſoever, rely upon the word of a King, ſolemnly given
" by this preſent declaration, that no crime whatſoever
" committed againſt us, or our royal father, before the
" publication of this, ſhall ever riſe in judgment, or be
" brought in queſtion, againſt any of them, to the leaſt
" indamagement of them, either in their lives, liberties,
" or eſtates, or (as far forth as lies in our power) ſo
" much as to the prejudice of their reputations, by any
" reproach,

" reproach, or terms of diſtinction from the reſt of our " beſt ſubjects; we deſiring, and ordaining, that hence- " forward all notes of diſcord, ſeparation, and difference " of parties, be utterly aboliſhed among all our ſubjects; " whom we invite and conjure to a perfect union among " themſelves, under our protection, for the reſettlement " of our juſt rights, and theirs, in a free Parliament; by " which, upon the word of a King, we will be adviſed.

" And becauſe the paſſion and uncharitableneſs of the " times have produced ſeveral opinions in religion, by " which men are engaged in parties and animoſities " againſt each other; which, when they ſhall hereafter " unite in a freedom of converſation, will be compoſed, " or better underſtood; we do declare a liberty to ten- " der conſciences; and that no man ſhall be diſquieted, " or called in queſtion, for differences of opinion in " matters of religion which do not diſturb the peace of " the kingdom; and that we ſhall be ready to conſent " to ſuch an act of Parliament, as, upon mature delibe- " ration, ſhall be offered to us, for the full granting that " indulgence.

" And becauſe in the continued diſtractions of ſo " many years, and ſo many and great revolutions, many " grants and purchaſes of eſtates have been made to and " by many officers, ſoldiers, and others, who are now " poſſeſſed of the ſame, and who may be liable to ac- " tions at law, upon ſeveral titles; we are likewiſe will- " ing that all ſuch differences, and all things relating to " ſuch grants, ſales, and purchaſes, ſhall be determined " in Parliament; which can beſt provide for the juſt " ſatisfaction of all men who are concerned.

" And we do farther declare, that we will be ready to " conſent to any act or acts of Parliament to the pur- " poſes aforeſaid, and for the full ſatisfaction of all ar-

" rears due to the officers and ſoldiers of the army under " the command of General Monk; and that they ſhall " be received into our ſervice upon as good pay and " conditions as they now enjoy."

Given under our Sign Manual, and Privy Signet, at our Court at Breda, the 4/14th day of April, 1660, in the twelfth year of our reign.

" *Charles R.*

His Majeſty's letter to the Houſe of Lords.

" Right truſty and right well-beloved couſins, and " right truſty and well-beloved couſins, and truſty and " right well-beloved; we greet you well. We cannot " have a better reaſon to promiſe ourſelf an end of our " common ſufferings and calamities, and that our own " juſt power and authority will, with God's bleſſing, be " reſtored to us, than that you are again acknowledged " to have that authority and juriſdiction which hath al- " ways belonged to you by your birth, and the funda- " mental laws of the land: and we have thought it very " fit and ſafe for us to call to you for your help, in the " compoſing the confounding diſtempers and diſtrac- " tions of the kingdom; in which your ſufferings are " next to thoſe we have undergone ourſelf; and there- " fore you cannot but be the moſt proper counſellors " for removing thoſe miſchiefs, and for preventing the " like for the future. How great a truſt we repoſe in " you, for the procuring and eſtabliſhing a bleſſed peace " and ſecurity for the kingdom, will appear to you by " our incloſed Declaration; which truſt we are moſt " confident you will diſcharge with that juſtice and wiſ- " dom that becomes you, and muſt always be expected " from you; and that, upon your experience how one " violation ſucceeds another, when the known relations

" and

" and rules of juſtice are once tranſgreſſed, you will be " as jealous for the rights of the Crown, and for the ho- " nour of your King, as for yourſelves: and then you " cannot but diſcharge your truſt with good ſucceſs, and " provide for and eſtabliſh the peace, happineſs, and " honour of King, Lords, and Commons, upon that " foundation which can only ſupport it; and we ſhall " be all happy in each other; and as the whole king- " dom will bleſs God for you all, ſo we ſhall hold our- " ſelf obliged in an eſpecial manner to thank you in par- " ticular, according to the affection you ſhall expreſs " towards us. We need the leſs enlarge to you upon " this ſubject, becauſe we have likewiſe writ to the " Houſe of Commons; which we ſuppoſe they will " communicate to you. And we pray God to bleſs " your joint endeavours for the good of us all. And ſo " we bid you very heartily farewell."

Given at our Court at Breda, this $\frac{4}{14}$*th day of April,* 1660, *in the twelfth year of our reign.*

To our truſty and well-beloved General Monk and General Mountague, Generals at ſea, to be communicated to the fleet.

" *Charles R.*

" Truſty and well-beloved, we greet you well. It is His Majeſty's letter to the fleet. " no ſmall comfort to us, after ſo long and great trou- " bles and miſeries, which the whole nation hath groaned " under; and after ſo great revolutions, which have ſtill " increaſed thoſe miſeries, to hear that the fleet and " ſhips, which are the walls of the kingdom, are put " under the command of two perſons ſo well diſpoſed " to, and concerned in, the peace and happineſs of the " kingdom, as we believe you to be; and that the offi-

" cers

"cers and ſeamen under your command are more in-
"clined to return to their duty to us, and put a period
"to theſe diſtempers and diſtractions, which have ſo
"impoveriſhed and diſhonoured the nation, than to
"widen the breach, and to raiſe their fortunes by ra-
"pine and violence; which gives us great encourage-
"ment and hope, that God Almighty will heal the
"wounds by the ſame plaiſter that made the fleſh raw;
"that he will proceed in the ſame method in pouring
"his bleſſings upon us, which he was pleaſed to uſe,
"when he began to afflict us; and that the manifeſta-
"tion of the good affection of the fleet and ſeamen to-
"wards us, and the peace of the nation, may be the
"prologue to that peace, which was firſt interrupted by
"the miſtake and miſunderſtanding of their predeceſ-
"ſors; which would be ſuch a bleſſing upon us all,
"that we ſhould not be leſs delighted with the manner,
"than the matter of it.

"In this hope and confidence, we have ſent the in-
"cloſed Declaration to you; by which you may diſ-
"cern, how much we are willing to contribute towards
"the obtaining the general and public peace: in which,
"as no man can be more, or ſo much, concerned, ſo no
"man can be more ſolicitous for it. And we do ear-
"neſtly deſire you, that you will cauſe the ſaid Decla-
"ration to be publiſhed to all the officers and ſeamen
"of the fleet; to the end, that they may plainly diſ-
"cern, how much we have put it into their power to
"provide for the peace and happineſs of the nation, who
"have been always underſtood by them to be the beſt
"and moſt proper counſellors for thoſe good ends: and
"you are likewiſe farther to declare to them, that we
"have the ſame gracious purpoſe towards them, which
"we have expreſſed towards the army at land; and will

"be

" be as ready to provide for the payment of all arrears " due to them, and for rewarding them according to " their ſeveral merits, as we have expreſſed to the other; " and we will always take ſo particular a care of them " and their condition, as ſhall manifeſt our kindneſs to- " wards them. And ſo depending upon God's bleſſing, " for infuſing thoſe good reſolutions into your and their " hearts, which are beſt for us all; we bid you fare- " well."

Given at our Court at Breda, this $\frac{4}{14}$*th day of April,* 1660, *in the twelfth year of our reign.*

To our truſty and well-beloved the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, of our city of London.

" *Charles R.*

His Majeſty's letter to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the city of London.

" Truſty and well-beloved, we greet you well. In " theſe great revolutions of late, happened in that our " kingdom, to the wonder and amazement of all the " world, there is none that we have looked upon with " more comfort, than the ſo frequent and public mani- " feſtations of their affections to us in the city of Lon- " don; which hath exceedingly raiſed our ſpirits, and " which, no doubt, hath proceeded from the Spirit of " God, and his extraordinary mercy to the nation; " which hath been encouraged by you, and your good " example, to aſſert that government under which it " hath, ſo many hundred years, enjoyed as great feli- " city as any nation in Europe; and to diſcountenance " the imaginations of thoſe who would ſubject our ſub- " jects to a government they have not yet deviſed, " and, to ſatisfy the pride and ambition of a few ill " men, who would introduce the moſt arbitrary and ty- " rannical power that was ever yet heard of. How

" long

" long we have all ſuffered under thoſe and the like de-
" vices, all the world takes notice, to the no ſmall re-
" proach of the Engliſh nation; which we hope is now
" providing for its own ſecurity and redemption, and
" will be no longer bewitched by thoſe inventions.

" How deſirous we are to contribute to the obtaining
" the peace and happineſs of our ſubjects without effu-
" ſion of blood; and how far we are from deſiring to
" recover what belongs to us by a war, if it can be
" otherwiſe done, will appear to you by the incloſed
" Declaration; which, together with this our letter, we
" have entruſted our right truſty and well-beloved cou-
" ſin, the Lord Viſcount Mordaunt, and our truſty
" and well-beloved ſervant, Sir John Greenvil, Knight,
" one of the Gentlemen of our Bedchamber, to deliver
" to you; to the end, that you, and all the reſt of our
" good ſubjects of that our city of London, (to whom
" we deſire it ſhould be publiſhed), may know, how far
" we are from the deſire of revenge, or that the peace,
" happineſs, and ſecurity of the kingdom, ſhould be
" raiſed upon any other foundation than the affec-
" tions and hearts of our ſubjects, and their own con-
" ſents.

" We have not the leaſt doubt of your juſt ſenſe of
" theſe our condeſcenſions, or of your zeal to advance
" and promote the ſame good end, by diſpoſing all
" men to meet us with the ſame affection and ten-
" derneſs, in reſtoring the fundamental laws to that
" reverence that is due to them, and upon the preſer-
" vation whereof all our happineſs depends. And you
" will have no reaſon to doubt of enjoying your full
" ſhare in that happineſs, and of the improving it by
" our particular affection to you. It is very natural
" for all men to do all the good they can for their na-
" tive

"tive country, and to advance the honour of it; and as "we have that full affection for the kingdom in gene- "ral, so we would not be thought to be without some "extraordinary kindness for our native city in that "particular; which we shall manifest on all occasions, "not only by renewing their charter, and confirming "all those privileges which they have received from our "predecessors, but by adding and granting any new "favours, which may advance the trade, wealth, and "honour of that our native city; for which we will be "so solicitous, that we doubt not but that it will, in "due time, receive some benefit and advantage in all "those respects, even from our own observation and "experience abroad. And we are most confident, we "shall never be disappointed in our expectation of all "possible service from your affections: and so we bid "you farewell."

Given at our Court at Breda, the $\frac{1}{11}$*th day of April,* 1660, *in the twelfth year of our reign.*

Sir John Greenvil arrives in England, and communicates the letters to the General.

The two gentlemen lately mentioned to have been with the King returned to London before the defeat of Lambert, and a full week before the Parliament was to begin. The General, upon the perusal of the copies of the several dispatches, liked all very well. And it ought to be remembered for his honour, that from this time he behaved himself with great affection towards the King; and though he was offered all the authority that Cromwell had enjoyed, and the title of King, he used all his endeavours to promote and advance the interest of his Majesty: yet he as carefully retained the secret, and did not communicate to any person living, (Mr. Morrice only excepted), that he had received any letter from

The General's behaviour after that time.

from the King, till the very minute that he presented it to the House of Commons.

Declarations of the King's party at this time; which had great effect.

There happened at the same time a concurrence, which much facilitated the great work in hand. For since a great obstruction that hindered the universal consent to call in the King, was the conscience of the personal injuries, incivilities, reproachful and barbarous usage, which all the royal party had sustained, and the apprehension that their animosities were so great, that, notwithstanding all acts of pardon and indemnity granted by the King, all opportunities would be embraced for secret revenge, and that they who had been kept under and oppressed for near twenty years, would for the future use the power they could not be without upon the King's restoration, with extreme licence and insolence; to obviate this too reasonable imagination, some discreet persons of the King's party caused a declaration to be prepared; in which (after their acknowledgments and thanks to the General, "for having, next "under the divine Providence, so far conducted these "nations towards a happy recovery of their laws and "ancient government,") they sincerely professed, "that "they reflected on their past sufferings as from the "hand of God; and therefore did not cherish any vio-"lent thoughts or inclinations against any persons what-"soever, who had been any way instrumental in them; "and that, if the indiscretion of any particular persons "should transport them to expressions contrary to this "their general sense, they utterly disclaimed them." They farther promised, "by their quiet and peaceable "behaviour, to testify their submission to the Council of "State, in expectation of the future Parliament; on "whose wisdom, they trusted, God would give such a "blessing,

" bleſſing, as might produce a perfect ſettlement both " in Church and State." And laſtly they declared, " that, as the General had not choſen the ſandy foun- " dations of ſelf-government, but the firm rock of na- " tional intereſt, whereon to frame a ſettlement, ſo it " was their hope and prayer, that, when the building " ſhould come to be raiſed, it might not, like Rome, " have the beginning in the blood of brethren; nor, " like Babel, be interrupted by confuſion of tongues; " but that all might ſpeak one language, and be of one " name; that all mention of parties and factions, and " all rancour and animoſities may be thrown in, and " buried, like rubbiſh under the foundation."

Theſe profeſſions, or to the ſame purpoſe, under the title of a Declaration of the Nobility, and Gentry, and Clergy, that had ſerved the late King, or his preſent Majeſty, or adhered to the royal party in ſuch a city or county, which was named, were ſigned by all the conſiderable perſons therein; as this that we have here mentioned was ſubſcribed by great numbers in and about the cities of London and Weſtminſter; and ſo were ſeveral others from other places; and then all printed with their names, and publiſhed to the view of the world; which were received with great joy, and did much allay thoſe jealouſies, which obſtructed the confidence that was neceſſary to eſtabliſh a good underſtanding between them.

The affairs of Ireland for ſome years paſt till this time.

Nothing hath been of late ſaid of Ireland; which waited upon the dictates of the governing party in England with the ſame giddineſs. The Iriſh, who would now have been glad to have redeemed their paſt miſcarriages and madneſs by doing ſervice for the King, were under as ſevere a captivity, and complete miſery, as the worſt of their actions had deſerved, and indeed as they

they were capable of undergoing. After near one hundred thouſand of them tranſported into foreign parts, for the ſervice of the two Kings of France and Spain, few of whom were alive after ſeven years, and after double that number conſumed by the plague and famine, and ſeverities exerciſed upon them in their own country; the remainder of them had been by Cromwell (who could not find a better way of extirpation) tranſplanted into the moſt inland, barren, deſolate, and mountainous part of the province of Connaught; and it was lawful for any man to kill any of the Iriſh, who were found in any place out of thoſe precincts which were aſſigned to them within that circuit. Such a proportion of land was allotted to every man as the Protector thought competent for them; upon which they were to give formal releaſes of all their pretences and titles to any lands in any other provinces, of which they had been deprived; and if they refuſed to give ſuch releaſes, they were ſtill deprived of what they would not releaſe, without any reaſonable hope of ever being reſtored to it; and left to ſtarve within the limits preſcribed to them; out of which they durſt not withdraw; and they who did adventure were without all remorſe proſecuted by the Engliſh, as ſoon as they were diſcovered: ſo that very few refuſed to ſign thoſe releaſes, or other acts which were demanded; upon which the lords and gentlemen had ſuch aſſignments of land made to them, as in ſome degree were proportionable to their qualities; which fell out leſs miſchievouſly to thoſe who were of that province, who came to enjoy ſome part of what had been their own; but to thoſe who were driven thither out of other provinces, it was little leſs deſtructive than if they had nothing; it was ſo long before they could ſettle themſelves, and by huſbandry raiſe any thing out

of

of their lands to ſupport their lives: yet neceſſity obliged them to acquieſcence, and to be in ſome ſort induſtrious; ſo that at the time to which we are now arrived, they were ſettled, within the limits preſcribed, in a condition of living; though even the hard articles which had been granted were not punctually obſerved to them: but their proportions reſtrained, and leſſened by ſome pretences of the Engliſh, under ſome former grants, or other titles; to all which they found it neceſſary to ſubmit, and were compelled to enjoy what was left, under all the marks and brands which ever accompanied a conquered nation; which reproach the Iriſh had taken ſo heavily from the Earl of Strafford, when they were equally free with the Engliſh, who had ſubdued them, that they made it part of that charge upon which he loſt his life.

Upon the recalling and tame ſubmiſſion of Harry Cromwell to the Rump Parliament, as ſoon as his brother Richard was depoſed, the factions increaſed in Ireland to a very great height, as well amongſt the ſoldiers and officers of the army, as in the Council of State, and amongſt the civil magiſtrates. The Lord Broghill, who was Preſident of Munſter, and of a very great intereſt, and influence upon that whole province, though he had great warineſs in diſcovering his inclinations, as he had great guilt to reſtrain them, yet hated Lambert ſo much, that he leſs feared the King; and ſo wiſhed for a ſafe opportunity to do his Majeſty ſervice; and he had a good poſt, and a good party to concur with him, when he ſhould call upon them, and think fit to declare.

Sir Charles Coot, who was Preſident of Connaught, and had a good command, and intereſt in the army, was a man of leſs guilt, and more courage, and impa-

tience to ſerve the King. He ſent over Sir Arthur Forbes, a Scottiſh gentleman of good affection to the King, and good intereſt in the province of Ulſter, where he was an officer of horſe. This gentleman Sir Charles Coot ſent to Bruſſels to the Marquis of Ormond, "that he might aſſure his Majeſty of his affec- "tion and duty; and that, if his Majeſty would vouch- "ſafe himſelf to come into Ireland, he was confident the "whole kingdom would declare for him: that though "the preſent power in England had removed all the ſober "men from the government of the ſtate, in Ireland, "under the character of Preſbyterians; and had put "Ludlow, Corbet, and others of the King's judges, in "their places; yet they were ſo generally odious to the "army as well as to the people, that they could ſeize "upon their perſons, and the very caſtle of Dublin, "when they ſhould judge it convenient."

Sir Arthur Forbes arrived at Bruſſels, before the King had any aſſurance or confident hope of the General, and when few men thought his fortune better than deſperate: ſo that, if what Sir Arthur propoſed (which was kept very ſecret) had been publiſhed, moſt men about the Court would have been very ſolicitous for his Majeſty's going into Ireland. But his Majeſty well knew that that unhappy kingdom muſt infallibly wait upon the fate of England; and therefore he reſolved to attend the viciſſitudes there; which, in his own thoughts, he ſtill believed would produce ſomewhat in the end, of which he ſhould have the benefit; and diſmiſſed Sir Arthur Forbes with ſuch letters and commiſſions as he deſired; who thereupon returned for Ireland; where he found the ſtate of affairs very much altered ſince his departure. For upon the defeat of Lambert, and General Monk's marching towards London, the Lord Broghill

Broghill and Sir Charles Coot, notwithſtanding the jealouſy that was between them, joined with ſuch other perſons who were Preſbyterians, and though they had been always againſt the King, yet they all concurred in ſeizing upon the perſons who had been put in by Lambert, or the Rump Parliament, and ſubmitted to the orders of General Monk, the rather, becauſe they did imagine that he intended to ſerve the King; and ſo, by the time that the Parliament was to meet at Weſtminſter, all things were ſo well diſpoſed in Ireland, that it was evident they would do whatſoever the General and the Parliament (who they preſumed would be of one mind) ſhould order them to do.

The Parliament met upon the five and twentieth day of April; of which the General was returned a member, to ſerve as knight of the ſhire for the county of Devon; Sir Harbottle Grimſtone was choſen Speaker, who had been a member of the Long Parliament, and continued, rather than concurred, with them, till after the treaty of the Iſle of Wight; where he was one of the commiſſioners ſent to treat with that King, and behaved himſelf ſo well, that his Majeſty was well ſatisfied with him; and after his return from thence, he preſſed the acceptance of the King's conceſſions; and was thereupon in the number of thoſe who were by force excluded the Houſe. His election to be Speaker at this time was contrived by thoſe who meant well to the King; and he ſubmitted to it out of a hope and confidence that the deſigns it was laid for would ſucceed. They begun chiefly with bitter invectives againſt the memory of Cromwell, as an odious and perjured tyrant, with execrations upon the unchriſtian murder of the late King. And in theſe generals they ſpent the firſt days of ſitting; no man having the courage, how loyal ſoever their

The Parliament met April 25.

Sir Harbottle Grimſtone choſen Speaker.

Their firſt proceedings.

wiſhes were, to mention his Majeſty, till they could make a diſcovery what mind the General was of; who could only protect ſuch a propoſition from being penal to the perſon that made it, by the former ordinances of the Rump Parliament.

May the firſt, the General acquaints the Houſe of Sir J. Greenvil's bringing him a letter from the King.

After the General had well ſurveyed the temper of the Houſe, upon the firſt of May he came into the Houſe, and told them, "one Sir John Greenvil, who "was a ſervant of the King's, had brought him a letter "from his Majeſty; which he had in his hand, but "would not preſume to open it without their direction; "and that the ſame gentleman was at the door, and "had a letter to the Houſe:" which was no ſooner ſaid, than with a general acclamation he was called for; and being brought to the bar, he ſaid, "that he was com-"manded by the King his maſter, having been lately "with him at Breda, to deliver that letter to the "Houſe:" which he was ready to do; and ſo, giving it by the Serjeant to be delivered to the Speaker, he withdrew.

Sir John Greenvil is called in, and delivers the letter to the Houſe of Commons.

Both letters, and the Declaration, read.

The Houſe immediately called to have both letters read, that to the General, and that to the Speaker; which being done, the Declaration was as greedily called for, and read. And from this time Charles Stuart was no more heard of: and ſo univerſal a joy was never ſeen within thoſe walls; and though there were ſome members there, who were nothing delighted with the temper of the Houſe, nor with the argument of it, and probably had malice enough to make within themſelves the moſt execrable wiſhes, yet they had not the hardineſs to appear leſs tranſported than the reſt: who, not deferring it one moment, and without one contradicting voice, appointed a committee to prepare an anſwer to his Majeſty's letter, expreſſing the great and joyful ſenſe the Houſe

Received with univerſal joy.

A committee appointed to prepare an anſwer.

Houſe had of his gracious offers, and their humble and hearty thanks for the ſame, and with profeſſions of their loyalty and duty to his Majeſty; and that the Houſe would give a ſpeedy anſwer to his Majeſty's gracious propoſals. They likewiſe ordered, at the ſame time, that both his Majeſty's letters, that to the Houſe, and that to the General, with his Majeſty's Declaration therein incloſed, and the reſolution of the Houſe thereupon, ſhould be forthwith printed and publiſhed. All ordered to be printed.

This kind of reception was beyond what the beſt affected, nay, even the King, could expect or hope; and all that followed went in the ſame pace. The Lords, when they ſaw what ſpirit the Houſe of Commons was poſſeſſed of, would not loſe their ſhare of thanks, but made haſte into their Houſe without excluding any who had been ſequeſtered from ſitting there for their delinquency; and then they received likewiſe the letter from Sir John Greenvil which his Majeſty had directed to them; and they received it with the ſame duty and acknowledgment. The Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, were likewiſe tranſported with the King's goodneſs towards them, and with the expreſſions of his royal clemency; and entered into cloſe deliberation, what return they ſhould make to him to manifeſt their duty and gratitude. And the officers of the army and fleet, upon the ſight of the letters to their Generals, and his Majeſty's Declaration, thought themſelves highly honoured, in that they were looked upon as good inſtruments of his Majeſty's reſtoration; and made thoſe vows, and publiſhed ſuch declarations of their loyalty and duty, as their Generals cauſed to be provided for them; which they ſigned with the loudeſt alacrity. And the truth is, the General managed the buſineſs, which he now owned himſelf to have undertaken, with wonder- Sir John Greenvil delivers the letter to the Houſe of Lords. The Lord Mayor, &c. receive their letter with the ſame duty: ſo does the army and fleet.

ful prudence and dexterity. And as the nature and humour of his officers was well known to him, ſo he removed ſuch from their commands whoſe affections he ſuſpected, and conferred their places upon others, of whom he was moſt aſſured. In a word, there was either real joy in the hearts of all men, or at leaſt their countenance appeared ſuch as if they were glad at the heart.

The committee, who were appointed by the Houſe of Commons to prepare an anſwer to the King's letter, found it hard to ſatisfy all men, who were well contented that the King ſhould be invited to return: but ſome thought that the guilt of the nation did require leſs precipitation than was like to be uſed; and that the treaty ought firſt to be made with the King, and conditions of ſecurity agreed on, before his Majeſty ſhould be received. Many of thoſe, who had conferred together before the meeting of the Parliament, had deſigned ſome articles to be prepared, according to the model of thoſe at Killingworth, in the time of King Harry the third, to which the King ſhould be ſworn before he came home. Then the Preſbyterian party, of which there were many members in Parliament, though they were rather troubleſome than powerful, ſeemed very ſolicitous that ſomewhat ſhould be concluded in veneration of the Covenant; and, at leaſt, that ſomewhat ſhould be inſerted in their anſwer to the diſcountenance of the biſhops. But the warmer zeal of the Houſe threw away all thoſe formalities and affectations: they ſaid, "they had proceeded too far already in their vote "upon the receipt of the letter, to fall back again, and "to offend the King with colder expreſſions of their "duty." In the end, after ſome days' debate, finding an equal impatience without the walls to that within the Houſe, they were contented to gratify the Preſbyterians

rians in the length of the anſwer, and in uſing ſome expreſſions which would pleaſe them, and could do the King no prejudice; and all agreed, that this anſwer ſhould be returned to his Majeſty, which is here inſerted in the very words.

"*Moſt Royal Sovereign,*

"We your Majeſty's moſt loyal ſubjects, the Com- The anſwer of the
"mons of England aſſembled in Parliament, do, with Houſe of
"all humbleneſs, preſent unto your Majeſty the un- Commons to the king.
"feigned thankfulneſs of our hearts, for thoſe gracious
"expreſſions of piety, and goodneſs, and love to us,
"and the nations under your dominion, which your
"Majeſty's letter of the $\frac{4}{14}$ of April, dated from Breda,
"together with the Declaration incloſed in it of the ſame
"date, do ſo evidently contain. For which we do, in
"the firſt place, look up to the great King of kings,
"and bleſs his name, who hath put theſe thoughts into
"the heart of our King, to make him glorious in the eyes
"of his people; as thoſe great deliverances, which that
"divine Majeſty hath afforded unto your royal perſon,
"from many dangers, and the ſupport which he hath
"given to your heroic and princely mind under various
"trials, make it appear to all the world that you are
"precious in his ſight. And give us leave to ſay, that
"as your Majeſty is pleaſed to declare your confidence
"in Parliaments, your eſteem of them, and this your
"judgment, and character of them, that they are ſo
"neceſſary for the government of the kingdom, that
"neither Prince nor people can be in any tolerable de-
"gree happy without them, and therefore ſay, that you
"will hearken unto their counſels, be tender of their
"privileges, and careful to preſerve and protect them;
"ſo we truſt, and will, with all humility, be bold to af-

" firm, that your Majeſty will not be deceived in us,
" and that we will never depart from that fidelity which
" we owe unto your Majeſty, that zeal which we bear
" unto your ſervice, and a conſtant endeavour to ad-
" vance your honour and greatneſs.

" And we beſeech your Majeſty, we may add this
" farther for the vindication of Parliaments, and even
" of the laſt Parliament, convened under your royal fa-
" ther of happy memory, when, as your Majeſty well
" obſerves, through miſtakes, and miſunderſtandings,
" many inconveniences were produced, which were not
" intended, that thoſe very inconveniences could not
" have been brought upon us by thoſe perſons who had
" deſigned them, without violating the Parliament itſelf.
" For they well knew it was not poſſible to do a violence
" to that ſacred Perſon, whilſt the Parliament, which
" had vowed and covenanted for the defence and ſafety
" of that Perſon, remained entire. Surely, Sir, as the
" perſons of our Kings have ever been dear unto Parlia-
" ments, ſo we cannot think of that horrid act com-
" mitted againſt the precious life of our late Sovereign,
" but with ſuch a deteſtation and abhorrency, as we
" want words to expreſs it; and, next to wiſhing it had
" never been, we wiſh it may never be remembered by
" your Majeſty, to be unto you an occaſion of ſorrow,
" as it will never be remembered by us, but with that
" grief and trouble of mind which it deſerves; being
" the greateſt reproach that ever was incurred by any
" of the Engliſh nation, an offence to all the Proteſtant
" churches abroad, and a ſcandal to the profeſſion of the
" truth of religion here at home; though both profeſ-
" ſion, and true profeſſors, and the nation itſelf, as well as
" the Parliament, were moſt innocent of it; it having
" been only the contrivance and act of ſome few ambi-

" tious

" tious and bloody perſons, and ſuch others, as by their " influence were miſled. And as we hope and pray, " that God will not impute the guilt of it, nor of all the " evil conſequences thereof, unto the land, whoſe divine " juſtice never involves the guiltleſs with the guilty, ſo we " cannot but give due praiſe to your Majeſty's goodneſs, " who are pleaſed to entertain ſuch reconciled and re- " conciling thoughts, and with them not only meet, " but as it were prevent your Parliament and people, " propoſing yourſelf in a great meaſure, and inviting " the Parliament to conſider farther, and adviſe your " Majeſty, what may be neceſſary to reſtore the nation " to what it hath loſt, raiſe up again the banks and " fences of it, and make the kingdom happy by the " advancement of religion, the ſecurity of our laws, li- " berties, and eſtates, and the removing all jealouſies " and animoſities, which may render our peace leſs cer- " tain and durable. Wherein your Majeſty gives a large " evidence of your great wiſdom; judging aright, that, " after ſo high a diſtemper, and ſuch an univerſal ſhak- " ing of the very foundations, great care muſt be had to " repair the breaches, and much circumſpection and " induſtry uſed to provide things neceſſary for the " ſtrengthening of thoſe repairs, and preventing what- " ſoever may diſturb or weaken them.

" We ſhall immediately apply ourſelves to the prepar- " ing of theſe things; and, in a very ſhort time, we " hope to be able to preſent them to your Majeſty; " and for the preſent do, with all humble thankfulneſs, " acknowledge your grace and favour in aſſuring us of " your royal concurrence with us, and ſaying, that we " ſhall not expect any thing from you, but what you " will be as ready to give, as we to receive. And we " cannot doubt of your Majeſty's effectual performance,

" ſince

" ſince your own princely judgment hath prompted
" unto you the neceſſity of doing ſuch things; and
" your piety and goodneſs hath carried you to a free
" tender of them to your faithful Parliament. You
" ſpeak as a gracious King, and we will do what befits
" dutiful, loving, and loyal ſubjects; who are yet more
" engaged to honour and highly eſteem your Majeſty,
" for your declining, as you were pleaſed to ſay, all fo-
" reign aſſiſtance, and rather truſting to your people;
" who, we do aſſure your Majeſty, will and do open
" their arms and their hearts to receive you, and will
" ſpare neither their eſtates, nor their lives, when your
" ſervice ſhall require it of them.

" And we have yet more cauſe to enlarge our praiſe
" and our prayers to God for your Majeſty, that you
" have continued unſhaken in your faith; that neither
" the temptation of allurements, perſuaſions, and pro-
" miſes from ſeducing Papiſts on the one hand, nor
" the perſecution and hard uſage from ſome ſeduced
" and miſguided profeſſors of the Proteſtant religion on
" the other hand, could at all prevail on your Majeſty,
" to make you forſake the Rock of Iſrael, the God of
" your fathers, and the true Proteſtant religion, in which
" your Majeſty hath been bred; but you have ſtill been
" as a rock yourſelf, firm to your covenant with your
" and our God, even now expreſſing your zeal and af-
" fection for the Proteſtant religion, and your care and
" ſtudy for the propagation thereof. This hath been a
" rejoicing of heart to all the faithful of the land, and
" an aſſurance to them that God would not forſake you;
" but after many trials, which ſhould but make you
" more precious, as gold out of the fire, would reſtore
" your Majeſty unto your patrimony, and people, with
" more ſplendor and dignity, and make you the glory

" of

" of kings, and the joy of your ſubjects; which is, " and ſhall ever be, the prayer of your Majeſty's moſt " loyal ſubjects, the Commons of England aſſembled " in Parliament."

Which letter was ſigned by Sir Harbottle Grimſtone, Speaker.

As ſoon as this letter was engroſſed and ſigned, Sir John Greenvil was appointed to attend again; and he being brought to the bar, the Speaker ſtood up, and told him, " that they need not acquaint him with what " grateful hearts they had received his Majeſty's gra- " cious letter; he himſelf was an ear and eye witneſs of " it: their bells and their bonfires had already begun " the proclamation of his Majeſty's goodneſs, and of " their joys; that they had now prepared an anſwer to " his Majeſty, which ſhould be delivered to him; and " that they did not think fit he ſhould return to their " royal Sovereign without ſome teſtimony of their re- " ſpects to himſelf; and therefore that they had or- " dered five hundred pounds to be delivered to him, to " buy a jewel to wear, as an honour for being the meſ- " ſenger of ſo gracious a meſſage;" and in the name of the Houſe he gave him their moſt hearty thanks. So great and ſudden a change was this, that a ſervant of the King's, who, for near ten years together, had been in priſons, and under confinements, only for being the King's ſervant, and would, but three months before, have been put to have undergone a ſhameful death, if he had been known to have ſeen the King, ſhould be now rewarded for bringing a meſſage from him. From this time there was ſuch an emulation and impatience in Lords, and Commons, and city, and generally over the kingdom, who ſhould make the moſt lively expreſſions

This anſwer is delivered to Sir John Greenvil.

of

of their duty and of their joy, that a man could not but wonder where thoſe people dwelt who had done all the miſchief, and kept the King ſo many years from enjoying the comfort and ſupport of ſuch excellent ſubjects.

The Lords and the Commons now conferred together, how they might with more luſtre perform thoſe reſpects that might be preparatory to his Majeſty's return. They remembered, that, upon the murder of the late King, there was a declaration, that no man, upon peril of his life, and forfeiture of his eſtate, ſhould preſume to proclaim his ſucceſſor; which ſo terrified the people, that they ſcarce dared ſo much as to pray for him. Wherefore, though this Parliament had now, by all the ways they could think of, publiſhed their return to their obedience, yet they thought it neceſſary, for the better information and conviction of the people, to make ſome ſolemn proclamation of his Majeſty's undoubted right to the Crown, and to oblige all men to pay that reverence and duty to him, which they ought to do by the laws of God and of the land. Whereupon they gave order to prepare ſuch a proclamation; which being done, the Lords and Commons, the General having concerted all things with the city, met in Weſtminſter Hall upon the 8th of May, within ſeven days after the receipt of the King's letter; and walked into the Palace-Yard; where they all ſtood bare, whilſt the heralds proclaimed the King. Then they went to Whitehall, and did the ſame; and afterwards at Temple Bar; where the Lord Mayor, and Aldermen, and all the companies of the city received them, when the like proclamation was made in like manner there; and then in the uſual places of the city; which done, the remainder of the day, and the night, was ſpent in thoſe acclama-

acclamations, feſtivals, bells, and bonfires, as are the natural attendants upon ſuch ſolemnities. And then nothing was thought of, but to make ſuch preparations as ſhould be neceſſary for his Majeſty's invitation and reception. The proclamation made was in theſe words:

" Although it can no way be doubted, but that his " Majeſty's right and title to his crown and kingdoms " is and was every way completed by the death of his " moſt royal father of glorious memory, without the " ceremony or ſolemnity of a proclamation; yet, ſince " proclamations in ſuch caſes have been always uſed, " to the end that all good ſubjects might, upon this " occaſion, teſtify their duty and reſpect, and ſince the " armed violence, and other the calamities of many " years laſt paſt, have hitherto deprived us of any ſuch " opportunity, whereby we might expreſs our loyalty " and allegiance to his Majeſty, we therefore, the " Lords and Commons now aſſembled in Parliament, " together with the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and com- " mons of the city of London, and other freemen of " this kingdom now preſent, do, according to our duty " and allegiance, heartily, joyfully, and unanimouſly " acknowledge and proclaim, that immediately upon " the deceaſe of our late Sovereign Lord King Charles, " the imperial crown of the realm of England, and of " all the kingdoms, dominions, and rights belonging to " the ſame, did, by inherent birthright and lawful un- " doubted ſucceſſion, deſcend and come to his moſt " excellent Majeſty Charles the Second, as being lineal- " ly, juſtly, and lawfully next heir of the blood royal of " this realm; and that, by the goodneſs and providence " of Almighty God, he is of England, Scotland, " France, and Ireland, the moſt potent, mighty, and " un-

The King proclaimed May 8.

" undoubted King; and thereunto we moſt humbly " and faithfully do ſubmit and oblige ourſelves, our " heirs, and poſterity for ever."

Many addreſſes to the King.

From the time that the King came to Breda, very few days paſſed without ſome expreſs from London, upon the obſervations of his friends, and the applications made to them by many who had been very active againſt the King, and were now as ſolicitous his Majeſty ſhould know, that they wholly dedicated themſelves to his ſervice. Even before the General had declared himſelf, or the Parliament was aſſembled, ſome, who had ſate judges upon his father, ſent many excuſes, that they were forced to it, and offered to perform ſignal ſervices, if they might obtain their pardon. But his Majeſty would admit no addreſs from them, nor hearken to any propoſitions made on their behalf.

The particular caſe of Ingoldſby.

There was one inſtance that perplexed him; which was the caſe of Colonel Ingoldſby; who was in the number of the late King's judges, and whoſe name was in the warrant for his murder. He, from the depoſal of Richard, had declared, that he would ſerve the King, and told Mr. Mordaunt, " that he would perform all " ſervices he could, without making any conditions; " and would be well content, that his Majeſty, when " he came home, ſhould take his head off, if he " thought fit; only he deſired that the King might " know the truth of his caſe;" which was this.

He was a gentleman of a good extraction, and near allied to Cromwell, who had drawn him into the army before or about the time when he came firſt to age, where he grew to be a colonel of horſe, and to have the reputation of great courage againſt the enemy, and of equal civility to all men. It is very true, he was named amongſt thoſe who were appointed to be judges of the King;

King; and it is as true, that he was never once preſent with them, always abhorring the action in his heart, and having no other paſſion in any part of the quarrel, but his perſonal kindneſs to Cromwell. The next day after the horrid ſentence was pronounced, he had an occaſion to ſpeak with an officer, who, he was told, was in the Painted Chamber; where, when he came thither, he ſaw Cromwell, and the reſt of thoſe who had ſate upon the King, and were then, as he found afterwards, aſſembled to ſign the warrant for the King's death. As ſoon as Cromwell's eyes were upon him, he run to him, and taking him by the hand, drew him by force to the table; and ſaid, "though he had eſcaped him all the "while before, he ſhould now ſign that paper as well "as they;" which he, ſeeing what it was, refuſed with great paſſion, ſaying, "he knew nothing of the buſi- "neſs;" and offered to go away. But Cromwell and others held him by violence; and Cromwell, with a loud laughter, taking his hand in his, and putting the pen between his fingers, with his own hand writ *Richard Ingoldſby*, he making all the reſiſtance he could: and he ſaid, "if his name there were compared with what "he had ever writ himſelf, it could never be looked "upon as his own hand."

Though his Majeſty had within himſelf compaſſion for him, he would never ſend him any aſſurance of his pardon; preſuming that, if all theſe allegations were true, there would be a ſeaſon when a diſtinction would be made, without his Majeſty's declaring himſelf, between him and thoſe other of that bloody liſt, which he reſolved never to pardon. Nor was Ingoldſby at all diſheartened with this, but purſued his former reſolutions, and firſt ſurpriſed the caſtle of Windſor, (where there was a great magazine of arms and ammunition),

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and put out that governor whom the Rump had put in; and afterwards took Lambert priſoner, as is before remembered.

Mountague's meſſage to the King.

Whilſt the fleet was preparing, Admiral Mountague ſent his couſin Edward Mountague to the King, to let him know that, as ſoon as it ſhould be ready, (which he hoped might be within ſo many days), he would be himſelf on board, and would then be ready to receive and obey his Majeſty's orders: this was before the Parliament aſſembled. He ſent word what officers he was confident of, and of whom he was not aſſured, and who he concluded would not concur with him, and who muſt be reduced by force. He deſired to know whether the King had any aſſurance of the General, who, however, he wiſhed might know nothing of his reſolutions. And it was no ſmall inconvenience to his Majeſty, that he was reſtrained from communicating to either, the confidence he had in the other; which might have facilitated both their deſigns. But the mutual jealouſies between them, and indeed of all men, would not permit that liberty to his Majeſty.

The frequent reſort of perſons to Bruſſels, before they knew of the King's being gone to Breda, and their communication of the good news they brought to his Majeſty's ſervants, and the other Engliſh who remained there, and who publiſhed what they wiſhed as come to paſs, as well as what they heard, made the Spaniſh miniſters begin to think, that the King's affairs were not altogether ſo hopeleſs as they imagined them to be, and that there was more in the King's remove to Breda than at firſt appeared. They had every day expected to hear that the States had ſent to forbid his Majeſty to remain in their dominions, as they had done when his preſence had been leſs notorious. But when they could hear of

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no ſuch thing, but of greater reſort thither to the King, and that he had ſtayed longer there than he had ſeemed to intend to do, the Marquis of Carracena ſent a perſon of prime quality to Breda, "to invite his Majeſty to "return to Bruſſels; the rather, becauſe he had re- "ceived ſome very hopeful propoſitions from England, "to which he was not willing to make any anſwer, "without receiving his Majeſty's approbation and com- "mand." The Marquis of Carracena invites the King back to Bruſſels.

The King ſent him word, "that he was obliged, with "reference to his buſineſs in England, to ſtay where he "was; and that he was not without hope that his af- "fairs might ſucceed ſo well, that he ſhould not be ne- "ceſſitated to return to Bruſſels at all." Which anſwer the Marquis no ſooner received, than he returned the ſame meſſenger with a kind of expoſtulation "for "the indignity that would be offered to his Catholic "Majeſty, if he ſhould leave his dominions in ſuch a "manner; and therefore beſought him, either to re- "turn himſelf thither, or that the Duke of York, and "the Duke of Glouceſter, or at leaſt one of them, "might come to Bruſſels, that the world might not "believe, that his Majeſty was offended with the Ca- "tholic King; who had treated him ſo well." When he found that he was to receive no ſatisfaction in either of thoſe particulars, though the King and both the Dukes made their excuſes with all poſſible acknowledgment of the favours they had received from his Catholic Majeſty, and of the civilities ſhewed to them by the Marquis himſelf, he revenged himſelf upon Don Alonzo with a million of reproaches, "for his ſtupidity and "ignorance in the affairs of England, and of every "thing relating thereunto, after having reſided ſixteen "years ambaſſador in that kingdom." The King's anſwer. The Marquis invites the King again, but in vain.

Cardinal Mazarine perſuades the Queen Mother of England to ſend the Lord Jermyn to invite the King to come into France.

Cardinal Mazarine had better intelligence from the French ambaſſador in London; who gave him diligent accounts of every day's alteration, and of the general imagination that Monk had other intentions than he yet diſcovered. And when he heard that the King was removed from Bruſſels to Breda, he preſently perſuaded the Queen Mother of England to ſend the Lord Jermyn (whom the King had lately, upon his mother's deſire, created Earl of St. Alban's) to invite the King "to come into France; and to make that treaty, "which, probably, would be between the enſuing Parliament and his Majeſty, in that kingdom; which might "prove of great uſe and advantage to her Majeſty's intereſt and honour; in which the power of the Cardinal might be of great importance in diverting or allaying any inſolent demands which might be made." And the Cardinal himſelf made the ſame invitation by that Lord, with profeſſions of wonderful kindneſs; and "that the moſt Chriſtian King was infinitely deſirous "to perform all thoſe offices and reſpects to his Majeſty, which he had always deſired, but was never able "to accompliſh till now;" with this addition, "that if "his Majeſty found that the expedition of his affairs "would not permit him to come to Paris, order and "preparations ſhould be made for his reception at Calais, or any other place he would appoint; where the "Queen his mother would attend him;" with all other expreſſions of the higheſt eſteem; which the cunning of that great miniſter was plentifully ſupplied with.

The Earl of St. Alban's found the King in too good a poſture of hope and expectation, to ſuffer himſelf to be much importuned upon the inſtances he brought; and was contented to return with the King's acknowledgments

ledgments and excuſe, "that he could not decently "paſs through Flanders, after he had refuſed to return "to Bruſſels; and without going through thoſe pro- "vinces, he could not well make a journey into "France." In the mean time it was no ſmall pleaſure to his Majeſty, to find himſelf ſo ſolemnly invited, by the miniſters of theſe two great kings, to enter into their dominions, out of one of which he had been rejected with ſo many diſobligations and indignities; and with ſo much caution and apprehenſion had been ſuffered to paſs through the other, that he might not reſide a day there, or ſpend more time than was abſolutely neceſſary for his journey. The King's anſwer.

Several perſons now came to Breda, not, as heretofore to Cologne and to Bruſſels, under diſguiſes, and in fear to be diſcovered, but with bare faces, and the pride and vanity to be taken notice of, to preſent their duty to the King; ſome being employed to procure pardons for thoſe who thought themſelves in danger, and to ſtand in need of them; others brought good preſents in Engliſh gold to the King, that their names, and the names of their friends, who ſent them, might be remembered amongſt the firſt of thoſe who made demonſtrations of their affections that way to his Majeſty, by ſupplying his neceſſities; which had been diſcontinued for many years to a degree that cannot be believed, and ought not to be remembered. By theſe ſupplies his Majeſty was enabled, beſides the payment of his other debts, not only to pay all his ſervants the arrears of their board wages, but to give them all ſome teſtimony of his bounty, to raiſe their ſpirits after ſo many years of patient waiting for deliverance: and all this was before the delivery of the King's letter by the General to the Parliament.

The States General congratulate the King's coming to Breda; and the States of Holland invite him to the Hague.

The King had not been many days in Breda, before the States General ſent deputies of their own body to congratulate his Majeſty's arrival in their dominions, and to acknowledge the great honour he had vouchſafed to do them. And ſhortly after, other deputies came from the States of Holland, beſeeching his Majeſty, "that he would grace that province with his "royal preſence at the Hague, where preparations "ſhould be made for his reception, in ſuch a manner "as would teſtify the great joy of their hearts for the "bleſſings which divine Providence was pouring upon "his head." His Majeſty accepting their invitation, they returned in order to make his journey thither, and his entertainment there, equal to their profeſſions.

In the mean time Breda ſwarmed with Engliſh, a multitude repairing thither from all other places, as well as London, with preſents, and proteſtations, "how "much they had longed and prayed for this bleſſed "change; and magnifying their ſufferings under the "late tyrannical government;" when ſome of them had been zealous inſtruments and promoters of it. The magiſtrates of the town took all imaginable care to expreſs their devotion to the King, by uſing all civilities towards, and providing for the accommodation of the multitude of his ſubjects, who reſorted thither to expreſs their duty to him. So that no man would have imagined by the treatment he now received, that he had been ſo lately forbid to come into that place; which indeed had not proceeded from the diſaffection of the inhabitants of that good town, who had always paſſion for his proſperity, and even then publicly deteſted the rudeneſs of their ſuperiors, whom they were bound to obey.

All things being in readineſs, and the States having

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ſent their yachts and other veſſels, for the accommodation of his Majeſty and his train, as near to Breda as the river would permit, the King, with his royal ſiſter and brothers, left that place in the beginning of May, and, within an hour, embarked themſelves on board the yachts, which carried him to Rotterdam; Dort, and the other places near which they paſſed, making all thoſe expreſſions of joy, by the conflux of the people to the banks of the river, and all other ways, which the ſituation of thoſe places would ſuffer. At Rotterdam they entered into their coaches; from whence to the Hague they ſeemed to paſs through one continued ſtreet, by the wonderful and orderly appearance of the people on both ſides, with ſuch acclamations of joy, as if themſelves were now reſtored to peace and ſecurity.

The King removes to the Hague.

The entrance into the Hague, and the reception there, and the conducting his Majeſty to the houſe provided for his entertainment, was very magnificent, and in all reſpects anſwerable to the pomp, wealth, and greatneſs of that State. The treatment of his Majeſty, and all who had relation to his ſervice, at the States' charge, during the time of his abode there, which continued many days, was incredibly noble and ſplendid; and the univerſal joy ſo viſible and real, that it could only be exceeded by that of his own ſubjects. The States General, in a body, and the States of Holland, in a body apart, performed their compliments with all ſolemnity; and then ſeveral perſons, according to their faculties, made their profeſſions; and a ſet number of them was appointed always to wait in the court, to receive his Majeſty's commands. All the ambaſſadors and public miniſters of kings, princes, and ſtates, repaired to his Majeſty, and profeſſed the joy of their maſters on his behalf: ſo that a man would have

The King's reception and entertainment there.

thought this revolution had been brought to paſs by the general combination and activity of Chriſtendom, that appeared now to take ſo much pleaſure in it.

The Engliſh fleet comes on the coaſt of Holland.

The King had been very few days at the Hague, when he heard that the Engliſh fleet was in ſight of Scheveling; and ſhortly after, an officer from Admiral Mountague was ſent to the King, to preſent his duty to him, and to the Duke of York, their High Admiral, to receive orders. As ſoon as Mountague came on board the fleet in the Downs, and found Lawſon and the other officers more frank in declaring their duty to the King, and reſolution to ſerve him, than he expected, that he might not ſeem to be ſent by the Parliament to his Majeſty, but to be carried by his own affection and duty, without expecting any command from them, the wind coming fair, he ſet up his ſails, and ſtood for the coaſt of Holland, leaving only two or three of the leſſer ſhips to receive their orders, and to bring over thoſe perſons, who, he knew, were deſigned to wait upon his Majeſty; which expedition was never forgiven him by ſome men, who took all occaſions afterwards to revenge themſelves upon him.

The Duke of York as Admiral takes poſſeſſion of the fleet.

The Duke of York went the next day on board the fleet, to take poſſeſſion of his command; where he was received by all the officers and ſeamen, with all poſſible duty and ſubmiſſion, and with thoſe acclamations which are peculiar to that people, and in which they excel. After he had ſpent the day there, in receiving information of the ſtate of the fleet, and a catalogue of the names of the ſeveral ſhips, his Highneſs returned with it that night to the King, that his Majeſty might make alterations, and new chriſten thoſe ſhips which too much preſerved the memory of the late governors, and of the republic.

The ſhips new named.

Shortly

Shortly after, the committee of Lords and Commons arrived at the Hague; where the States took care for their decent accommodation. And the next day they desired admiſſion to his Majeſty, who immediately received them very graciouſly. From the Houſe of Peers were deputed ſix of their body, and, according to cuſtom, twelve from the Commons. The Peers were, the Earls of Oxford, Warwick, and Middleſex, the Lord Viſcount Hereford, the Lord Berkley of Berkley-caſtle, and the Lord Brook. From the Commons were ſent, the Lord Fairfax, the Lord Bruce, the Lord Falkland, the Lord Caſtleton, the Lord Herbert, the Lord Mandevil, Denzil Hollis, Sir Horatio Townſend, Sir Anthony Aſhley Cooper, Sir George Booth, Sir John Holland, and Sir Henry Cholmeley. Theſe perſons preſented the humble invitation and ſupplication of the Parliament, "that his Majeſty would be pleaſed to return, and "take the government of the kingdom into his hands; "where he ſhould find all poſſible affection, duty, and "obedience, from all his ſubjects." And leſt his return ſo much longed for might be retarded by the want of money, to diſcharge thoſe debts, which he could not but have contracted, they preſented from the Parliament the ſum of fifty thouſand pounds to his Majeſty; having likewiſe order to pay the ſum of ten thouſand pounds to the Duke of York, and five thouſand to the Duke of Glouceſter; which was a very good ſupply to their ſeveral neceſſities. The King treated all the committee very graciouſly together, and every one of them ſeverally and particularly very obligingly. So that ſome of them, who were conſcious to themſelves of their former demerit, were very glad to find that they were not to fear any bitterneſs from ſo princely and ſo generous a nature.

The committee of Lords and Commons arrive at the Hague.

The city of London ſend fourteen of their citizens.

The city of London had had too great a hand in driving the father of the King from thence, not to appear equally zealous for his ſon's return thither. And therefore they did, at the ſame time, ſend fourteen of the moſt ſubſtantial citizens "to aſſure his Majeſty of their "fidelity, and moſt cheerful ſubmiſſion; and that they "placed all their felicity, and hope of future proſperity, "in the aſſurance of his Majeſty's grace and protection; "for the meriting whereof, their lives and fortunes "ſhould be always at his Majeſty's diſpoſal;" and they preſented to him from the city the ſum of ten thouſand pounds. The King told them, "he had always had a "particular affection for the city of London, the place "of his birth; and was very glad, that they had now ſo "good a part in his reſtoration; of which he was in-"formed; and how much he was beholding to every "one of them;" for which he thanked them very graciouſly, and knighted them all; an honour no man in the city had received in near twenty years, and with which they were much delighted.

It will hardly be believed, that this money preſented to the King by the Parliament and the city, and charged by bills of exchange upon the richeſt merchants in Amſterdam, who had vaſt eſtates, could not be received in many days, though ſome of the principal citizens of London, who came to the King, went themſelves to ſolicit it, and had credit enough themſelves for much greater ſums, if they had brought over no bills of exchange. But this was not the firſt time (of which ſomewhat hath been ſaid before) that it was evident to the King, that it is not eaſy in that moſt opulent city, with the help of all the rich towns adjacent, and upon the greateſt credit, to draw together a great ſum of ready money; the cuſtom of that country, which flouriſhes

riſhes ſo much in trade, being to make their payments in paper by aſſignations; they having very rarely occaſion for a great ſum in any one particular place. And ſo at this time his Majeſty was compelled, that he might not defer the voyage he ſo impatiently longed to make, to take bills of exchange from Amſterdam upon their correſpondents in London, for above thirty thouſand pounds of the money that was aſſigned; all which was paid in London as ſoon as demanded.

Divers Preſbyterian divines came alſo.

With theſe commiſſioners from the Parliament and from the city, there came a company of their clergymen, to the number of eight or ten; who would not be looked upon as chaplains to the reſt, but being the popular preachers of the city, (Reynolds, Calamy, Caſe, Manton; and others, the moſt eminent of the Preſbyterians), deſired to be thought to repreſent that party. They entreated to be admitted all together to have a formal audience of his Majeſty; where they preſented their duties, and magnified the affections of themſelves and their friends; who, they ſaid, "had always, accord-"ing to the obligation of their Covenant, wiſhed his "Majeſty very well; and had lately, upon the oppor-"tunity that God had put into their hands, informed "the people of their duty; which, they preſumed, his "Majeſty had heard had proved effectual, and been of "great uſe to him." They thanked God "for his "conſtancy to the Proteſtant religion;" and profeſſed, "that they were no enemies to moderate epiſcopacy; "only deſired that ſuch things might not be preſſed "upon them in God's worſhip, which in their judg-"ment who uſed them were acknowledged to be "matters indifferent, and by others were held unlaw-"ful."

Their public audience of the King.

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The King ſpoke very kindly to them; and ſaid, "that he had heard of their good behaviour towards "him; and that he had no purpoſe to impoſe hard "conditions upon them, with reference to their con- "ſciences: that they well knew, he had referred the "ſettling all differences of that nature to the wiſdom of "the Parliament; which beſt knew what indulgence "and toleration was neceſſary for the peace and quiet "of the kingdom." But his Majeſty could not be ſo rid of them; they deſired ſeveral private audiences of him; which he never denied; wherein they told him, "the Book of Common Prayer had been long diſcon- "tinued in England, and the people having been diſ- "uſed to it, and many of them having never heard it in "their lives, it would be much wondered at, if his Ma- "jeſty ſhould, at his firſt landing in the kingdom, revive "the uſe of it in his own chapel; whither all perſons "would reſort; and therefore they beſought him, that "he would not uſe it entirely and formally, but have "only ſome parts of it read, with mixture of other good "prayers, which his chaplains might uſe."

And their private diſcourſes alſo with him.

The King told them with ſome warmth, "that whilſt "he gave them liberty, he would not have his own "taken from him: that he had always uſed that form "of ſervice, which he thought the beſt in the world, "and had never diſcontinued it in places where it was "more diſliked than he hoped it was by them: that, "when he came into England, he would not ſeverely "enquire how it was uſed in other churches, though he "doubted not, he ſhould find it uſed in many; but he "was ſure he would have no other uſed in his own cha- "pel." Then they beſought him with more importu- nity, "that the uſe of the ſurplice might be diſcontinued "by his chaplains, becauſe the ſight of it would give "great

His Majeſty's reply to them.

"great offence and ſcandal to the people." They found the King as inexorable in that point as in the other; he told them plainly, "that he would not be "reſtrained himſelf, when he gave others ſo much li-"berty; that it had been always held a decent habit in "the Church, conſtantly practiſed in England till theſe "late ill times; that it had been ſtill retained by him; "and though he was bound for the preſent to tolerate "much diſorder and undecency in the exerciſe of God's "worſhip, he would never, in the leaſt degree, by his "own practice, diſcountenance the good old order of "the Church, in which he had been bred." Though they were very much unſatisfied with him, whom they thought to have found more flexible, yet they ceaſed farther troubling him, in hope, and preſumption, that they ſhould find their importunity in England more effectual.

After eight or ten days ſpent at the Hague in triumphs and feſtivals, which could not have been more ſplendid if all the monarchs of Europe had met there, and which were concluded with ſeveral rich preſents made to his Majeſty, the King took his leave of the States, with all the profeſſions of amity their civilities deſerved; and embarked himſelf on the Royal Charles; which had been before called the Naſeby, but had been new chriſtened the day before, as many others had been, in the preſence, and by the order, of his Royal Highneſs the Admiral. Upon the four and twentieth day of May, the fleet ſet ſail; and, in one continued thunder of cannon, arrived near Dover ſo early on the ſix and twentieth, that his Majeſty diſembarked; and being received by the General at the brink of the ſea, (whom he met, and embraced, with great demonſtrations of affection), he preſently took coach, and came that night to Canterbury; where he

The King embarks for England.

And the fleet ſets ſail May 24.

The King arrives and lands at Dover May 26, and went to Canterbury that night.

he ſtayed the next day, being Sunday; and went to his devotions to the cathedral, which he found very much dilapidated, and out of repair; yet the people ſeemed glad to hear the Common Prayer again. Thither came very many of the nobility, and other perſons of quality, to preſent themſelves to the King; and there his Majeſty aſſembled his Council; and ſwore the General of the Council, and Mr. Morrice, whom he there knighted, and gave him the Signet, and ſwore him Secretary of State. That day his Majeſty gave the Garter to the General, and likewiſe to the Marquis of Hertford, and the Earl of Southampton, (who had been elected many years before), and ſent it likewiſe by Garter, Herald and King at Arms, to Admiral Mountague, who remained in the Downs.

May 29. he came through the city to Whitehall.

On Monday he went to Rocheſter; and the next day, being the nine and twentieth of May, and his birth-day, he entered London; all the ways thither being ſo full of people, and acclamations, as if the whole kingdom had been gathered there. Between Deptford and Southwark the Lord Mayor and Aldermen met him, with all ſuch proteſtations of joy as can hardly be imagined. The concourſe was ſo great, that the King rode in a crowd from the bridge to Whitehall; all the companies of the city ſtanding in order on both ſides, and giving loud thanks to God for his Majeſty's preſence. He no ſooner came to Whitehall, but the two Houſes of Parliament ſolemnly caſt themſelves at his feet, with all vows of affection and fidelity to the world's end. In a word, the joy was ſo unexpreſſible, and ſo univerſal, that his Majeſty ſaid ſmilingly to ſome about him, "he doubted it had been his own fault he had "been abſent ſo long; for he ſaw nobody that did not "proteſt, he had ever wiſhed for his return."

Where the two Houſes waited on him.

In

In this wonderful manner, and with this incredible expedition, did God put an end to a rebellion that had raged near twenty years, and been carried on with all the horrid circumſtances of murder, devaſtation, and parricide, that fire and ſword, in the hands of the moſt wicked men in the world, could be inſtruments of; almoſt to the deſolation of two kingdoms, and the exceeding defacing and deforming the third. The concluſion of the whole hiſtory.

It was but five months, ſince Lambert's fanatical army was ſcattered and confounded, and General Monk's marched into England: it was but three months, ſince the ſecluded members were reſtored; and, ſhortly after, the monſtrous long Parliament finally diſſolved, and rooted up: it was but a month, ſince the King's letters and Declaration were delivered to the new Parliament, afterwards called the Convention: on the firſt of May they were delivered, and his Majeſty was at Whitehall on the 29th of the ſame month.

By theſe remarkable ſteps, among others, did the merciful hand of God, in this ſhort ſpace of time, not only bind up and heal all thoſe wounds, but even make the ſcars as undiſcernible, as, in reſpect of the deepneſs, was poſſible; which was a glorious addition to the deliverance. And, after this miraculous reſtoration of the Crown, and the Church, and the juſt rights of Parliaments, no nation under heaven can ever be more happy, if God ſhall be pleaſed to add eſtabliſhment and perpetuity to the bleſſings he then reſtored.

THE END OF THE LAST BOOK.